APPIAN (Appianus) was a Greek official of Alexandria. He saw the Jewish rebellion of A.D. 116, and later became a Roman citizen and advocate and received the rank of eques (Knight). In his older years he held a procuratorship. He died during the reign of Antoninus Pius who was emperor A.D. 138–161. Honest admirer of the Roman empire though ignorant of the institutions of the earlier Roman republic, he wrote, in the simple 'common' dialect, 24 books of 'Roman affairs', in fact conquests, from the beginning to the times of Trajan (emperor A.D. 98–117), arranged according to races. We have fragments of books I–V, and of VIII and IX; we have lost X and XVIII–XXIV; books VI–VII and XI–XVII are complete, and are valuable records of military history.
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NOTE

The last two volumes of the present edition have been revised and prepared for the press by E. Iliff Robson, of Christ’s College, Cambridge. The text is Viereck’s recension of Mendelssohn, being the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1905, with a few unimportant changes of punctuation.
APPILAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

THE CIVIL WARS
ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΙΚΑ
ΡΩΜΑΙΚΩΝ ΕΜΦΥΛΙΩΝ

Α'

ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

1. Ρωμαίοις ὁ δήμος καὶ ἡ βουλή πολλάκις ἐς ἀλλήλους περὶ τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ χρεών ἀποκτήσας ἢ γῆς διαδατουμένης ἢ ἐν ἀρχαιεσίαις ἐστασίας· οὗ μὴν τι χειρῶν ἔργων ἐμφυλῶν ἦν, ἀλλὰ διαφορὰ μόναι καὶ ἔριδες ἐννοοῦσι, καὶ τάδε μετὰ πολλῆς αἴδους εἰκονεῖ ἀλλήλοις διστήθεντο. ὁ δὲ δήμος ποτε καὶ στρατευόμενος ἐς τοιάνδε ἔριν ἐμπεσόν ὦκ ἔχρησατο τοῖς ὁπλοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἐκδραμὼν, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε κληζό-μενον ἱερὸν, οὐδὲν οὔδὲ τότε χειρῶν ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ προστάτιν ἀπέφηνε καὶ ἐκάλεσε δημαρχίαν ἐς κώλυσιν μάλιστα τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρουμένων μὴ ἐντελῶς αὐτὸῖς ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὸ κράτος εἶναι. οὖθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
1. The plebeians and Senate of Rome were often at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, or the election of magistrates. Internal discord did not, however, bring them to blows; there were dissensions merely and contests within the limits of the law, which they composed by making mutual concessions, and with much respect for each other. Once when the plebeians were entering on a campaign they fell into a controversy of this sort, but they did not use the weapons in their hands, but withdrew to the hill, which from that time on was called the Sacred Mount. Even then no violence was done, but they created a magistrate for their protection and called him the Tribune of the Plebs, to serve especially as a check upon the consuls, who were chosen by the Senate, so that political power should not be exclusively in their hands. From this arose still

1 The Consuls were not chosen by the Senate during the republican era, but by the whole people.
δυσμενέστερον ἐτι καὶ φιλονικότερον ἐς ἄλληλας ἀι ἄρχαι διετίθεντο ἀπὸ τοῦδε, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐς αὐτὰς ἐμερίζετο ὡς ἐν ταῖς τῶν δυναμενεξίαις ἐκάτεροι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐπικρατοῦντες. Μάρκιος τε ὁ Κοριολάνδος ἐν ταῖς ἐρίσις ἐξελαθεῖς παρὰ δίκην ἐς Οὐσολοῦσκον έφυγε τε καὶ πόλεμον ἐπήγαγε τῇ πατρίδι.

2. Καὶ τούτο μόνον ἂν τις εὑρεῖ τῶν πάλαι στάσεων ἔργον ἐνοπλοῦν, καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτομόλον γενόμενον, ξίφος δὲ οὐδὲν πώ παρενεχθὲν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν οὐδὲ φόνον ἐμφύλου, πρῶν γε Τιβέριος Γράκχος δημαρχῶν καὶ νόμους ἐσφέρων πρῶτος ὑδε ἐν στάσει ἦπωλετο καὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ κατὰ τὸ Καπιτώλιον εἴλουμενοι περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀνηρέθησαν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνέσχον ἔτι αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὁ μύσει, διαρκουμένων ἐκάστοτε σαφῶς ἐπ᾽ ἄλληλοις καὶ ἐγχειρίδια πολλάκις φερόντων κτινυμένης τε τινος ἀρχῆς ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν ἱεροῖς ἢ ἐκκλησίαις ἢ ἀγοραῖς, δημάρχων ἢ στρατηγῶν ἢ υπάτων ἢ τῶν ἡς ταῦτα παραγγελλόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλως ἐπιφανῶν. ὡσθι τε ἀκόσμος ἐπείχεν αἰεὶ δὴ ὀλίγον καὶ νόμων καὶ δίκης ἀἰσχρὰ καταφρούντης. προιόντος δὲ ἐς μέγα τοῦ κακοῦ, ἐπαναστάσεις ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν φανερὰ καὶ στρατεύει μεγάλαι καὶ βίαιοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐγχύνουτο φυγάδων ἄνδρῶν ἢ καταδίκων ἢ περὶ ἀρχῆς τινος ἢ στρατοπέδου φιλονικοῦντων ἐς ἄλληλους. δυναστείαι τε ἷςαν ἐδὴ κατὰ πολλὰ καὶ στασίαρχοι μοναρχικοὶ, οἱ μὲν οὐ μεθίεντες ἐτι τὰ πιστευθέντα σφίσιν ὕπὸ τοῦ
greater bitterness, and the magistrates were arrayed in stronger animosity to each other from this time on, and the Senate and plebeians took sides with them, each believing that it would prevail over the other by augmenting the power of its own magistrates. It was in the midst of contests of this kind that Marcius Coriolanus, having been banished contrary to justice, took refuge with the Volsci and levied war against his country.

2. This is the only case of armed strife that can be found in the ancient seditions, and this was caused by an exile. The sword was never carried into the assembly, and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus, while serving as tribune and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion; and with him many others, who were crowded together at the Capitol round the temple, were also slain. Sedition did not end with this abominable deed. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and from time to time in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some tribune, or praetor, or consul, or candidate for those offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain. Unseemly violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil gained in magnitude open insurrections against the government and large warlike expeditions against their country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There arose chiefs of factions quite frequently, aspiring to supreme power, some of them refusing to disband the troops entrusted to them by the people, others even hiring
δήμου στρατόπεδα, οί δὲ καὶ κατὰ σφάς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ κατ' ἄλληλων ξενολογοῦντες. ὀπότεροι δ' αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν προλάβοιεν, τοῖς ἐτέροις ὡς ὁ ἄγων λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτατας, ἔργῳ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα· ἐσέβαλλον γὰρ ὡς ἐς πολεμίαν, καὶ σφαγαί τῶν ἐν ποσίν ἐγίγνοντο υηλεείς καὶ ἄλλων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαί καὶ φυγαί καὶ δημεύσεις, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ βάσανοι πάμπαν ἐπαχθεῖς.

3. Ἔργον τε οὖν ἄθες ἀπὶν, μέχρι τῶν στασιάρχων εἰς ἔτει πεντηκοστῆς μάλιστα ἀπὸ Γράκχου, Κορυνήλιος Σύλλας, κακοῦ τὸ κακὸν ἱόμενος μοναρχὸν αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν ἐπὶ πλείστον· οὖς δικτάτορας ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς φοβερωτάταις χρείαις ἐξαμήνους τιθέμενοι ἐκ πολλοῦ διελειόπεσαν. ὦ δὲ Σύλλας θία μὲν καὶ ἀνάγκη, λόγῳ δ' αἴρετός, ἐς αἰεὶ δικτάτωρ γενόμενος ὡμος, ἔτει τε ἐκορέσθη τῆς δυναστείας, πρῶτος ἄνδρον ὦδε μοι δοκεῖ θαρρῆσαι τυραννικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκων ἀποθέσθαι καὶ ἐπειπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς μεμορμένοις εὐθύνας ὑφέξει, ἱδιώτης τε ὅρωντων ἀπάντων ἐς πολυ βαδίσαι κατ' ἄγορὰν καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπαθῆς οἰκάδε. τυσοῦτον ὄν ἄρα τοῖς ὁρώσιν ἐτι τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ δέος ἢ τῆς ἀποθέσεως κατάπληξις ἢ τῶν εὐθυνῶν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας αἰδῶς ἢ ἀλλη φιλανθρωπία καὶ λογισμὸς ἐπὶ συμφέροντι τὴν τυραννίδα γενέσθαι.

*Ώδε μὲν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐλήξαν αἱ στάσεις ἐπὶ
forces against each other on their own account, B.C. 133 without public authority. Whenever either side first got possession of the city, the opposition party made war nominally against their own adversaries, but actually against their country. They assailed it like an enemy’s capital, and ruthless and indiscriminate massacres of citizens were perpetrated. Some were proscribed, others banished, property was confiscated, and prisoners were even subjected to excruciating tortures.

3. No unseemly deed was left undone until, about fifty years after the death of Gracchus, Cornelius Sulla, one of these chiefs of factions, doctoring one evil with another, made himself the sole master of the state for a very long time. Such officials were formerly called dictators—an office created in the most perilous emergencies for six months only, and long since fallen into disuse. But Sulla, although nominally elected, became dictator for life by force and compulsion. Nevertheless he became satiated with power and was the first man, so far as I know, holding supreme power, who had the courage to lay it down voluntarily and to declare that he would render an account of his stewardship to any who were dissatisfied with it. And so, for a considerable period, he walked to the forum as a private citizen in the sight of all and returned home unmolested, so great was the awe of his government still remaining in the minds of the onlookers, or their amazement at his laying it down. Perhaps they were ashamed to call him to account, or entertained other good feeling toward him, or a belief that his despotism had been beneficial to the state.

Thus there was a cessation of factions for a short
Σύλλα, καὶ κακῶν ἀντίδοσις ἦν δὲν ὦ Σύλλας εἰργάζετο. 4. μετὰ δὲ Σύλλαν αὐθίς ὄμοια ἀνερ-ριπίζετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ, αἱρέτην ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ δυναστεύων ἐν Γαλατίᾳ, τῆς βουλής αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι κελευοῦσις αἰτιώμενος οὐ τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλὰ Πομπήιον, ἔχθρὸν ὦνται οἱ καὶ στρατοὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡγούμενον, ὡς τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύοντα παραλύειν, προστίθει προκλήσεις ἢ ἄμφω τὰ στρατεύματα ἔχειν ἐς τὴν ἕχθρας τὴν ἀφοβίαν ἢ καὶ Πομπήιον οὕς ἔχοι μεθέντα ἰδιω-τεύειν ὦμοίως ύπὸ νόμοις. οὐ πείθω δὲ ἐς οὐδέ-τερα ἐκ Γαλατίας ἦλανυν ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐς τὴν πατρίδα, ἔσβαλὼν τε ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ διόκων ἐκφυγόντα περὶ Θεσσαλίαν εὐνίκησε μεγάλη μάχῃ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐδίωκεν ἐς Αἰγυπτόν ὑποφεύγοντα. ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Πομπήιον πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπανήλθεν ἐς 'Ῥώμην, ἔστω ὅ καὶ περὶ Αἰγυπτοῦ ἐργασάμενος τε καὶ ἐπιμείνας, μέχρι καταστή-σαιτο αὐτῇ τοῦς βασιλέας. στασιώτης τε μέγισ-τον, ὁ δὲ μεγαλουργίας πολεμικῆς Μέγας ἐπώ-νυμον ἦν, οὗτος δὴ μάλιστα πολέμου κράτει σαφῶς καθελὼν, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶθαρροῦντος εἰς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντειπεῖν, δεύτερος ἐπὶ Σύλλα δικτάτωρ ἐς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἱρέθη. καὶ στάσεις ἀὕθες κατε-παύοντο πᾶσαι, ἐστε καὶ τόνδε Βροῦτος καὶ Κάσσιος ἐξῆλθο τε τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτείας ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατέκαυν, δημοτικῶτατον καὶ ἐμπειρώτατον ἀρχῆς γενόμενον. ὁ γε τοῦ δῆμος αὐτῶν μάλιστα πάντων
time while Sulla lived, and a compensation for the evils which he had wrought, but after his death similar troubles broke out and continued until Gaius Caesar, who had held the command in Gaul by election for some years, when ordered by the Senate to lay down his command, excused himself on the ground that this was not the wish of the Senate, but of Pompey, his enemy, who had command of an army in Italy, and was scheming to depose him. So he sent proposals that either both should retain their armies, so that neither need fear the other's enmity, or that Pompey also should dismiss his forces and live as a private citizen under the laws in like manner with himself. Both suggestions being refused, he marched from Gaul against Pompey into Roman territory, entered Rome, and finding Pompey fled, pursued him into Thessaly, won a brilliant victory over him in a great battle, and followed him to Egypt. After Pompey had been slain by certain Egyptians Caesar set to work on Egyptian affairs and remained there until he could settle the dynasty of that country. Then he returned to Rome. Having overpowered by war his principal rival, who had been surnamed the Great on account of his brilliant military exploits, he now ruled without disguise, nobody daring any longer to dispute with him about anything, and was chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life. Again all civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius, envious of his great power and desiring to restore the government of their fathers, slew in the Senate-house one who had proved himself truly popular, and most experienced in the art of government. The people certainly mourned for him greatly. They

1 At Pharsalus.
Appian's Roman History

ἐπετόθησε, καὶ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐξήτουν περιόντες καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔθαψαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ καὶ νεὼν ἐπφικοδόμησαν τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ θύσουσιν ὡς θεῷ.

5. Αἰ δὲ στάσεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὀλίστα αὐθεὶς ἐπανελθοῦσαί τε καὶ αὐξηθεῖσαι δυνατώτατα ἐς μέγα προήλθον, καὶ φόνοι καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προγραφαί βουλευτῶν τε καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππῶν, κατὰ πλῆθος ἄθροώς ἐκατέρων, ἐγένετο τοῦτος, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀλλήλοις τῶν στασιωτῶν ἀντιπαρεχόντων καὶ ἐς τούτῳ ἀμελοῦντων καὶ φίλων καὶ ἄδελφων τοσοῦτον ἐκράτει τῆς ἐς τὰ οἰκεία εὐνοίας ἢ ἐς τὰ ἀντίπαλα φιλονικία. προϊόντες τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχήν ὡς ἴδιωτικὴν σφῶν κτήμα διενείμαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τρεῖς οἷδε ἄνδρες, Ἀντώνιος τε καὶ Λέπιδος καὶ ὅτω πρότερον μὲν Ὀκτάουνος ὄνομα ἤν, Καίσαρι δὲ πρὸς γένους ὁυ καὶ θετὸς ἐν διαθήκαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Καίσαρ ἐκ τούτῳ μετωνομάζετο. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ διαιρέσει τῇ μετὰ βραχὺ συμπεσόντες, ὡς εἰκὸς ἤν, ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτῶν συνέσει τε καὶ ἐμπειρία προύχων Λέπιδον μὲν πρότερον αὐτῶν ἦν ἐκεκλήρωτο Λιβύην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Ὁντώνιον πολέμῳ περὶ Ὀκτιανοῦ ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας ἐπὶ κόλπου τὸν Ἰονίου ἄρχην. ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦτοις, μεγίστοις δὴ φανεῖσι καὶ ἐς ἐκπλήξιν ἀπαντᾶς ἐμβαλοῦσιν, εἰλὲ καὶ Διώγυπτον ἐπιπλεῦσας, ἢ χρονιωτάτη τε ἦν ἐς τότε καὶ δυνατωτάτη μετὰ Ὁλεξανδρον ἄρχη καὶ μόνη Ῥωμαίωσ ἐλευθερεῖν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὑδα, ὡστε Σεβαστὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς, ἐπὶ περιῶν,
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK I

scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers, buried them in the middle of the forum, built a temple on the site of his funeral pyre, and offer sacrifice to him as a god.

5. And now civil discord broke out again worse than ever and increased enormously. Massacres, banishments, and proscriptions of both senators and knights took place straightway, including great numbers of both classes, the chiefs of factions surrendering their enemies to each other, and for this purpose not sparing even their friends and brothers; so much did animosity toward rivals overpower the love of kindred. So in the course of events the Roman empire was partitioned, as though it had been their private property, by these three men: Antony, Lepidus, and the one who was first called Octavius, but afterward Caesar from his relationship to the other Caesar and adoption in his will. Shortly after this division they fell to quarrelling among themselves, as was natural, and Octavius, who was the superior in understanding and skill, first deprived Lepidus of Africa, which had fallen to his lot, and afterward, as the result of the battle of Actium, took from Antony all the provinces lying between Syria and the Adriatic gulf. Thereupon, while all the world was filled with astonishment at these wonderful displays of power, he sailed to Egypt and took that country, which was the oldest and at that time the strongest possession of the successors of Alexander, and the only one wanting to complete the Roman empire as it now stands. In immediate consequence of these exploits he was, while still living, the first to be regarded by
οδε πρώτος ὃφθηναι τε ῥωμαίοις καὶ κληθήναι πρὸς αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς τε ἐαυτὸν, ὥσπερ Γάιος καὶ ἐς τὸ δυνατότερον ἔτι Γαίου, ἀρχοντα ἀποφήναι τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἔθνεσιν ἄπασιν, οὐδὲν αἵρεσεως ἢ χειροτονίας ἢ προσπονήματος ἔτι δειθεὶς. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγκρατοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης, ἐπιτυχῆς ἐς πάντα καὶ φοβερὸς ὅν γένος ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ διαδοχὴν τῆς ἐπικρατοῦσαν ὀμοίως ἐτ' ἐκείνῳ κατέλιπεν.

6. Ὡδε μὲν ἐκ στάσεων ποικίλων ἡ πολιτεία ῥωμαίοις ἐς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μοναρχίαν περιέστη ταῦτα δ' ὅπως ἐγένετο, συνέγραψα καὶ συνήγαγον, ἀξιοθαύμαστα ὑπή τοὺς ἐθέλουσιν ἰδεῖν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνδρῶν ἀμετρον καὶ φιλαρχίαν δεινὴν καρτερίαν τε ἀτρυπόν καὶ κακῶν ἰδέας μυρίων, μάλιστα δ', ὅτι μοι τῆς Ἀιγυπτίας συγγραφῆς τάδε προηγοῦμενα καὶ τελευτήσωντα εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναγκαῖον ἡν προαναγράψαςθαι. ὦδε γὰρ Ἀιγυπτὸς ἐλήφθη, διὰ τήνδε τὴν στάσιν, Ἀντωνίω Κλεοπάτρας συμμαχοῦσης. διήρηται δ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἑυθάδε μὲν, ὅσα ἐπὶ Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν ἀπὸ Σεμπρωνίου Γράκχου, ἔξης δ', ὅσα μέχρι Γαίου Καίσαρος τῆς τελευτῆς. αἰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐμφυλίων βιβλίων δεικνύουσιν, ὅσα οἱ τρεῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ ῥωμαίους ἐδρασαν, μέχρι τὸ τελευταῖον δὴ τῶν στάσεων καὶ μέγιστον ἔργου, τὸ περὶ Ἀκτιον Καίσαρι πρὸς Ἀντωνίον ὀμοῦ καὶ Κλεοπάτραν γενόμενον, ἀρχή καὶ τῆς Ἀιγυπτιακῆς συγγραφῆς ἔσται.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK I

the Romans as 'august,' \(^1\) and to be called by them \(^2\) bc

"Augustus." He assumed to himself an authority like Caesar's over the country and the subject nations, and even greater than Caesar's, no longer needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the pretence of it. His government proved both lasting and masterful, and being himself successful in all things and dreaded by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the supreme power in like manner after him.

6. Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into harmony and monarchy. To show how these things came about I have written and compiled this narrative, which is well worth the study of those who wish to know the measureless ambition of men, their dreadful lust of power, their unwearying perseverance, and the countless forms of evil. And it is especially necessary for me to describe these things beforehand since they are the preliminaries of my Egyptian history, and will end where that begins, for Egypt was seized in consequence of this last civil commotion, Cleopatra having joined forces with Antony. On account of its magnitude I have divided the work, first taking up the events that occurred from the time of Sempronius Gracchus to that of Cornelius Sulla; next, those that followed to the death of Caesar. The remaining books of the civil wars treat of those waged by the triumvirs against each other and the Roman people, up to the grand climax of these conflicts, the battle of Actium fought by Octavius Caesar against Antony and Cleopatra together, which will be the beginning of the Egyptian history.

\(^1\) The title "Augustus" definitely connoted monarchical power. We might paraphrase "as His Majesty."
7. Ἐσπαδοί τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμων κατὰ μέρι, χειρούμενοι γῆς μέρος ἐλάμβανον καὶ πόλεις ἐνόχιζον ἡ ἐστὶ πρὸτερον οὕσας κληρούχους ἀπὸ σφῶν κατέλεγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀντὶ φρουρίων ἔπενόουν, τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς δορικήτου σφίσιν ἐκάστοτε γιγνομένης τὴν μὲν ἐξειργασμένην αὐτίκα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἑπιδίηρουν ἢ ἐπιπρασκοῦν ἢ ἐξεμίσθουν, τῇ δ’ ἀργῇ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τότε οὕσαν, ἡ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπλήθευεν, οὐκ ἄγοντές πω σχολῆν διαλαξεῖν ἑπεκήρυττον ἐν τοσῷδε τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐκπονεῖν ἐπὶ τέλει τῶν ἐτησίων καρπῶν, δεκάτη μὲν τῶν σπειρομένων, πέμπτη δὲ τῶν φυτευομένων. ὅριστο δὲ καὶ τοῖς προβατεύουσι τέλη μειζόνων τε καὶ ἐλαττῶνων ζῴων. καὶ τάδε ἐπραττόν ἐς πολυανδρίαν τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένους, φερεπονωτάτου σφίσιν ὄφθεντος, ἦνα συμμάχους οἰκείους ἔχοιεν. ἡ δὲ τούναντίον αὐτοῖς περιήγει. οἱ γὰρ πλοῦσιοι τῆς ἡτοί τὸν ἄνεμητον γῆς τῆν πολλὴν καταλαβόντες καὶ χρόνῳ θαρροῦντες οὐ τινα σφᾶς ἐπὶ ἀφαιρήσεσθαι τα τε ἄγχοι σφίσιν ὡσα τε ἤναλλα βραχέα πενήτων, τα μὲν ὀνούμενοι πειθοῖ, τὰ δὲ βία λαμβάνοντες, πεδία μακρὰ ἀντὶ χωρίων ἐγεώργουν, ὑπητοῖς ἐς αὐτὰ γεωργοῖς καὶ ποιμέσι χρώμενοι τοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἑλευθέρους ἐς τὰς στρατείας ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας περισπᾶν, φερούσης ἀμα καὶ τῆς τῆ ἑτήσεως αὐτοῖς πολύ κέρδος ἐκ
7. The Romans, as they subdued the Italian peoples successively in war, used to seize a part of their lands and build towns there, or enrol colonists of their own to occupy those already existing, and their idea was to use these as outposts; but of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part forthwith to the colonists, or sold or leased it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part), they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a toll of the yearly crops, a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a toll of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most laborious of peoples, so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, absorbing any adjacent strips and their poor neighbours' allotments, partly by purchase under persuasion and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using slaves as labourers and herdsmen, lest free labourers should be drawn from agriculture into the army. At the same time the ownership of slaves brought them great gain from the multitude of their progeny, who increased because

1 Appian is neither clear nor convincing here. He seems to confuse war-colonies and peace-colonies, those founded as 'propugnacula' and those which grew up on conquered territory.
ἈΠΙΑΝΟΣ ῬΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΤΩΝ ΧΡΩΜΕΝΩΝ Αὐξομένων ἐν τῷ ἀστρατείῳ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν οἰκονόμων δὲ ἐυπρόσδικοι πάμποι ἐπλούτωσαν, καὶ τὸ τῶν θεραπόντων γένος ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ἔπληθυν, τός δ᾽ Ἰταλιώτας ὀλυγότης καὶ δυσανδρία κατελάμβανε, τρυχομένους πενίᾳ τε καὶ ἐσφοράς καὶ στρατείαις. εἰ δὲ καὶ σχολάσθειν ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ ἄργίας διετῆθεν, τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἐχομένης καὶ γεωργοῖς χρωμένων θεράπουσιν ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων.

8. Ἐφ᾽ οίς ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσφόρει μὲν ὡς οὔτε συμμάχων ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐτι ἐυπορήσως οὔτε τῆς ἡγεμονίας οἱ γενησομένης αἰκίνητου διὰ πλῆθος τοσόνδε θεραπόντων. διόρθωσιν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπινοοῦστε, ὡς οὔδε ῥάδιον ὑπὸ οὐδὲ πάντῃ δίκαιον ἀνέπαρα τοσοῦσκε ἐκ τοσοῦτε ἐχρόνῳ κτῆσιν τοσοῦδε ἀφελέσθαι φιτῶν τε ἱδίων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ κατασκευῆς, μόλις ποτὲ τῶν δημάρχων εἰσηγουμένων ἑκριμαν μηδένα ἔχειν τῆς τῆς γῆς πλέθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα μηδὲ προβατεύειν ἕκατον πλείω τὰ μείζονα καὶ πεντακοσίων τὰ ἐλάσσονα. καὶ ἐς ταύτα δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀριθμὸν ἐλευθέρων ἔχειν ἐπέταξαν, οὐ τὰ γιγνόμενα φυλάξειν τε καὶ μηνύσειν ἐμελλον.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε νόμῳ περιλαβόντες ἐπώμοσαν ἐπὶ τῶν νόμον καὶ ξημίαν ὁρίσαν, ἤγοσον τὴν λοιπὴν γην αὐτίκα τοῖς πένησι κατ᾽ ἀλγὸν διαπεράσσεσθαι. φροντίς δ᾽ ὕποδεμιὰ ἦν οὔτε τῶν νόμων οὔτε τῶν ὀρκῶν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι οὕτως καὶ ἔδοκοιν φροντίσαι, τὴν γῆν ἐς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπὶ ὑποκρίσει
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they were exempt from military service. Thus certain powerful men became extremely rich and the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, being oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators.

8. For these reasons the people became troubled lest they should no longer have sufficient allies of the Italian stock, and lest the government itself should be endangered by such a vast number of slaves. As they did not perceive any remedy, for it was not easy, nor in any way just, to deprive men of so many possessions they had held so long, including their own trees, buildings, and fixtures, law was at last passed with difficulty at the instance of the tribunes, that nobody should hold more than 500 jugera\(^1\) of this land,\(^2\) or pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. To ensure the observance of this law it was provided also that there should be a certain number of freemen employed on the farms, whose business it should be to watch and report what was going on.

Having thus comprehended all this in a law, they took an oath over and above the law, and fixed penalties for violating it, and it was supposed that the remaining land would soon be divided among the poor in small parcels. But there was not the smallest consideration shown for the law or the oaths. The few who seemed to pay some respect to them conveyed their lands to their relations fraudulently, but the greater

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1 About 330 acres
2 "Of this land" (ager publicus), not land in general.
CAP. διένεμον, οί δὲ πολλοὶ τέλευν κατεφρόνουν,
9. μέχρι Τιβέριος Σεμπρώνιος Γράκχος, ἀνὴρ
ἐπιφανής καὶ λαμπρὸς ἐς φιλοτιμίαν εἰπεὶν τε
dυνατώτατος καὶ ἐκ τῶν δὲ ὀμοί πάντων γνωριμώ-
tatos ἀπασί, δημαρχῶν ἐσεμνολόγησε περὶ τοῦ
'Italike' γένους ὡς εὐπολεμωτάτου τε καὶ συγ-
γενοῦς, φθειρομένου δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς ἀπορίαν
cαὶ ὁλιγανδρίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἑλπίδα ἔχοντος ἐς
dιόρθωσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δουλικῷ δυσχεράνιας ὡς
ἀστρατεύτω καὶ οὕποτε ἐς δεσπότας πιστῶ, τὸ
ἐναγχος ἐπήνεγκεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δεσποτῶν πάθος
ὑπὸ θεραπόντων γενόμενου, ἡμὴμένων κακείνων
ἀπὸ γεωργίας, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς Ὁρμαίων
πόλεμον οὐ ράδιον οὐδὲ βραχὺν, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὲ μῆκος
χρόνον καὶ τροπᾶς κινδύνων ποικίλας ἐκτραπέντα.
ταῦτα δὲ εἰπῶν ἀνεκαίνιζε τὸν νόμον μηδένα τῶν
πεντακοσίων πλέθρων πλέον ἐχειν. παίσι δ' αὐτῶν
ὑπὲρ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον προσετίθει τὰ
ἡμίσεια τούτων καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τρεῖς αἱρετοὺς
ἀνδρας, ἐναλλασσομένους κατ' ἔτος, διανέμειν τοῖς
πένησι.
10. Τούτο δ' ἦν, ὁ μᾶλλον ἡνώχλει τοὺς
πλουσίους, οὐ δυσμένους ἔτι ὡς πρότερον τοὺ
nόμου καταφρονεῖν διὰ τοὺς διαιροῦντας οὐδὲ
ἀνείσθαι παρὰ τῶν κληρουμένων· ὁ γάρ τοι
Γράκχος καὶ τότε προϊδόμενος ἀπηγόρευε μὴ
πωλεῖν. συνιστάμενοι δὴ κατὰ μέρος ὀλοφύροντο
καὶ προύφερον τοῖς πένησιν ἄρχαία τε ἐργα
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part disregarded it altogether, 9. till at length Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an illustrious man, eager for glory, a most powerful speaker, and for these reasons well known to all, delivered an eloquent discourse, while serving as tribune, concerning the Italian race, lamenting that a people so valiant in war, and related in blood to the Romans, were declining little by little into pauperism and paucity of numbers without any hope of remedy. He inveighed against the multitude of slaves as useless in war and never faithful to their masters, and adduced the recent calamity brought upon the masters by their slaves in Sicily, where the demands of agriculture had greatly increased the number of the latter; recalling also the war waged against them by the Romans, which was neither easy nor short, but long-protracted and full of vicissitudes and dangers. After speaking thus he again brought forward the law, providing that nobody should hold more than the 500 jugera of the public domain. But he added a provision to the former law, that the sons of the occupiers might each hold one-half of that amount, and that the remainder should be divided among the poor by three elected commissioners, who should be changed annually.

10. This was extremely disturbing to the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, because Gracchus had provided against this by forbidding sales. They collected together in groups, and made lamentation, and accused the poor of appropriating

1 The reference is to the slave rebellion in 135.
2 *Triumviri agris dividendis.*
CAP. έαυτῶν καὶ φυτὰ καὶ οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τιμήν ἐνιοὶ δεδομένην γείτοσιν, εἰ καὶ τῆνδε μετὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπολέσουσι, τάφους τε ἐνιοὶ πατέρων ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ διαίρέσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς κλήροις ὠς πατρῴοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ προῖκας γυναικῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἀνηλωμένας ἢ τὴν γῆν παισίν ἐμπροῖκιοι δεδομένην, δανεισταὶ τε χρέα καὶ ταύτης ἐπεδείκνυον, καὶ ἄκοσμος ἢν ὅλως οἴμωγη καὶ ἀγανάκτησις. οἱ δ' αὕ πένητες ἀντω-δύροντο ἐξ εὐπορίας ἐς πενίαν ἐςχάτην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐς ἀγονίαν, οὐ δυνάμενοι παιδοτροφεῖν, περιφέρεσθαι. στρατείας τε ὅσας στρατεύσαιντο τῇ γῆν τῆνδε περιποιοῦμενοι, κατέλεγον καὶ ἡγανάκτουν, εἰ τῶν κοινῶν ἀποστερήσονται, ἀνείδιζον τε ἅμα αὕτως αἱρουμένοις ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ πολιτῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν θεράποντας, ἀπιστον ἐθνὸς καὶ δυσμενὲς αἰεὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀστράτευτον. τοιαῦτα ἐκατέρων ὑδυρμένων τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐπι-καλοῦντων, πλήθος ἄλλο, ὅσον ἐν ταῖς ἀποίκοις πόλεσιν ἢ ταῖς ἱσοπολιτίσιν ἢ ἄλλως ἐκοινώνει τήσδε τῆς γῆς, δεδιότες ὁμοίως ἐπῆσαν καὶ ἐς ἐκατέρους αὐτῶν διεμερίζοντο. πλήθει τε θαρ- ροῦντες ἐξετραχύνοντο καὶ στάσεις ἐξάπτουντες ἀμέτρους τὴν δοκιμασίαν τοῦ νόμου περιέμενον, οἱ μὲν ὡς οὐδεὶς τρόπῳ συγχωρήσοντες αὐτῶν γενέσθαι κύριον, οἱ δ' ὡς κυρῶσοντες ἐξ ἀπαντος.
the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbours. Were they to lose the money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others said that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once. On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor—that they were being reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness, because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they should be robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing slaves, who were always faithless and ill-disposed and for that reason unserviceable in war, instead of freemen, citizens, and soldiers. While these classes were thus lamenting and indulging in mutual accusations, a great number of others, composed of colonists, or inhabitants of the free towns, or persons otherwise interested in the lands and who were under like apprehensions, flocked in and took sides with their respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other they kindled considerable disturbances, and waited eagerly for the voting on the new law, some intending to prevent its enactment by all means, and others to enact it at all costs. In addition to personal interest the spirit of
CAP. φιλονικία δὲ ἐκατέρως προσέπιπτεν ἐπὶ τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ ἐς τὴν κυρίαν ἡμέραν παρασκευὴ κατ' ἀλλήλων.

11. Γράκχω δ' ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ βουλεύματος ἢν οὐκ ἐς εὐπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἐς εὐανδρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἔργου τῇ ὁφελείᾳ μάλιστα αἰωρούμενος, ὡς οὐ τι μεῖζον οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον δυναμένης ποτὲ παθεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας, τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸ δυσχεροὺς οὐδὲν ἐνεθυμέετο. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς χειροτονίας πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα προεἶπεν ἐπαγωγά καὶ μακρά, διηρώτα δ' ἐπ' ἐκεῖνος, εἰ δικαίων τὰ κοινὰ κοινὴ διανέμεσθαι καὶ εἰ γνησιώτερος αἰεὶ θεράποντος ὁ πολίτης καὶ χρησιμώτερος ὁ στρατιώτης ἀπολέμου καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις εὐνούστερος ὁ κοινωνός. οὐκ ἐς πολὺ δὲ τὴν σύγκρισιν ὡς ἀδοξον ἐπενεγκὼν αὕθις ἐπῆει τὰς τῆς πατρίδος ἐλπίδας καὶ φόβους διεξίων, ὦτι πλεῖστης γῆς ἐκ πολέμου βίᾳ κατέχουτε καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης χώραν ἐν ἐλπίδι ἑχοῦτε κινδυνεύονσιν ἐν τῷ δὲ περὶ ἀπάντων, ἡ κτήσασθαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δι' εὐανδρίαν ἢ καὶ τάδε δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ φθόνον ὑπ' ἔχθρων ἀφαιρεθῆναι. ὅν τοῦ μὲν τὴν δόξαν καὶ εὐπορίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ φόβου ὑπερεπαίρων ἐκέλευε τοὺς πλουσίους ἐνθυμομένους ταῦτα ἐπιδόσιμον, εἰ δέοι, παρὰ σφὼν αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν γῆν εἰς τὰς μελλούσας ἐλπίδας τοὺς παιδοτροφούσι χαρίσασθαι καὶ μή,
rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making against each other for the appointed day.

11. What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not money, but men. Inspired greatly by the usefulness of the work, and believing that nothing more advantageous or admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties surrounding it. When the time for voting came he advanced many other arguments at considerable length and also asked them whether it was not just to let the commons divide the common property; whether a citizen was not worthy of more consideration at all times than a slave; whether a man who served in the army was not more useful than one who did not; and whether one who had a share in the country was not more likely to be devoted to the public interests. He did not dwell long on this comparison between freemen and slaves, which he considered degrading, but proceeded at once to a review of their hopes and fears for the country, saying that the Romans possessed most of their territory by conquest, and that they had hopes of occupying the rest of the habitable world; but now the question of greatest hazard was, whether they should gain the rest by having plenty of brave men, or whether, through their weakness and mutual jealousy, their enemies should take away what they already possessed. After exaggerating the glory and riches on the one side and the danger and fear on the other, he admonished the rich to take heed, and said that for the realization of these hopes they ought to bestow this very land as a free gift, if necessary, on men who would rear children, and not,
by contending about small things, overlook larger ones; especially since for any labour they had spent they were receiving ample compensation in the undisputed title to 500 jugera each of free land, in a high state of cultivation, without cost, and half as much more for each son in the case of those who had sons. After saying much more to the same purport and exciting the poor, as well as others who were moved by reason rather than by the desire for gain, he ordered the clerk to read the proposed law.

12. Marcus Octavius, however, another tribune, who had been induced by those in possession of the lands to interpose his veto (for among the Romans the negative veto always defeats an affirmative proposal), ordered the clerk to keep silence. Thereupon Gracchus reproached him severely and adjourned the comitia to the following day. Then he stationed near himself a sufficient guard, as if to force Octavius against his will, and ordered the clerk with threats to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read, but when Octavius again forbade he stopped. Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the Senate for decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion, believing that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, and hastened to the senate-house. But, as he had only a few followers there and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the forum and said that he would take the vote at the comitia of the following day, both on the law and on the official rights of Octavius, to deter-

1 There is probably a gap in the text here.
δήμω τὴν ἄρχην ἐπέχειν. καὶ ἔπραξεν οὕτως· ἐπείτε γὰρ Ὀκτάουιος οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖς αὕθις ἐνστατο, ὁ δὲ προτέραν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ψήφου ἀνεδίδου.

Καὶ τῆς πρώτης φυλῆς καταψηφισμένης τὴν ἄρχην τὸν Ὀκτάουιον ἀποθέσθαι, ἐπιστραφεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Γράκχος ἐδείτο μεταθέσθαι. οὐ πειθομένου. δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ψήφους ἐπήγειν. οὐσῶν δὲ τὸτε φυλῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ συνδραμοσῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σὺν ὄργῃ τῶν προτέρων ἐπτακαίδεκα, ἢ μὲν ὁκτωκαιδεκάτη τὸ κύρος ἐμελλεν ἐπιθήσειν, ὁ δὲ Γράκχος αὕθις, ἐν ὦψει τοῦ δήμου, τότε μάλιστα κινδυνεύοντι τῷ Ὀκτάουιῳ λιπαρῶς ἐνέκειτο μὴ ἔργον ὁσίωτατον καὶ χρησιμώτατον Ἰταλία πάση συγχέαι μηδὲ σπουδὴν τοῦ δήμου τοσήμεθα ἀνατρέψαι, ὃ τι καὶ παρενδοῦναι προδυμομένῳ δήμαρχον ὄντα ἢρμοζε, καὶ μὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄρχην ἀφαιρουμένην περιδεῖν ἐπὶ καταγνώσει. καὶ τάδε λέγων καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρόμενος ἄκων ἄνδρα σύναρχον ἀτιμοῦν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπείθειν, ἐπήγε τὴν ψήφου. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀκτάουιος αὐτίκα ἰδιώτης γενόμενος διαλαθὼν ἀπεδίδρασκε, Κώντος δὲ Μούμμιος ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ δήμαρχος ἰδρύτο, καὶ ὁ νόμος ὁ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκυρώτο. 13. Διανέμειν τε αὐτὴν ἐκεχειροτόνητο πρῶτοι Γράκχος αὐτὸς, ὁ νομοθέτης, καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὁμόνυμος ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὅσ ἐκήρυεν τῷ νομοθέτῃ Κλαύδιος Ἀππιος, πάνυ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ὃς δεδιότος, μὴ τὸ ἔργον ἐκλειφθεῖ τοῦ νόμου, εἰ μὴ Γράκχος αὐτοῦ σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ κατάρχοιτο. Γράκχος δὲ
mine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold office. And this Gracchus did; for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus proposed to take the vote on him first.

When the first tribe voted to abrogate the magistracy of Octavius, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to desist from his veto. As he would not yield, he took the votes of the other tribes. There were thirty-five tribes at that time. The seventeen that voted first passionately supported the motion. If the eighteenth should do the same it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent a work which was most righteous and useful to all Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not to risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to his colleague. As Octavius was still unyielding he went on taking the vote. Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved. Quintus Mummius was chosen tribune in his place, and the agrarian law was enacted.

13. The first triumvirs appointed to divide the land were Gracchus himself, the proposer of the law, his brother of the same name, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, since the people still feared that the law might fail of execution unless Gracchus should take the lead with his whole family. Gracchus

1 Gaius Gracchus, at this time 20 years of age.
μεγαλαυχούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ὁία δὴ κτίστης οὐ μιὰς πόλεως οὐδὲ ἔνος γένους, ἀλλὰ πάντων, ὡσα ἦν Ἰταλία ἔθνη, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν παρεπέμπετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν κεκρατηκότες ἐς τοὺς ἁγροὺς ἀνεχώρουν, οθὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἐληλύθεσαν, οἱ δ' ἡσσήμενοι δυσφοροῦντες ἔτι παρέμενον καὶ ἐλογοποίουν οὐ χαιρήσειν Γράκχον, αὐτίκα ὅτε γένοιτο ἱδίωτης, ἀρχὴν τε ὑβρίσαντα ἱερὰν καὶ ἀσυλον καὶ στάσεως τοσὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐμβαλόντα.
became immensely popular by reason of the law and chap. I was escorted home by the multitude as though he were the founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy. After this the victorious party returned to the fields from which they had come to attend to this business. The defeated ones remained in the city and talked the matter over, feeling aggrieved, and saying that as soon as Gracchus should become a private citizen he would be sorry that he had done despite to the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, and had sown in Italy so many seeds of future strife.

II

14. It was now summer, and the election of chap. II tribunes was imminent. As the day for voting approached it was very evident that the rich had earnestly promoted the election of those most inimical to Gracchus. The latter, fearing that evil would befall if he should not be re-elected for the following year, summoned his friends from the fields to attend the election, but as they were occupied with harvest he was obliged, when the day fixed for the voting drew near, to have recourse to the plebeians of the city. So he went around asking each one separately to elect him tribune for the ensuing year, on account of the danger he was incurring for them. When the voting took place the first two tribes pronounced for Gracchus. The rich objected that it was not lawful for the same man to hold the office twice in succession. The tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to
15. Οίκτον δὲ πολλοῦ σὺν λογισμῷ τοὺς πέντες ἑπιλαμβάνοντος ὑπὲρ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἰσονόμῳ πολιτευσόντων ἔτι, ἀλλὰ δουλευσόντων κατὰ κράτος τοὺς πλουσίους, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Γράκχου, τοιαῦτα δεδιότος τε καὶ πάσχοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, σὺν τε οἰμωγῇ προπεμπόντων αὐτῶν ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐσπέρας καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐπικελευσόντων, ἀναθαρρήσας ὁ Γράκχος ἐτι νυκτὸς τοὺς στασιώτας συναγαγόν καὶ σημεῖον, εἰ καὶ μάχης δεήσειν, ὑποδείξας κατέλαβε τοῦ Καπιτωλίου τῶν νεῶν, ἔνθα χειροτονήσεις ἔμελλον, καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς ἐκκλησίας. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν δημάρχων καὶ τῶν πλουσίων, οὐκ ἔως ἀναδοθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν, ἀνέσχε τὸ σημεῖον. καὶ βοήσαν ἄριστο παρὰ τῶν συνειδότων γενομένης χειρέσ τε ἢσαν ἡδῆ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν Γρακχείων οἱ
preside over the comitia, was in doubt about it, and Mummius, who had been chosen in place of Octavius, urged him to hand over the comitia to his charge. This he did, but the remaining tribunes contended that the presidency should be decided by lot, saying that when Rubrius, who had been chosen in that way, resigned, the casting of lots ought to be done over again by all. As there was much strife over this question, Gracchus, who was getting the worst of it, adjourned the voting to the following day. In utter despair he went about in black, though still in office, and led his son around the forum and introduced him to each man and committed him to their charge, as if he himself felt that death, at the hands of his enemies, were at hand.

15. The poor when they had time to think were moved with deep sorrow, both on their own account (for they believed that they were no longer to live in a free estate under equal laws, but would be reduced to servitude by the rich), and on account of Gracchus himself, who was in such fear and torment in their behalf. So they all accompanied him with tears to his house in the evening, and bade him be of good courage for the morrow. Gracchus cheered up, assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a signal to be displayed if there were need for fighting. He then took possession of the temple on the Capitoline hill, where the voting was to take place, and occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was obstructed by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on this question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who knew of it, and violence followed. Some of the
CAP. μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφύλαττον οἶᾳ τινὲς δορυφόροι, οὶ δὲ τὰ ἱμάτια διαζωσάμενοι, βάσβους καὶ ξύλα τὰ ἐν χεραὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἄρπάσαντες τε καὶ διακλά-
σαντες ἐς πολλὰ, τοὺς πλουσίους ἐξήλαυνον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, σὺν τοσῷδε παράχω καὶ τραύ-
μασιν, ὡς τοὺς τε δημάρχους δείσαντας διαφυγεῖν ἐκ μέσου, καὶ τὸν νεὼν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐπικλείσαι,
δρόμον τε πολλῶν ἄκοσμου εἶναι καὶ φυγῆν καὶ
λόγον οὐκ ἀκριβῆ, τῶν μὲν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
dημάρχους ὁ Γράκχος παραλύσει τῆς ἀρχῆς (οὐ
gὰρ ὀρωμένων αὐτῶν εἶκαζον οὔτως), τῶν δ' ὅτι
αὐτῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐς τὸ μέλλον δημάρχον ἀνεν χειρο-
tοιάς ἀποφαίνει.

16. Γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων ἡ βουλὴ συνήλθεν
εἰς τὸ τῆς Πίστεως ἱερὸν. καὶ μοι θαῦμα κατα-
φάνεται τὸ πολλάκις ἐν τοιοῦτῳ φόβοις διὰ τῆς
αὐτοκράτορος ἀρχῆς διασεσωσμένους τότε μηδ' ἐπὶ
νοῦν τὸν δικτάτορα λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ χρησιμώ-
tάτον τοῖς προτέροις τὸ δέ τοῦ ἔργου εὑρεθὲν μηδ' ἐν
μνήμῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἁρά γενέσθαι μῆτε τότε
μήθ' ὡστερον. κρίναντες δ' ὅσα ἔκριναν ἐς τὸ
Καπιτάλλου ἀνήσαν. καὶ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς ὁ
μέγιστος ἀρχιερεὺς λεγόμενος εξήρχε τῆς ὁδοῦ,
Κορυφίλιος Σκιπίων ὁ Νασικάς· ἐβ' αὶ τὸ μέγιστον
ἐπέσθαί οἱ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας σφόνεθαι τὴν πατρίδα
καὶ τὸ κράσπεδον τοῦ ἱματίου ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴ
περιεύρατο, εἰτὲ τὸ παρασήμων τοῦ σχήματος
πλέοναὶ οἱ συντρέχειν ἐπιστώμενος, εἰτὲ πολέμον
τὶ σύμβολον τοῖς ὀρόσιν ὡς κόρυθα ποιούμενον,
eἰτε θεοὺς ἐγκαλυπτόμενος διὸ ἔμελλε δράσειν.
ἀνελθόντι δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῖς Γρακχεῖοις ἐπι-
δραμόντι εἶξαν μὲν ὡς κατ' ἄξιωσιν ἄνδρι ἀρίστω,
partisans of Gracchus took position around him like body-guards. Others, having girded up their cloaks, seized the fasces and staves in the hands of the tribunes and broke them in pieces. They drove the rich out of the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the temple. Many ran away pell-mell and scattered wild rumours. Some said that Gracchus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was believed because none of them could be seen. Others said that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election.

16. In these circumstances the Senate assembled at the temple of Fides. It is astonishing to me that they never thought of appointing a dictator in this emergency, although they had often been protected by the government of a single ruler in such times of peril; but a resource which had been found most useful in former times was never even recollected by the people, either then or later. After reaching such decision as they did reach, they marched up to the Capitol, Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the pontifex maximus, leading the way and calling out with a loud voice, "Let those who would save our country follow me." He wound the border of his toga about his head either to induce a greater number to go with him by the singularity of his appearance, or to make for himself, as it were, a helmet as a sign of battle for those who saw it, or in order to conceal himself from the gods on account of what he was about to do. When he arrived at the temple and advanced against the partisans of Gracchus they yielded out of regard for so excellent a citizen, and because they observed the
καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἀμα, οἱ θεωροῦντες ἐπιοῦσαν, οἱ
tὰ τὰ ξύλα τῶν Γρακχείων αὐτῶν περιστάσαντες,
ὅσα τε βάθρα καὶ ἀλλή παρασκευὴ ὡς ἐς ἐκκλη-
σίαν συνενήκετο διελόντες, ἔπαιον αὐτοῦς καὶ
edίωκον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἀπόκρημμα κατερρύπτουν. καὶ
τὸ δὲ τῷ κυδοιμῷ πολλοὶ τε τῶν Γρακχείων καὶ
Γράκχος αὐτός, εἰλούμενος περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀνηρέθη
cατὰ τὰς θύρας παρὰ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδρι-
άντας. καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς ἐξέρρησαν εἰς
tὸ ἱέριμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

17. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχου τοῦ διὸ
υπατεύσαντος καὶ Κορυνλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος τοῦ
Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἤγεμονίαν ἀφελομένου παῖς,
ἀρίστου βουλεύματος ἑνεκα, βιαίως αὐτῷ προσιῶν,
ἀνήρητο ἐτί δημαρχῶν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ. καὶ
πρώτον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ ὑπὸ μύσος γενόμενον οὐ
dιελίπτειν, αἰεί τινος ὁμοίου γιγαντίου παρὰ μέρος.
ἡ δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ τῷ Γράκχου φόνῳ διήρητο ἐς
λύπην καὶ ἡδονήν, οἱ μὲν οἰκτείροντες αὐτοὺς τέ
κακεῖνον καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὡς οὐκέτι πολιτείαν,
ἀλλὰ χειροκρατίαν καὶ βίαιν, οἱ δ' ἐξειργάσθαι
σφίσιν ἤγομένοι πᾶν, ὅσον ἔβολοντο.

III

18. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν, οτὲ Ἄριστονικὸς Ῥωμαῖοι
περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμει τῆς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ ἀναρι-
θέντος δὲ Γράκχου καὶ τελευτήσαντος Ἀππίων
Κλαυδίου, ἀντικαθίστανται μὲν ἐς τὸ τὴν γῆν ἀμα
Senators following with him. The latter wrestling their clubs out of the hands of the Gracchans themselves, or breaking up benches and other furniture that had been brought for the use of the assembly, began beating them, and pursued them, and drove them over the precipice. In the tumult many of the Gracchans perished, and Gracchus himself, vainly circling round the temple, was slain at the door close by the statues of the kings. All the bodies were thrown by night into the Tiber.

17. So perished on the Capitol, and while still tribune, Gracchus, the son of that Gracchus who was twice consul, and of Cornelia, daughter of that Scipio who robbed Carthage of her supremacy. He lost his life in consequence of a most excellent design too violently pursued; and this abominable crime, the first that was perpetrated in the public assembly, was seldom without parallels thereafter from time to time. On the subject of the murder of Gracchus the city was divided between sorrow and joy. Some mourned for themselves and for him, and deplored the present condition of things, believing that the commonwealth no longer existed, but had been supplanted by force and violence. Others considered that their dearest wishes were accomplished.

18. These things took place at the time when Aristonicus was contending with the Romans for the government of Asia; but after Gracchus was slain and Appius Claudius died, Fulvius Flaccus and

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1 Appian seems to mean not the slopes of the Capitoline Hill but the Tarpeian rock. He evidently exaggerates.
2 Or “huddled up near the temple” of Jupiter Capitolinus.
Τὸ νεωτέρον Γράκχω διανέμειν Φούλβιος Φλάκκος καὶ Πατίριος Κάρβων, ἀμελούντων δὲ τῶν κεκτημένων αὕτην ἀπογράφεσθαι κατηγόρους ἐκηρυττον ἐνδεικνύναι. καὶ ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν δικῶν χαλεπῶν ὅση γὰρ ἀλλή πλησιάζουσα τῇ ἐπέπρατο ἣ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπιδιήρητο, διὰ τὸ τῆςδε μέτρου ἐξητάζετο ἀπασά, ὅπως τε ἐπέπρατο καὶ ὅπως ἐπιδιήρητο, οὕτε τὰ συμβόλαια οὕτε τὰς κληρονομίας ἐτὶ ἔχοντων ἄπαντων ἢ δὲ καὶ εὑρίσκετο, ἀμφίλογα ἢν. ἀναμετρουμένης τε αὐτῆς οἱ μὲν ἐκ πεφυτευμένης καὶ ἐπαύλεων ἐς ψυλὴν μετετεθεντο, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἐνεργῶν ἐς ἀργὸν ἢ λίμνας ἢ τέλματα, οὐδὲ τήν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπὶ δορικτῆτοις ἀκριβῆ πεποιημένοι. καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, τὴν ἀνέμητον ἐξεργάζεσθαι τὸν ἐθέλοντα προλέγον, ἐπήρε πολλοὺς τὰ πλησίον ἑκπονοῦντας τὴν ἐκατέρας ὁφυν συγχέας. χρόνος τε ἐπελθὼν ἐνεόχυμωσε πάντα. καὶ τὸ τῶν πλουσίων ἀδίκημα καίπερ ὄν μέγα δυσεπιγνωστὸν ἦν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλῃ ἢ πάντων ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο μεταφερομένων τε καὶ μετοικι-ξομένων ἐς ἄλλοτρια.

19. Ταύτα τε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτως τῶν δικαζόντων ἑπείξεις οὐ φέροντες οἱ Ἰταλεῖδαι Κορινθίου Σκιπίωνα, ὸς Καγχήδονα ἐπόρθησεν, 36
Papirius Carbo were appointed, in conjunction with the younger Gracchus, to divide the land. As the persons in possession neglected to hand in lists of their holdings, a proclamation was issued that informers should furnish testimony against them. Immediately a great number of embarrassing lawsuits sprang up. Wherever a new field adjoining an old one had been bought, or divided among the allies, the whole district had to be carefully inquired into on account of the measurement of this one field, to discover how it had been sold and how divided. Not all owners had preserved their contracts, or their allotment titles, and even those that were found were often ambiguous. When the land was resurveyed some owners were obliged to give up their fruit-trees and farm-buildings in exchange for naked ground. Others were transferred from cultivated to uncultivated lands, or to swamps, or pools. In fact, the land having originally been so much loot, the survey had never been carefully done. As the original proclamation authorized anybody to work the undistributed land who wished to do so, many had been prompted to cultivate the parts immediately adjoining their own, till the line of demarcation between public and private had faded from view. The progress of time also made many changes. Thus the injustice done by the rich, although great, was not easy to ascertain. So there was nothing but a general turn-about, all parties being moved out of their own places and settling down in other people’s.

19. The Italian allies who complained of these disturbances, and especially of the lawsuits hastily brought against them, chose Cornelius Scipio, the
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ἡξίουν προστάτην σφῶν ἀδικουμένων γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' ἐσ τοὺς πολέμους αὐτοῖς κεχρημένος προθυμοτάτους ὕπεριδεῖν τε ὁρκὴν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον τὸν μὲν Γράκχου νόμον οὐκ ἔφευγε διὰ τὸν δήμου σαφῶς, τὴν δὲ τούτο δυσχέρειαν ἐπεξίων ἡξίου τὰς δίκας οὐκ ἔπε τῶν διαιροῦντων ὡς ὑπόπτων τοῖς δικαζομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑτέρων λέγεσθαι. ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔπεισεν, εἶναι δοκοῦντι δικαίῳ καὶ Τουδιανὸς αὐτοῖς ὑπατεύων ἐδοθῆ δικάζειν. ἀλλ' ὁδε μὲν ἀψάμενος τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τὴν δυσχέρειαν ἵδων ἐπ' Ἰλλυρίους ἐστράτευε, πρόφασιν τὴνδε ποιούμενος τοῦ μὴ δικάζειν, οἱ δὲ τὴν γῆν διανέμοντες, οὐκ ἀπαντώντος ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐδενὸς ἐς δίκην, ἐπὶ ἀργίας ἦσαν. καὶ μίσος ἐντεῦθεν ἦρξατο εἰς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἀγανάκτησις, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες ἐπιφθοὺς καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἐναντιωθέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὑπατόν τε δις ἐλόμενοι παρανόμως, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀντιπεπραχότα σφίσων ἑώρῳν. ταῦτα δ', ὅσοι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἦσαν ἔχθροι, κατιδότες ἐβόων, ὡς λέσαι τὸν Γράκχου νόμον ὅλως διεγνωκὼς μέλλοι πολὺν ἐπὶ τῷ δὲ ἐνοπλον φόνον ἐργάσασθαι.

20. Ὡν ὁ δήμος ἀκροώμενος ἐδεδείε, μέχρις ὁ Σκιπίων, ἐσπέρας παραθέμενος ἐαυτῷ δέλτον, εἰς ἧν νυκτὸς ἐμελέλε γράψειν τὰ λεχθησόμενα ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, νεκρὸς ἀνευ τραύματος εὐρέθη, εἰτε Κορνηλίας αὐτῷ, τῆς Γράκχου μητρός, ἐπιθεμένης, ἴνα μὴ ὁ νόμος ὁ Γράκχου λυθείη, καὶ συκλαβούσης ἐς τοῦτο Σεμπρονίας τῆς θυγατρός. ἦ τῷ
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK I

destroyer of Carthage, to defend them against these grievances. As he had availed himself of their very zealous support in war he was reluctant to disregard their request. So he came into the Senate, and although, out of regard for the plebeians, he did not openly find fault with the law of Gracchus, he expatiated on its difficulties and urged that these causes should not to be decided by the triumvirs, because they did not possess the confidence of the litigants, but should be assigned to other courts. As his view seemed reasonable, they yielded to his persuasion, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to give judgment in these cases. But when he took up the work he saw the difficulties of it, and marched against the Illyrians as a pretext for not acting as judge, and since nobody brought cases for trial before the triumvirs they remained idle. From this cause hatred and indignation arose among the people against Scipio because they saw a man, in whose favour they had often opposed the aristocracy and incurred their enmity, electing him consul twice contrary to law, now taking the side of the Italian allies against themselves. When Scipio’s enemies observed this, they cried out that he was determined to abolish the law of Gracchus utterly and for that end was about to inaugurate armed strife and bloodshed.

20. When the people heard these charges they were in a state of alarm until Scipio, after placing near his couch at home one evening a tablet on which to write during the night the speech he intended to deliver before the people, was found dead in his bed without a wound. Whether this was done by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (aided by her daughter, Sempronia, who though

39
Σκιπίων γαμομενή διὰ δυσμορφίαν καὶ ἀπαιδίαν οὔτ' ἐστέργετο οὐτ' ἐστεργεν, εἰθ', ὡς ἐνιοὶ δοκοῦσιν, ἐκὼν ἀπέθανε συνιδών, ὅτι οὐκ ἑσοτε δυνατὸς κατασχεῖν δυν ὑπόσχοιτο. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ βασανιζομένους φασὶ θεράποντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ξένοι δ' ὀπισθοδόμον υπκτός ἐπεισαχθέντες ἀποπνίξαεν καὶ οἱ πυθόμενοι ὁκυῆσαεν ἐξενεγκεῖν διὰ τὸν δήμον ὀργηζόμενον ἔτι καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ συνηδόμενον.

Σκιπίων μὲν δὴ τεθνήκει καὶ οὐδὲ δημοσίας ταφῆς ἥξιούτο, μέγιστα δὴ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὥφελησας: οὔτως ἡ παραυτικὰ ὀργὴ τῆς ποτὲ χάριτος ἑπικρατεῖ. καὶ τόδε δύνηλικοῦτον οὐα πάρεργον ἐπὶ τῇ Γράκχου στάσει συνέπεσε.

21. Τὴν δὲ διαίρεσιν τῆς γῆς οἱ κεκτημένοι καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ προφάσει ποικίλαις διέφερον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τινὲς εἰσηγοῦντο τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπαντας, οὗ δὴ περὶ τῆς γῆς μάλιστα ἀντέλεγον, εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἀναγράψαι, ὃς μείζον χάριτι περὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ διοισομένους. καὶ ἐδέχοντο ἀσμενοι τοῦθεν οἱ Ἰταλιῶται, προτιθέντες τῶν χωρίων τὴν πολιτείαν. συνέπρασσε τε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοῦτο μάλιστα πῶντων Φούλβιος Φλάκκος, ὑπατεύων ἀμα καὶ τὴν γῆν διανέμων. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἐχαλέπταυντε, τοὺς ὑπηκόους σφῶν ἱσοπολίτας εἰ ποιήσονται.

Καὶ τόδε μὲν τὸ ἐγχείρημα οὔτω διελύθη, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐν ἐλπίδι τέως τῆς γῆς γενόμενος ἥθυμεν·
married to Scipio was both unloved and unloving because she was deformed and childless), lest the law of Gracchus should be abolished, or whether, as some think, he committed suicide because he saw plainly that he could not accomplish what he had promised, is not known. Some say that slaves under torture testified that unknown persons were introduced through the rear of the house by night who suffocated him, and that those who knew about it hesitated to tell because the people were angry with him still and rejoiced at his death.

So died Scipio, and although he had been of extreme service to the Roman power he was not even honoured with a public funeral; so much does the anger of the present moment outweigh gratitude for the past. And this event, sufficiently important in itself, took place as a mere incident of the sedition of Gracchus.

21. Even after these events those who were in possession of the lands postponed the division on various pretexts for a very long time. Some proposed that all the Italian allies, who made the greatest resistance to it, should be admitted to Roman citizenship so that, out of gratitude for the greater favour, they might no longer quarrel about the land. The Italians were ready to accept this, because they preferred Roman citizenship to possession of the fields. Fulvius Flaccus, who was then both consul and triumvir, exerted himself to the utmost to bring it about, but the senators were angry at the thought of making their subjects equal citizens with themselves.

For this reason the attempt was abandoned, and the populace, who had been so long in the hope of
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

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όδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀσπάσιος ἐκ τῶν τὴν
γῆν διαρούντων ἐς δημαρχίαν ἐπιφαίνεται Γάιος
Γράκχος, ὁ Γράκχον τοῦ νομοθέτου νεώτερος
ἀδελφός, ἐς πολὺ μὲν ἡσυχάσας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ συμφορὰ: πολλῶν δ’ αὐτοῦ καταφρονούν-
tων ἐν τῷ θουλευτηρίῳ, παρῆγγειλεν ἐς δημαρχίαν.
καὶ περιφανέστατα αἱρεθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευε τῇ
θουλῇ, σιτηρέσιον ἐμμηνον ὀρίσας ἐκάστῳ τῶν
δημοτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων, οὐ πρότερον
εἰσθῆς διαδίδοσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὤξεως οὗτως ἐνὶ
πολιτεύματι τὸν δήμον ὑπηγάγετο, συμπράξαντος
αὐτῷ Φουλβίῳ Φλάκκου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τρόδε
καὶ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἠρητο δημαρχεῖν καὶ γὰρ τις
ἡδὴ νόμος κεκύρωτο, εἰ δημαρχὸς εὐδεῖο ταῖς
παραγγελίαις, τὸν δήμον ἐκ πάντων ἐπὶ λέγεσθαι.

22. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Γάιος Γράκχος οὗτος ἐδημάρχει
τὸ δεύτερον: οἶν ὁ ἔχων τὸν δήμον ἐμμισθόν,
ὑπηγετο καὶ τοὺς καλομένους ἱππέας, οὐ τὴν
ἀξίωσιν εἰς τὴν θουλῆς καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν ἐν
μέσῳ, δὴ ἔτέρου τοιοῦδε πολιτεύματος. τὰ δικα-
στήρια, ἄδοξοῦντα ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις, ἐς τοὺς
ἱππέας ἀπὸ τῶν θουλευτῶν μετέφερε, τὰ ὑπόγια
μάλιστα αὐτοῖς οὐνειδίξων, ὁτι Λύρηλιος Κόττας
καὶ Σαλινάτωρ καὶ τρίτος ἐπὶ τούτοις Μάνιος
Ἤκυλιος, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλών, σαφῶς δεδωρο-
δοκικότες ἀφείντο ὑπὸ τῶν δικασάντων, οὐ τε
πρέσβεις οἱ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ παρόντες σὺν φθόνῳ
ταῦτα περιόντες ἐκεκράγεσαν. ἀπερ ἡ θουλῆ
42
acquiring land, became disheartened. While they were in this mood Gaius Gracchus, who had made himself agreeable to them as a triumvirs, offered himself for the tribuneship. He was the younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus, the promoter of the law, and had been quiet for some time after his brother's death, but since many of the senators treated him scornfully he announced himself as a candidate for the office of tribune. Being elected with flying colours he began to lay plots against the Senate, and made the unprecedented suggestion that a monthly distribution of corn should be made to each citizen at the public expense. Thus he quickly got the leadership of the people by one political measure, in which he had the cooperation of Fulvius Flaccus. Directly after that he was chosen tribune for the following year, for in cases where there was not a sufficient number of candidates the law authorized the people to choose further tribunes from the whole body of citizens.

22. Thus Gaius Gracchus was tribune a second time. Having bought the plebeians, as it were, he began, by another like political manoeuvre, to court the equestrian order, who hold the middle place between the Senate and the plebeians. He transferred the courts of justice, which had become discredited by reason of bribery, from the senators to the knights, reproaching the former especially with the recent examples of Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and, third in the list, Manius Aquilius (the subduer of Asia), all notorious bribe-takers, who had been acquitted by the judges, although ambassadors sent to complain of their conduct were still present, going around uttering bitter accusations against them.
CAP. III. μάλιστα αἰδομένη ἡς τὸν νόμον ἐνεδίδον· καὶ ὁ δήμος αὐτῶν ἐκύρωσεν. καὶ μετηνέχθη μὲν ὥδε ἐς τοὺς ἰππέας ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ δικαστήρια· φασὶ δὲ κυρωθέντος μὲν ἄρτι τοῦ νόμου τὸν Γράκχον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἄθροις τὴν βουλὴν καθηρίκου, τοῦ δὲ ἔργου προϊόντος καὶ πείραν μειξόνως ἐτί ἐκφανῆναι τὸ ἔπος τὸ Γράκχου. τὸ τε γὰρ δικαίειν αὐτῶς Ἄρωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλιώταις ἀπασί καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευταῖς, ἔπι πάντι μέτρῳ, χρημάτων τε πέρι καὶ ἀτιμίας καὶ φυγῆς, τοὺς μὲν ἰππέας οὐ παύναι ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ὑπερετῆρε, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς ἱσα καὶ ὑπηκόους ἐποίει. συνιστάμενοι τε τοῖς δημάρχοις οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐς τὰς χειροτονίας καὶ ἀντι- λαμβάνοντες παρ’ αὐτῶν, ὁ τι θέλοιεν, ἐπὶ μέγα φόβον τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐχώρουν· ταχὺ τε περὶ ἄνεστράφθαι τὸ κράτος τῆς πολιτείας, τὴν μὲν ἀζ)findViewByIdburned mสอน eti tis bouleis exousies, tʰn de dynamin tōn ἱππεῶν. προϊόντες γὰρ οὕκ ἐδυνά- στενον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς ένύβριζον τοῖς βουλευταῖς παρὰ τὰς δίκας. τὴν τε δωροδοκίαν μεταλαβόντες καὶ γενεσάμενοι καὶ οἴκεις κερδῶν ἄθροών αἰσχρότερον ἔτι καὶ ἀμετρότερον αὐτοῖς ἐξρώντο. κατηγόρουσ τε ἐνετοῦσ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλουσίοις ἐπήγαγο ταίς τῶν δωροδοκίων δίκαια, συνιστάμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ βιαζόμενοι, πάμ- παν ἀνήρουν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἔθνος ὅλως τῆς τοιάσοδε εὐθύνης ἐπιλυπέιν καὶ στάσιν ἀλλήν τῶν δικα- στικῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐλάζσω τῶν προτέρου ἐς πολὺ παρασχεῖν.

23. Ὁ δὲ Γράκχος καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐτεμνεῖν ἀνὰ τὴν
The Senate was extremely ashamed of these things and yielded to the law, and the people ratified it. In this way were the courts of justice transferred from the Senate to the knights. It is said that soon after the passage of this law Gracchus remarked that he had broken the power of the Senate once for all, and the saying of Gracchus received a deeper and deeper significance by the course of events. For this power of sitting in judgment on all Romans and Italians, including the senators themselves, in all matters as to property, civil rights, and banishment, exalted the knights to be rulers over them, and put senators on the level of subjects. Moreover, as the knights voted in the election to sustain the power of the tribunes, and obtained from them whatever they wanted in return, they became more and more formidable to the senators. So it shortly came about that the political mastery was turned upside down, the power being in the hands of the knights, and the honour only remaining with the Senate. The knights indeed went so far that they not only held power over the senators, but they openly flouted them beyond their right. They also became addicted to bribe-taking, and when they too had tasted these enormous gains, they indulged in them even more basely and immoderately than the senators had done. They suborned accusers against the rich and did away with prosecutions for bribe-taking altogether, partly by agreement among themselves and partly by open violence, so that the practice of this kind of investigation became entirely obsolete. Thus the judiciary law gave rise to another struggle of factions, which lasted a long time and was not less baneful than the former ones.

23. Gracchus also made long roads throughout Italy
CAP. ΙΤαλίαν μακράς, πλήθος ἑργολάβων καὶ χειροτεχνῶν ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, ἐτοίμων ἐς ὁ τι κελεύοι, καὶ ἀποικίας ἐσηγεῖτο πολλὰς. καὶ τοὺς Ἀτίνους ἐπὶ πάντα ἐκάλει τὰ Ρωμαίων, ὡς οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς συγγενεῖς τῆς βουλῆς ἀντιστήναι δυνάμενης· τῶν τε ἐτέρων συμμάχων, οἷς οὐκ ἔχειν ψήφον ἐν ταῖς Ρωμαίοις χειροτονίαις φέρειν, ἐδίδου φέρειν ἀπὸ τούτῳ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν καὶ τούσδε ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις τῶν νόμων αὐτῷ συντελοῦντας. ἐφ’ ὧν δὴ μάλιστα ἡ βουλὴ διαταραχθεῖσα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκέλευσε προγράψαι μηδένα τῶν οὐ φερόντων ψήφουν ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει μηδὲ προσπελάζειν ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων παρὰ τὴν ἐσομένην περὶ τῶν ἐν τῶν νόμων χειροτονιῶν. Λίβιόν τε Δροῦσον, ἔτερον δήμαρχον, ἔπεισε κωλύσαι τοὺς Γράκχον νόμους, οὐκ ἐπιλέγοντα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς αἰτίας· δέδοται δὲ τῷ κωλύντι μηδ’ ἐπιλέγειν. ἔδωκαν δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι τὸν δήμον δώδεκα ἀποικίας· δὲ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ο δήμος ἁσθεῖς τῶν Γράκχου νόμων κατεφρόνησεν.

24. Ὅ δὲ τοῦ δημοκοπήματος ἐκπεσόν ἐς Λιβύην ἀμα Φουλβίῳ Φλάκκῳ, κάκεινῳ μεθ’ ὑπατείαν διὰ τάδε δημαρχεῖν ἐλομένῳ, διέπλευσεν, ἐψηφισμένης κατὰ δόξαν εὐκαρπίας ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰκιστῶν ἐπίτηδες ἱρμενῶν, ἵνα μικρὸν ἀποδημοῦντων ἀναπαύσατο ἡ βουλὴ τῆς δημοκοπίας. οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀποικίᾳ τὴν
and thus put a multitude of contractors and artisans under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished. He proposed the founding of numerous colonies. He also called on the Latin allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, since the Senate could not with decency refuse this privilege to men of the same race. To the other allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman elections, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in the enactment of laws which he had in contemplation. The Senate was very much alarmed at this, and it ordered the consuls to give the following public notice, "Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stades of it while voting is going on concerning these laws." The Senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to conciliate the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased with this that they scoffed at the laws proposed by Gracchus.

24. Having lost the favour of the rabble, Gracchus sailed for Africa in company with Fulvius Flaccus, who, after his consulship, had been chosen tribune for the same reasons as Gracchus himself. It had been decided to send a colony to Africa on account of its reputed fertility, and these men had been expressly chosen the founders of it in order to get them out of the way for a while, so that the Senate might have a

1 A short five miles.
CAP. III
πόλιν διέγραφον, ένθα ποτε Ἦν ἡ Καρχηδονίων, οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες, ὅτι Σκιπίων αὐτήν, ὅτε κατέσκαπτεν, ἐπηράσατο ἐς ᾗ κηλόβοτον εἶναι. διέγραφον δ' ἐς ἐξακισχίλους ἀντὶ ἑλλατῶν τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, ὡς καὶ τώδε τὸν δὴμον ὑπαξόμενοι. ἐπανελθόντες τε ἐς Ἄρωμην συνεκάλουν ἐξ ὅλης Ἰταλίας τοὺς ἐξακισχίλους. ἐπιστειλάντων δὲ τῶν ἐν Διβύῃ τὴν πόλιν ἐτι διαγραφόντων, ὅτι λύκοι τοὺς ὅρους Γράκχου τε καὶ Φουλβίου διέρρυσαν ἀνασπάσαντες, καὶ τῶν μάντεων τὴν ἀποκιάν ἤγομενῶν ἀπαίσιον, ἢ μὲν βούλῃ προέγραφεν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ἢ τὸν νόμον ἐμελλε τὸν περὶ τῇς ἀποκιάς λύσει. ο δὲ Γράκχος καὶ ο Φουλβίος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τούδε ἕξεπιπττον, μεμηνόσων ἐοικότες ἐψεύσατο τὴν βουλὴν ἐφασκὸν περὶ τῶν λύκων. οἱ τε θρασύτατοι τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῖς συνελάμβανον, ἐγχειρίδια φέροντες ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οὐ περὶ τῆς ἀποκιάς ἐκκλησιάσειν ἐμελλὼν.

25. Ἡδὲ δὲ τοῦ δήμου συνειλεγμένον καὶ Φουλβίον τι περὶ τούτων ἀρχομένον λέγειν, ο Γράκχος ἀνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν συνθεμένων δορυφορομένως. ἐνοχλούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότοις βουλεύμασι τὴν μὲν σύνοδον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέκλινεν, ἐς δὲ τὴν στοὰν παρελθὼν διεβάδιζεν, ἐφεδρεύων τοῖς ἐσομένοις. καὶ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα θορύβου κατιδῶν δημότης ἀνὴρ 'Αντύλλος ἐν τῇ στοὰ θύων, ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χείρα, εἶτε τι πυθόμενος ἢ ὑποπτεύων ἢ ἀλλως ἐς τὸν λόγον ὑπαχθεῖς, ἥξιον 48
respite from demagogism. They marked out the city for the colony on the place where Carthage had formerly stood, disregarding the fact that Scipio, when he destroyed it, had devoted it with solemn imprecations to sheep-pasturage for ever. They assigned 6000 colonists to this place, instead of the smaller number fixed by law, in order further to curry favour with the people thereby. When they returned to Rome they invited the 6000 from the whole of Italy. The functionaries who were still in Africa laying out the city wrote home that wolves had pulled up and scattered the boundary marks made by Gracchus and Fulvius, and the soothsayers considered this an ill omen for the colony. So the Senate summoned the comitia, in which it was proposed to repeal the law concerning this colony. When Gracchus and Fulvius saw their failure in this matter they were furious, and declared that the Senate had lied about the wolves. The boldest of the plebeians joined them, carrying daggers, and proceeded to the Capitol, where the assembly was to be held in reference to the colony.

25. Now the people had come together already, and Fulvius had begun speaking about the business in hand, when Gracchus arrived at the Capitol attended by a body-guard of his partisans. Conscience-stricken by what he knew about the extraordinary plans on foot he turned aside from the meeting-place of the assembly, passed into the portico, and walked about waiting to see what would happen. Just then a plebeian named Antyllus, who was sacrificing in the portico, saw him in this disturbed state, laid his hand upon him, either because he had heard or suspected something, or was moved to
CAP. III

Φείσασθαι τής πατρίδος. ο δὲ μᾶλλον τε θόρυβηθεὶς καὶ δείσας ως κατάφωρος ἐνέβλεσεν αὐτῷ ἅρμυς καὶ τις τῶν παρόντων, οὔτε σημείου τινὸς ἔπαρθέντος οὔτε προστάγματος πω γεγονότος, ἐκ μόνης τῆς ἐσ τὸν 'Ἀντύλλον Γράκχον δριμύτητος εἰκάσας ἥδη τὸν καιρὸν ἥκειν καὶ χαριεῖσθαί τι τῷ Γράκχῳ δόξας πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος ἔργον, τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐπιστάσας διαχρήται τὸν 'Ἀντύλλον. Βοῆς δὲ γενομένης καὶ σώματος ὄφθεντος ἐν μέσῳ νεκροῦ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεπῆδων σὺν ὁμοίῳ κακοῦ φόβω.

Γράκχος δ᾽ ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν παρελθὼν ἐβουλέτο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκλογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος· οὐδενὸς δ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐδ᾽ υφισταμένου, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐναγή πάντων ἐκτρεπομένων, ῥ μὲν Γράκχος καὶ ὁ Φλάκκος ἀπορούμενοι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν ὅν ἐβουλεύοντο διὰ τὸ φθάσαι τὴν ἐγχειρίσιν ἀπολωλεκότες ἐς τὰς οἰκίας διέτρεχον, καὶ οἱ συνθέμενοι αὐτοῖς συνήθεαν ἕς αὐτάς, τὸ δ᾽ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τινι κακῷ τὴν ἁγορὰν προκατελάμβανον. καὶ δ᾽ ἐπεδῆμει τῶν ὑπάτων, Ὁπίμιος, διέτασε μὲν τινὰς ἐνόπλους ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀμα ἐς συνενέω καὶ τὴν βουλὴν διὰ κηρύκων συνεκάλει, αὐτοῖς δ᾽ ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐν τῷ νεώ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐσωμένοις.

26. Τάδε ἦν τοιάδε. ἦ μὲν βουλὴ Γράκχον καὶ Φλάκκον ἕκ τῶν οἰκίων ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκάλουν, οἵ δὲ σὺν ὀπλοῖς ἔξεθεν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αβεντίνου λόφον, ἐξπίσταντες, εἰ τούτῳ προλάβοιεν, ἐνδόσειν πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας αὐτοῖς τι τὴν βουλὴν. διαθέοιτο τε τοὺς θεράπουται.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK 1

speak to him for some other reason, and begged him to spare his country. Gracchus, still more disturbed, and startled like one detected in a crime, gave the man a sharp look. Then one of his party, although no signal had been displayed or order given, inferred merely from the angry glance that Gracchus cast upon Antyllus that the time for action had come, and thought that he should do a favour to Gracchus by striking the first blow. So he drew his dagger and slew Antyllus. A cry was raised, the dead body was seen in the midst of the crowd, and all who were outside fled from the temple in fear of a like fate.

Gracchus went into the assembly desiring to exculpate himself of the deed, but nobody would so much as listen to him. All turned away from him as from one stained with blood. So both he and Flaccus were at their wits' end and, having lost through this hasty act the chance of accomplishing what they wished, they hastened to their homes, and their partisans with them. The rest of the crowd occupied the forum after midnight as though some calamity were impending, and Opimius the consul who was staying in the city, ordered an armed force to gather in the Capitol at daybreak, and sent heralds to convoke the Senate. He took his own station in the temple of Castor and Pollux in the centre of the city and there awaited events.

26. When these arrangements had been made the Senate summoned Gracchus and Flaccus from their homes to the senate-house to defend themselves. But they ran out armed toward the Aventine hill, hoping that if they could seize it first the Senate would agree to some terms with them. As they
CAP. συνεκάλουν ἐπ' ἐλευθερία. καὶ τὸν δὲ μὲν οὐδεὶς ὑπίκουνεν, ἀυτὸν δὲ, σὺν ὁσίοις εἶχον ἀμφ' ἀυτούς, τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον καταλαβόντες ἐκρατύνοντο καὶ Κῴντον Φλάκκου παίδα ἐς τὴν βουλήν ἐπεμποῦν, δεόμενοι διαλλαγὴν τυχεῖν καὶ βιοῦν μεθ' ὁμονοίας. οἳ δ' ἐκέλευν αὐτοὺς ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὁπλα ἢκεν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν, ὃ τι θέλοιεν, ἢ μηκέτι πέμπεις μηδένα. τὸν δ' αὐθες τὸν Κῴντον ἐπιπεμψάντων, τὸνδὲ μὲν Ὀπίμοιον τὸ ὑπάτος διὰ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν, ὡς οὐκέτι πρεσβευτὴν ὄντα, συνελάμβανε, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Γράκχον τοὺς ὅπλισμένους ἐπέπεμπεν.

Καὶ Γράκχος μὲν διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας γεφύρας ἐς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφυγὼν ἐς ἄλσος τι μεθ' ἑνὸς θεράπουντος ὑπέσχε τῷ θεράπουτι τὴν σφαγὴν καταλαμβανόμενος. Φλάκκου δ' ἐς ἐργαστήριον ἀνδρὸς γνωρίσμου καταφυγόντος, οἳ μὲν διώκοντες, τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰδότες, ἰδοὺ ἐμπρήσειν τὸν στενωπὸν ἠπείλουν, ὃ δ' ὑποδεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὁκνησε μηνύσαι τὸν ἰκέτην, ἐτέρῳ δὲ προσέταξε μηνύσαι. καὶ συλληφθεὶς ὁ Φλάκκος ἀνηρέθη. Γράκχον μὲν δὴ καὶ Φλάκκον τὰς κεφαλὰς ἑφερὸν τινες Ὀπιμῶ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ὀπίμοιος ἰσοβαρές ἀντέδωκεν, ὃ δὲ δήμος αὐτῶν τὰς οἰκίας διήρπαξε, καὶ τοὺς συμφρονήσαντας ὁ Ὀπίμοιος συλλαβῶν ἐς τὴν φυλακὴν ἐνεβαλε τε καὶ ἀποπυνιγήναι προσέταξε. Κῴντω δὲ τῷ Φλάκκου παίδη συνεχορήσεν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς θέλοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις ἐκάθαιρε. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ νεων Ὀμονοίας αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ προσέταξεν ἐγείραι.

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ran through the city they offered freedom to the slaves, but none listened to them. With such forces as they had, however, they occupied and fortified the temple of Diana, and sent Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to the Senate seeking to come to an arrangement and to live in harmony. The Senate replied that they should lay down their arms, come to the senate-house, and tell them what they wanted, or else send no more messengers. When they sent Quintus a second time the consul Opimius arrested him, as being no longer an ambassador after he had been warned, and at the same time sent his armed men against the Gracchans.

Gracchus fled across the river by the wooden bridge with one slave to a grove, and there, being on the point of arrest, he presented his throat to the slave. Flaccus took refuge in the workshop of an acquaintance. As his pursuers did not know which house he was in they threatened to burn the whole row. The man who had given shelter to the suppliant hesitated to point him out, but directed another man to do so. Flaccus was seized and put to death. The heads of Gracchus and Flaccus were carried to Opimius, and he gave their weight in gold to those who brought them, but the people plundered their houses. Opimius then arrested their fellow-conspirators, cast them into prison, and ordered that they should be strangled; but he allowed Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to choose his own mode of death. After this a lustration of the city was performed for the bloodshed, and the Senate ordered the building of a temple to Concord in the forum.

1 The Pons Sublicius, which rested on wooden piles.
Καὶ ἡ στάσις ἡ τοῦ δευτέρου Γράκχου ἐς τάδε ἐληγεῖ· νόμος τε οὐ πολὺ ύστερον ἐκυρώθη τὴν γῆν, ὑπὲρ ὑσ διεφέροντο, ἐξεῖναι πιπράσκειν τοῖς ἔχουσιν· ἀπείρητο γὰρ ἐκ Γράκχου τοῦ πρωτέρου καὶ τάδε. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ πλοῦσιοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ἐωνοῦντο, ἦ ταῖσδε ταῖς προφάσεσιν ἐβιάζοντο. καὶ περιήν ἐς χεῖρον ἔτι τοῖς πένησι, μέχρι Σπούριος Θόριος δημαρχῶν εἰςηγήσατο νόμον, τὴν μὲν γῆν μηκέτι διανέμειν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τῶν ἔχοντων, καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ δήμῳ κατατίθεσθαι καὶ τάδε τὰ χρήματα χωρεῖν ἐς διανομάς. ὅπερ ἦν μὲν τις τοῖς πένησι παρηγορία διὰ τὰς διανομάς, ὁφελος δ' οὔδεν ἐς πολυπληθίαν. ἀπαξ δὲ τοῖς σοφίσμασι τοῖσδε τοῦ Γρακχείου νόμου παραλυθέντος, ἄριστον καὶ ὁφελιμωτάτου, εἰ ἐδύνατο πραχθῆναι, γενομένου, καὶ τοὺς φόρους οὐ πολὺ ύστερον διέλυσε δημαρχὸς ἔτερος, καὶ ὁ δήμος ἁθρόως ἀπάντων ἐξεπεπτώκει. ὅθεν ἐσπάνιζον ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὁμοῦ πολιτῶν τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ γῆς προσόδου καὶ διανομῶν καὶ νομῶν, πεντεκαίδεκα μάλιστα ἔτεσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Γράκχου νομοθεσίας, ἐπὶ δίκαιον ἐν ἀργίᾳ γεγονότες.
IV

27. Thus the sedition of the younger Gracchus came to an end. Not long afterward a law was enacted to permit the holders to sell the land about which they had quarrelled; for even this had been forbidden by the law of the elder Gracchus. At once the rich began to buy the allotments of the poor, or found pretexts for seizing them by force. So the condition of the poor became even worse than it was before, until Spurius Thorius, a tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that the work of distributing the public domain should no longer be continued, but that the land should belong to those in possession of it, who should pay rent for it to the people, and that the money so received should be distributed; and this distribution was a kind of solace to the poor, but it did not help to increase the population. By these devices the law of Gracchus—a most excellent and useful one, if it could have been carried out—was once for all frustrated, and a little later the rent itself was abolished at the instance of another tribune. So the plebeians lost everything, and hence resulted a still further decline in the numbers both of citizens and soldiers, and in the revenue from the land and the distribution thereof and in the allotments themselves; and about fifteen years after the enactment of the law of Gracchus, by reason of a series of lawsuits, the people were reduced to unemployment.¹

¹ The Greek seems corrupt here. Read, perhaps, ταῖς καὶ ταῖς: "found various pretexts."
² The reading is not certain. Perhaps we should understand "[the Commissioners for distributing the land] were reduced to idleness by a series of lawsuits."
CAP. IV 28. Τὸ δὲ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ Σκυπίων ὕπατος καθεῖλε τὸ θέατρον, οὐ Δεύκιος Κάσσιος ἤρκτο (καὶ ἥδη ποὺ τέλος ἐλάμβανεν), ὥς καὶ τὸ δέ στάσεων ἄρξον ἐτέρων ἢ ὦ χρήσιμον ὄλως Ἐλληνικάς ἡδυπαθεῖαις Ῥωμαίους ἐθέξεθαι. τιμηθῆς δὲ Κόντος Καυκίλιος Μέτελλος Γλαυκίαν τε θουλεύοντα καὶ Ἀπουλήν Σατορνίνου δεδημαρχηκότα ὦδη τῆς ἀξιώσεως παρέλυεν, αἰσχρῶς βιοῦντας, οὐ μὴν ἐδυνήθη· ὁ γὰρ οἱ συνάρχοι οὐ συνέθετο. μικρὸν οὖν ὑστερον ὁ Ἀπουλής ὡς ἀμυνούμενος τὸν Μέτελλον ἐς ἐτέραν παρῆγγελλε δημαρχίαν, φυλάξας στρατηγοῦντα τὸν Γλαυκίαν καὶ τῆσδε τῶν δημάρχων τῆς χειροτονίας προεστῶτα. Νώνιος μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανῆς ἀνήρ, ἐς τὸν Ἀπουλήν παρρησία χρώμενος καὶ Γλαυκίαν ἐξονείδίζων δήμαρχος ἀπεδείχθη. δεῖσαντες δὲ ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλής, μὴ δημαρχῶν αὐτοὺς ἀμύνατο, ὁχλοῦ ἀνδρῶν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποίητο ἐπιτέμπουσι σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ ἐς τι πανδοχεῖον συμφυγόντα κατεκέντησαν. τοῦ δὲ πάθους οἰκτροῦ καὶ δεινοῦ φανέντος οἱ περὶ τὸν Γλαυκίαν, οὕτω τοῦ ἀὑμοῦ συνελθόντος, ἀμὲν ἔως χειροτονοῦσι δήμαρχον τὸν Ἀπουλήν.

Καὶ τὸ μὲν Νωνίου πάθος ὁδὲ ἐσιγνῆθη διὰ τὴν δημαρχίαν Ἀπουλῆν, δεδιότων αὐτῶν ἐτί ἐξελέγχειν. 29. ἐξηλάθη δὲ καὶ Μέτελλος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, προσλαβόντων Γάιον Μάριον ἔκτην ἀρχοῦτα ὑπατεῖαν, ἐχθρὸν ἅφανὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου. καὶ συνεπτραξαν ὃδε ἀπαντεῖς ἀλλήλους. ὁ μὲν Ἀπουλής νόμον ἐσεῖφερε διαδάσασθαι γῆν, ὅσην ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλουμένη Γαλατία Κίμβρου γένος
28. About this time the consul Scipio [Nasica] demolished the theatre begun by Lucius Cassius, and now nearly finished, because he considered this also a likely source of new seditions, or because he thought it far from desirable that the Romans should become accustomed to Grecian pleasures. The censor, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, attempted to degrade Glaucia, a senator, and Apuleius Saturninus, who had already been a tribune, on account of their disgraceful mode of life, but was not able to do so because his colleague would not agree to it. Accordingly Apuleius, a little later, in order to have revenge on Metellus, became again a candidate for the tribuneship, seizing the occasion when Glaucia held the office of praetor, and presided over the election of the tribunes; but Nonius, a man of noble birth, who used much plainness of speech in reference to Apuleius and reproached Glaucia bitterly, was chosen for the office. They, fearing lest he should punish them as tribune, made a rush upon him with a crowd of ruffians just as he was going away from the comitia, pursued him into an inn, and stabbed him. As this murder bore a pitiful and shocking aspect, the adherents of Glaucia came together early the next morning, before the people had assembled, and elected Apuleius tribune.

In this way the killing of Nonius was hushed up, since everybody was afraid to call Apuleius to account because he was a tribune; 29. and Metellus also was banished by his enemies with the help of Gaius Marius, who was then in his sixth consulship, and was his secret enemy. Thus they all worked with each other. Then Apuleius brought forward a law to divide the land which the Cimbri (a Celtic tribe
Κελτῶν κατειλήφεσαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάριος ἔναγχος ἐξελάσας τὴν γῆν ὡς οὐκέτι Γαλατῶν ἐς Ῥωμαίους περιεσπάκει. προσέκειτο δὲ, εἰ κυρώσει τὸν νόμον ὁ δῆμος, τὴν βουλὴν πένθ’ ἡμέραις ἐπομόσαι πεισθῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, ἢ τὸν ὁὐκ ὁμόσαντα μήτε βουλεύειν καὶ ὡφλεῖν τῷ δήμῳ τάλαντα εὔκοσιων, ὑπονοοῦντες οὕτως ἄλλους τε τῶν δυσχεραινότων ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ Μέτελλουν ὑπὸ φρονήματος οὐκ ἔνδωσοντα ἐς τὸν ὄρκον. ὁ μὲν δὴ νόμος ὡδὲ εἴχεν, καὶ ὁ Ἀπουλήσιος ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ προντίθει καὶ περιέπεμπτε τοὺς ἑξαγγέλλοντας τοῖς οὕσιν ἀνὰ τοὺς ἁγροῦς, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐθάρρουν ὑπεστρατευμένοις Μαρίῳ. πλεονεκτούντων δ’, ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὁ δῆμος ἐδυσχέραινε.

30. Καὶ στάσεως ἐν τῇ κυρίᾳ γενομένης, ὅσοι μὲν ἐκώλυν τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς νόμους, ύβρι-ξόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Ἀπουλῆσιον κατεπήδων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὥχλος ἑβάδα ὡς γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βροντῆς, θεῖεν οὐ̱ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίους οὐ̱δὲν ἐτὶ κυροῦν. βιαιξομένων δὲ καὶ ὡς τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀπουλῆσιον οἱ πολιτικοὶ τὰ τῇ ἱμάτια διαξω-σάμενοι καὶ τὰ προστυχόντα ξύλα ἄρτασάν τε τῶν ἁγροίκων διέστησαν. οἱ δ’ αὐθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπουλῆσιον συγκαλούμενοι μετὰ ξύλων καὶ οἴδε τῶς ἁστικοῖς ἐπῆσαν καὶ βιαιζομένοι τῷ νόμῳ ἐκύρωσαν. κυρωθέντος δ’ αὐτίκα Μάριος ὀλ’ ὑπατος τῇ βουλῇ προντίθει σκοπεῖν περὶ τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ τὸν Μέτελλον εἴδως στερρόν τε τῇ.
lately driven out by Marius) had seized in the country now called Gaul by the Romans, and which was considered as no longer Gallic but Roman territory. It was provided also in this law that, if the people should enact it, the senators should take an oath within five days to obey it, and that any one who should refuse to do so should be expelled from the Senate and should pay a fine of twenty talents for the benefit of the people. Thus they intended to punish those who should take it with a bad grace, and especially Metellus, who was too high-spirited to submit to the oath. Such was the proposed law. Apuleius appointed the day for holding the comitia and sent messengers to inform those in country districts, in whom he had most confidence, because they had served in the army under Marius. As the law gave the larger share to the Italian allies the city people were not pleased with it.

30. A disturbance broke out in the comitia. Those who attempted to prevent the passage of the laws proposed by the tribunes were assaulted by Apuleius and driven away from the rostra. The city crowd exclaimed that thunder was heard in the assembly, in which case it is not permitted by Roman custom to finish the business that day. As the adherents of Apuleius nevertheless persisted, the city people girded themselves, seized whatever clubs they could lay their hands on, and dispersed the rustics. The latter were rallied by Apuleius; they attacked the city folks with clubs, overcame them, and passed the law. As soon as this was done Marius, as consul, proposed to the Senate that they should consider the question of the oath. Knowing that Metellus was a man of stiff opinions and resolute
CAP. IV γνώμη καὶ βέβαιον ἐφ’ ὦ τι φρονήσειν ἢ εἰπεῖν


φθάσειν, ἐτίθει πρῶτος ἐς μέσον τὴν γνώμην τὴν


ἐαυτοῦ μετ’ ἐνέδρας καὶ ἐλεγεν, ὡς οὐποτε τὸν


ὄρκον ἐκὼν τόνδε αὐτὸς ὀμόσει. συναποφημιμένου
dὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων


αὐτοὺς ἐπανεσάντων, ὁ Μάριος διέλυσε τὴν


βουλὴν. εἶτα τῆς πέμπτης ἡμέρας, ἢ τοῦ ὀρκῳ


tελευταίᾳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἦν, ἀμφὶ δεκάτῃ ὠραν


αὐτοὺς κατὰ σπουδὴν συμαγαγών ἐφή τὸν δήμον


ἐσπουδακότα περὶ τὸν νόμον δεδίεναι, μηχανήν δ’


ὁρᾶν καὶ σόφισμα τοίονδε· ὀμόσειν γάρ, ἢ νόμος


ἔστι, τῶδε πεισθῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ νῦν μὲν


οὕτω διασκεδαίν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐνηδρευ-


μένουσι, ὑστερον δ’ οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐπιδείξειν, ὡτι οὐκ


ἔστι νόμος ο πρὸς βίαν τε καὶ βροντῆς ἁνο-


μασμένης κεκυρωμένος παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.


31. Ταῦτα δ’ εἰπὼν καὶ τέλος οὐδὲν ἀναμείνας,


πάντων ἐτί σιωπῶντων ὑπ’ ἐκπλήξεως ἐπὶ τῇ


ἐνέδρᾳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ δεδαπανημένῳ, οὐδ’ ἐνθυμη-


θήματι παρασχῶν αὐτοῖς ἐξανίστατο ἐς τὸν τοῦ


Κρόνου νεὼν, οὐ τοὺς ταμίας ἐχρῆ ὁμώνυμαι, καὶ


ὁμοῦν τό νόμος ὁ φίλος πρῶτος. ὁμιλῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ


λοιποι, τὸ ἐαυτοῦ δεδῶς ἐκαστος· Μέτελλος δ’


οὐκ ὡμοσε μόνος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρε-


σεως διέμεινεν ἄφοβως. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθύς τῆς


ἐπιουσίας ὁ Ἀπουλῆς ἐπιπέμψας τὸν ὑπηρέτην


ἐξειλκεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. ὑμομένων δὲ


tῶν ἐτέρων δημάρχων, ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπου-


λῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄγροικους ἐκδραμόντες οὐκ ἐφασκον


αὐτοίς ἐσεσθαι τὴν γῆν οὔδε τὸν νόμον κύριον, εἰ


μὴ Μέτελλος ἐξελαθείη. ὕψιστα τε φυγῆς


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about anything he either felt or had committed to by word of mouth, he himself first gave his own opinion publicly, but hypocritically, saying that he would never willingly take this oath himself. When Metellus had agreed with him in this, and the others had approved them both, Marius adjourned the Senate. On the fifth day thereafter (the last day prescribed in the law for taking the oath) he called them together in haste about the tenth hour, saying that he was afraid of the people because they were so zealous for the law. He saw a way, however, to avoid it, and he proposed the following trick—to swear that they would obey this law as far as it was a law, and thus at once disperse the country people by stratagem. Afterward it could be easily shown that this law, which had been enacted by violence and after thunder had been reported, contrary to the custom of their ancestors, was not really a law.

31. After speaking thus he did not wait for the result, but while all were in silent amazement at the plot, and confused because there was no time to be lost, giving them no opportunity for thinking, he rose and went to the temple of Saturn, where the quaesitors were accustomed to administer oaths, and took the oath first with his friends. The rest followed his example, as each one feared for his own safety. Metellus alone refused to swear, but stood fearlessly by his first determination. Apuleius at once on the next day sent his officer for him and tried to drag him out of the senate-house. But when the other tribunes defended him Glaucia and Apuleius hastened to the country people and told them that they would never get the land, and that the law would not be executed, unless Metellus were banished. They
CAP. ἐπέγραφον αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐπικηρύξαι προσετίθεσαν μηδένα Μετέλλω κοινωνεῖν πυρὸς ἢ ὕδατος ἢ στέγης· ἦς τε τὴν δοκιμασίαν τούδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἦμέραν προνύγαφον. δεινῆς δὲ τῶν ἀστικῶν ἀγανακτήσεως ὦσης καὶ παραπεμπόντων Μετέλλου αἰεὶ σὺν ξιφίδιοις, ὁ Μετέλλος αὐτοὺς ἀσπασάμενος καὶ ἐπαινέσας τῆς προαιρέσεως οὐκ ἔφη δὲ ἐαυτὸν ἑάσειν οὐδένα κινδυνοῦν ἐπιγενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι. καὶ τὸδε εἰπὼν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τὸ ψηφισμα ὁ Ἀπούλης ἐκύρων, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι Μάριος ἐπεκήρυττεν.

32. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ Μετέλλος, ἀνὴρ εὐδοκιμώτατος, ἐφευγε, καὶ ὁ Ἀπούλης ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τρίτον ἐδημάρχει. καὶ τις αὐτῷ συνήρχε κρατῆς εἶναι νομιζόμενος, Γράκχον ἑαυτῷ τὸν πρεσβύτερον πατέρα ἐπιγράφον. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ συνεπεπράχει περὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν πόθῳ Γράκχου. προτεθείσης δὲ ὑπάτων χειροτονίας, Μάρκος μὲν Ἀυτώνιος ἔπι τὴν ἑτέραν ἀναμφιλόγως ἱρέθη, τὴν δὲ ὑπόλοιπον Γλαυκίας ὁδε καὶ Μέμμιος μετήσαν. Μεμμίον δὲ ὄντος ἐπιδόξοτέρου παρὰ πολὺ, δείσας ὁ Γλαυκίας καὶ ὁ Ἀπούλης ἐπιπέμπουσα τινὰς αὐτῷ σὺν ξύλοις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, οὐ τὸν Μέμμιον παίοντες ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ὀρόντων συνέκοψαν.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία θορυβηθείσα διελύτο ὡστε νόμων οὕτε δικαστηρίων οὕτε τινὸς αἰδοῦς ἐτὶ ὑποφυσὶς· ὁ δὲ ἰδίως ἀγανακτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἦμέραν μετ’ ὀργῆς συνέτρεχεν ὡς κτενοῦντες τῶν Ἀπούληον. ὁ δὲ ἄλλον πλῆθος ἄλισας ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγρῶν μετὰ Γλαυκίου καὶ Γαίου Σαυφηίου ταμίου.
then proposed a decree of banishment against him and directed the consuls to interdict him from fire, water, and shelter, and appointed a day for the ratification of this decree. Great was the indignation of the city people, who constantly escorted Metellus, carrying daggers. He thanked them and praised them for their good intentions, but said that he could not allow any danger to befall the country on his account. After saying this he withdrew from the city. Apuleius got the decree ratified, and Marius made proclamation of the contents of the decree.

32. In this way was Metellus, a most admirable man, sent into banishment. Thereupon Apuleius was tribune a third time and had for a colleague one who was thought to be a fugitive slave, but who claimed to be a son of the elder Gracchus, and the multitude supported him in the election because they regretted Gracchus. When the election for consuls came on Marcus Antonius was chosen as one of them by common consent, while the aforesaid Glaucia and Memmius contended for the other place. Memmius was the more illustrious man by far, and Glaucia and Apuleius were anxious about the result. So they sent a gang of ruffians to attack him with clubs while the election was going on, who fell upon him in the midst of the comitia and beat him to death in the sight of all.

The assembly was broken up in terror. Neither laws nor courts nor sense of shame remained. The people ran together in anger the following day intending to kill Apuleius, but he had collected another mob from the country and, with Glaucia and Gaius Saufeius, the quaestor, seized the Capitol.
CAP. τὸ Καπιτώλιον κατέλαβε. καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς θουλῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι ψυφισαμένης ὁ Μάριος ἀχθόμενος ὄμως ὠπλιζὲ τινας σὺν ὁκυν. καὶ ἑραδύνοντος ἐτεροὶ τὸ ὑδωρ τὸ ἐπιρρέω ἐσ τὸ ἱερὸν διέτεμον. καὶ Σαυφήλιος μὲν ἐμπρήσας τῶν νεῶν, ύπὸ δίψης ἀπολλύμενος, ἡξίου, Γλαυκίας δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλήνιος ἐλπίσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρῆςειν Μάριον παρέδω- καν ἑαυτοὺς, οἴδε πρῶτοι, καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνοις ὁ Σαυφήλιος. Μάριος δ᾽, αὐτίκα πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖν κελεύντων, ἐς τὸ βουλεύτηριον συνέ- κλεισεν ὡς ἐννομώτερον ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ πρόφασιν τούτ᾽ εἶναι νομίσαντες τῶν κέραμον ἐξέλυνον τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπολλήνιον ἔβαλλον, ἔως ἀπέκτειναν, ταμίαν τε καὶ δήμαρχον καὶ στρατηγόν, ἔτι περικει- μένους τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς.

33. Πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὀμιλὸς ἐν τῇ στάσει διέφθαρτο καὶ δήμαρχος ἐτερος, ὁ τοῦ Γράκχου παῖς εἶναι νομιζόμενος, πρῶτην δήμαρχων εἰκεῖνην ἡμέραν, οὐδένα ἐτὶ ὀφελούσης οὔτε ἐλευθερίας οὔτε δημοκρατίας οὔτε νόμων οὔτε ἄξιωσεως οὔτε ἀρχῆς, ὅπου καὶ ἡ τῶν δημάρχων ἐς τε κόλυσιν ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ ἐς ἐπικουρῆςιν τῶν δημο- τῶν γενομένη, ἱερὰ καὶ ἁσυλός οὔσα, τουάδε ὑβρίζε καὶ τουάδε ἐπασχεν. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀπολλήνιον ἡ μὲν βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δήμος ἐκεκράγεσαν κατακαλεῖν Μέτελλου, Πού- πλίος δὲ Φούριος δήμαρχος, οὔδ᾽ ἐλευθέρου πατρός, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξελευθέρου, θρασέως ἐνίστατο αὐ- τοῖς καὶ οὐδὲ Μετέλλου τοῦ Μετέλλου παιδὸς ἱκετύνοντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὁψει τοῦ δήμου καὶ δα- κρύνοντος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ προσπιπτοντος ἐνεκλάσθη.
The Senate voted them public enemies. Marius was vexed; nevertheless he armed some of his forces reluctantly, and, while he was delaying, some other persons cut off the water-supply from the Capitoline temple. Saufeius was near perishing with thirst and proposed to set the temple on fire, but Glaucia and Apuleius, who hoped that Marius would assist them, surrendered first, and after them Saufeius. As everybody demanded that they should be put to death at once, Marius shut them up in the senate-house as though he intended to deal with them in a more legal manner. The crowd considered this a mere pretext, tore the tiles off the roof, and stoned them to death, including a quaestor, a tribune, and a praetor, who were still wearing their insignia of office.

33. Very many others were swept out of existence in this sedition. Among them was that other tribune who was supposed to be the son of Gracchus, and who perished on the first day of his magistracy. Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position, were no longer of any use to anybody, since even the office of tribune, which had been devised for the restraint of wrong-doers and the protection of the plebeians, and was sacred and inviolable, now was guilty of such outrages and suffered such indignities. When the party of Apuleius was destroyed the Senate and people clamoured for the recall of Metellus, but Publius Furius, a tribune who was not the son of a free citizen but of a freedman, boldly resisted them. Not even Metellus, the son of Metellus, who besought him in the presence of the people with tears in his eyes, and threw himself at his feet, could move him. From this dramatic appearance the
CAP. IV. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς ἐκ τῆς ὅψεως Εὐσεβῆς ἐς τὸ ἐπειτα ἐκλήθη, τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους Φούριον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶδε ἐς δίκην Γάιος Κανούλης δήμαρχος ὑπῆγε, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οὗδε τοὺς λόγους ὑπομείνας διέσπασε τὸν Φούριον ὄστως αἰεὶ τῷ μύσος ἐκάστου ἔτους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐγίγνετο. Μετέλλω δ' ἡ κάθοδος ἐδόθη, καὶ φασίν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἀρκέσαι περὶ τὰς πύλας δεξιομένω τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας.

V

CAP. V. Τρίτον μὲν δὴ τόδε ἐργόν ἐμφύλιον ἦν τὸ Ἀπολληνίου, μετὰ δύο τὰ Γράκχεια, καὶ τοσάδε εἰργαστο Ῥωμαίοις· 34. οὔτω δ' ἐχοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ συμ·


μαχικὸς καλοῦμενος πόλεμος ἐπιγίγνεται ἐθνῶν ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῶν, ἀρξάμενός τε παραδόξως, καὶ ἀθρόως ἐπὶ μέγα προελθὼν, καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἐν Ῥώμη σβέσας ὑπὸ δέους ἐπὶ πολὺ. λήγων δὲ καὶ οὐκ στάσεις τε ἄλλας καὶ στασι·


άρχους δυνατωτέρους ἀνέθρεψεν οὐ νόμων εἰςηγήσεσιν ἐτὶ οὐδὲ δημοκρατίας, ἄλλα ἀθρόως στρατεύμασι κατ' ἀλλήλων χρωμένος. καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τάδε συνήγαγον ἐς τήνδε τὴν συγγραφὴν, ἐκ τε τῆς ἐν Ῥώμη στάσεως ἀρξάμενοι καὶ εἰς πολὺ χεῖρονα στάσιν ἑτέραν ἐκπεσόντα. ἡρξατο δὲ ὅδε. Ἐφύλβιος Φλάκκος υπατεύοις μάλιστα δὴ πρῶτος οὐδὲ ἐς τὸ φανερῶτατον ἡρέθιζε τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας ἐπιθύμειν τὴς Ῥωμαιών πολιτείας ὡς κοινοῦσι τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσομένους. εἰςηγούμενος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐπιμένων αὐτῇ καρτερὸς, ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τινὰ στρατείαν 66
son ever afterward bore the name of Metellus Pius. The following year Furius was called to account for his obstinacy by the new tribune, Gaius Canuleius. The people did not wait for his excuses, but tore Furius in pieces. Thus every year some new abomination was committed in the forum. Metellus, however, was allowed to return, and it is said that a whole day was not sufficient for the greetings of those who went to meet him at the city gates.

Such was the third civil strife (that of Apuleius) which succeeded those of the two Gracchi, and such the results it brought to the Romans. 34. While they were thus occupied the so-called Social War, in which many Italian peoples were engaged, broke out. It began unexpectedly, grew rapidly to great proportions and extinguished the Roman seditions for a long time by a new terror. When it was ended it also gave rise to new seditions under more powerful leaders, who did not work by introducing new laws, or by the tricks of the demagogue, but by matching whole armies against each other. I have treated it in this history because it had its origin in the sedition in Rome and resulted in another much worse. It began in this way.

Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship first and foremost openly excited among the Italians the desire for Roman citizenship, so as to be partners in the empire instead of subjects. When he introduced this idea and strenuously persisted in it, the Senate, for that reason, sent him away to take command in a war, in
CAP. έξεπέμφθη διὰ τόδε. έν ἡ τῆς ὑπατείας αὐτῷ δεδαπανημένης, ο δὲ καὶ δημαρχεῖν εἶλετο μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ ἔπραξε γενέσθαι σὺν Γράκχῳ τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοιάδε ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐσφέροντι κάκεινῳ. άναιρέθεντοι δὲ ἄμφοί, ὡς μοι προείρηται, πολὺ μάλλον ἥρεθιστο ἡ Ἰταλία· οὔτε γὰρ ἥξιον ἐν ὑπηκόων ἀντὶ κοινωνῶν εἶναι μέρει οὔτε Φλάκκον καὶ Γράκχον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε παθεῖν.

35. Ἔπι δὲ ἐκείνοις καὶ Λίβιος Δρούσος δημαρχῶν, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανέστατος ἐκ γένους, δεθεῖσι τοῖς Ἰταλώταις νόμον αὐθὶς ἐσενεγκεῖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὑπέσχετο· τούτου γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπεθύμουν ὡς ἐν τοῦτο αὐτίκα ἡγεμόνες ἀντὶ ὑπηκόων ἐσόμενοι. ο δὲ τὸν ἰόμον ἐς τούτο προθεραπεύων ὑπήγετο ἀποκίαις πολλαίς ἐς τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ ἐψηφισμέναις μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ, γεγονυίαις δὲ οὕτω. τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας, οἱ μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἄλληλοις διὰ τὰ δικαστήρια διεφέροντο, ἐπὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ συναγαγεῖν ἐπειράτο, σαφῶς μὲν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐπανενεγκεῖν τὰ δικαστήρια, τεχνάζων δὲ ἐς ἐκατέρους ὁδε. τῶν βουλευτῶν διὰ τὰς στάσεις τότε ὄντων μόλις ἄμφι τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἐτέρους τοσοῦσδε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππεων εἰσηγεῖτο ἀριστίνδην προσκαταλεγῆναι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἕκ τῶν πάντων ἐς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι τὰ δικαστήρια· εὐθύνας τε ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι δωροδοκίας προσέγγαφεν, ἐγκλήματος ἱσα δὴ καὶ ἀγνοουμένου διὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς δωροδοκίας ἄνεδην ἐπίπολαξούσης.

68
the course of which his consulship expired; but he obtained the tribuneship after that and contrived to have the younger Gracchus for a colleague, with whose co-operation he brought forward other measures in favour of the Italians. When they were both killed, as I have previously related, the Italians were still more excited. They could not bear to be considered subjects instead of equals, or to think that Flaccus and Gracchus should have suffered such calamities while working for their political advantage.

35. After them the tribune Livius Drusus, a man of most illustrious birth, promised the Italians, at their urgent request, that he would bring forward a new law to give them citizenship. They especially desired this because by that one step they would become rulers instead of subjects. In order to conciliate the plebeians to this measure he led out to Italy and Sicily several colonies which had been voted some time before, but not yet planted. He endeavoured to bring together by an agreement the Senate and the equestrian order, who were then in sharp antagonism to each other, in reference to the law courts. As he was not able to restore the courts to the Senate openly, he tried the following artifice to reconcile them. As the senators had been reduced by the seditions to scarcely 300 in number, he brought forward a law that an equal number, chosen according to merit, should be added to their enrolment from the knights, and that the courts of justice should be made up thereafter from the whole number. He added a clause in the law that they should make investigations about bribery, as accusations of that kind were almost unknown, since the custom of bribe-taking prevailed without restraint.
CAP. Ο μὲν δὴ τάδε πρὸς ἐκατέρσος ἐπενόει, περιήλθε δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐναυτίον αὐτῷ. ἦ τε γὰρ βουλή χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀθρόως αὐτῇ τοσοῦσδε προσκαταλεγῆναι καὶ ἐξ ἵππεων ἐς τὸ μέγιστον ἰξώμα μεταβηναι, οὐκ ἀδόκητον ἤγουμενη καὶ βουλευτὰς γενομένους κατὰ σφάς ἐτὶ δυνατότερον τοῖς προτέροις βουλευταῖς στασιάσειν. οἳ τε ἵππεῖς ὑπώπτευον, ὅτι τῆς τῇ θεραπείᾳ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐς τὴν βουλὴν μόνῃν τὰ δικαστήρια ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππεων περιφέροιτο, γευσάμενοι τε κερδῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἔξουσίας οὐκ ἀλύπως τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἔφερον. τὸ τε πλήθος αὐτῶν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ σφᾶς ἐποίει καὶ ὑποψίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τίνες ἄξιώτεροι δοκοῦσιν ἐς τοὺς τριακοσίους καταλεγῆναι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς φθόνος ἐς τοὺς κρείττονας ἐσήμεν ὑπὲρ ἀπαντα δ ἡγανάκτων ἀναφυομένου τοῦ τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐγκληματος, ὁ τέως ἤγουντο καρτερῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόρριξον ἐσβέσθαι.

36. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς καὶ ἡ βουλή, καὶ περ ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις διαφόρως, ἐς τὸ Δροῦσον μίσος συνεφύνουν, καὶ μόνος ὁ δὴ μὲν ἰχαίρε ταῖς ἀποικίαις. οἳ Ἰταλιώται δ’, ὑπὲρ δὲν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ Δροῦσος ταῦτα ἐτέχναζε, καὶ οἳδε περὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐδεδοίκεσαν, ὡς τῆς δημοσίας Ἑλληνικῆς, ἄνεμητον ὑδαίναν ἐπὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ βιὰς, οἱ δὲ λαυτάνοντες ἐγεώργοιν, αὐτικὰ σφῶν ἄφαιρεθησομένης, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνοχλησόμενοι. Τυρρηνοὶ τε καὶ 70
This was the plan that he contrived for both of them, but it turned out contrary to his expectations, for the senators were indignant that so large a number should be added to their enrolment at one time and be transferred from knighthood to the highest rank. They thought it not unlikely that they would form a faction in the Senate by themselves and contend against the old senators more powerfully than ever. The knights, on the other hand, suspected that, by this doctoring, the courts of justice would be transferred from their order to the Senate exclusively. Having acquired a relish for the great gains and power of the judicial office, this suspicion disturbed them. Most of them, too, fell into doubt and distrust toward each other, discussing which of them seemed more worthy than others to be enrolled among the 300; and envy against their betters filled the breasts of the remainder. Above all the knights were angry at the revival of the charge of bribery, which they thought had been ere this entirely suppressed, so far as they were concerned.

36. Thus it came to pass that both the Senate and the knights, although opposed to each other, were united in hating Drusus. Only the plebeians were gratified with the colonies. Even the Italians, in whose especial interest Drusus was devising these plans, were apprehensive about the law providing for the colonies, because they thought that the Roman public domain (which was still undivided and which they were cultivating, some by force and others clandestinely) would at once be taken away from them, and that in many cases they might even be disturbed in their private holdings. The Etruscans
CAP. Ομβρικολ ταυτά δειμαίνοντες τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις καὶ, ὡς ἐδόκει, πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπαχθέντες ἔργῳ μὲν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν Δρούσου, λόγῳ δὲ ἐς κατηγορίαιν, τοῦ νόμου φανερῶς κατεβόων καὶ τὴν τῆς δοκιμασίας ἡμέραν ἀνέμενον. ὡν τὸ Δρούσος αἰσθανόμενος τε καὶ οὐ θαμινὰ προῖον, ἀλλ' ἐνδον ἐν περιπάτῳ βραχὺ φῶς ἔχοντι χρηματίζων ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ ἐσπέραν τὸ πλῆθος ἀποπέμπτων ἐξεβόησεν ἀφιν πεπλήχθαι καὶ λέγων ἐτι κατέπεσεν. εὐρέθη δὲ ἐς τὸν μηρὸν αὐτῷ σκυτοτόμου μαχαίριον ἐμπετηγμένον.

37. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Δρούσος ἀνήρητο δημαρχῶν. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπίβασιν ἐς συνοφαντίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὸ πολίτευμα αὐτοῦ τιθέμενοι, Κόιντον Ὀυράιον δήμαρχον ἐπεισάν εἰσηγήσασθαι κρίσεις εἶναι κατὰ τῶν τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ φανερῶς ἡ κρύφα βοηθοῦντων, ἐλπίσαντες τοὺς δυνατοὺς ἀπαντας αὐτίκα εἰς ἐγκλῆμα ἐπίφθονον ὑπάξεσθαι καὶ δικάσειν μὲν ἀυτοῖς, γενομένων δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἐκποδῶν δυνατώτερον ἐτι τῆς πόλεως ἐπάρξειν. τοῦ μὲν δὴ νόμον ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν ἐτέρων δημάρχων μὴ τίθεσθαι, περιστάντες οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν χιφιδίοις γυμνοὺς ἐκύρωσαν ὡς δὲ ἐκείνρωτο, αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν Βοι- λεντῶν ἐπεγράφοντο κατήγοροι. καὶ Βηστίας μὲν οὐδ' ὑπακούσας ἐκὼν ἐφευγεν ὡς οὐκ ἐκδώσων ἑαυτὸν εἰς χείρας ἐχθρῶν, καὶ Κόττας ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνω
and the Umbrians had the same fears as the Italians, and when they were summoned to the city, as was thought, by the consuls, for the ostensible purpose of complaining against the law of Drusus, but actually to kill him, they cried down the law publicly and waited for the day of the comitia. Drusus learned of the plot against him and did not go out frequently, but transacted business from day to day in the atrium of his house, which was poorly lighted. One evening as he was sending the crowd away he exclaimed suddenly that he was wounded, and fell down while uttering the words. A shoemaker’s knife was found thrust into his hip.

37. Thus was Drusus also slain while serving as tribune. The knights, in order to make his policy a ground of vexatious accusation against their enemies, persuaded the tribune Quintus Varius to bring forward a law to prosecute those who should, either openly or secretly, aid the Italians to acquire citizenship, hoping thus to bring all the senators under an odious indictment, and themselves to sit in judgment on them, and that when they were out of the way they themselves would be more powerful than ever in the government of Rome. When the other tribunes interposed their veto the knights surrounded them with drawn daggers and enacted the measure, whereupon accusers at once brought actions against the most illustrious of the senators. Of these Bestia did not respond, but went into exile voluntarily rather than surrender himself into the hands of his enemies. After him Cotta went before the court,

1 Until the end of the third century B.C. the word “Italy” applied only to that part of the peninsula south of Etruria and Umbria.
CAP. παρῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, σεμνολογήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπετελέστευτο, καὶ λοιδορησάμενος τοῖς ἑπτεύσι φανερῶς, ἐξῆκε τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὅδε πρὸ τῆς ψῆφου. Μούμμωσ δ’, ὁ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλών, αἰσχρὸς ἐνεδρεύθης ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπτεύων ὑποσχομένων αὐτοῦ ἀπολύσειν κατεκρίθη φεύγειν καὶ ἐν Δήλῳ διεβίωσεν.

38. Ἐπιτολάζοντος δ’ ἐς πολὺ τοῦ κακοῦ κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, ὃ τε δήμος ἤχθετο τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσάδε εἰργασμένων ἀνδρῶν ἄθρώως ἀφαιροῦμενος, καὶ οἱ Ἰταλοὶ τοῦ τε Δρούσου πάθους πυνθανόμενοι καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν φυγήν τοῦτων προφάσεως, οὐκ ἀνασχετόν σφίσων ἐτὶ ἤγούμενοι τοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν πολιτεύοντας τοιάδε πάσχειν οὐδ’ ἄλλην τινὰ μηχανὴν ἐλπίδος ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐτὶ ὀρῶντες, ἔγνωσαν ἀποστήναι Ρωμαίοις ἀντικρυς καὶ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος. κρύφα τε διεπρεσβεύοντο συντιθέμενοι περὶ τῶνδε καὶ ὀμηρὰ διέπεμπον ἐς πίστιν ἄλληλοις.

*Ων ἐς πολὺ μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆσθοντο Ρωμαίοι διὰ τὰς ἐν ἀστεῖ κρίσεις τε καὶ στάσεις· ως δ’ ἐπύθοντο, περιεπεμπον ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπὸ σφῶν τοὺς ἐκάστοις μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους, ἀφανῶς τὰ γυγόμενα ἐξετάζειν. καὶ τις ἐκ τούτων μειράκιον ὀμηρὸν ἰδὼν ἐξ Ἀσκλπον πόλεως ἐς ἑτέραν ἄγομενον ἐμήνυσε τῷ περὶ τὰ χωρία ἄνθυπάτῳ Σερουλίῳ. ἦσαν γάρ, ὡς ἐοικεῖν, τότε καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀρχούτες ἄνθυπατοι κατὰ μέρη· ὁ καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ἀρα μιμοῦμενος ὕστερον χρόνῳ πολλῷ, τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν Ρωμαίοις ἡγούμενος, ἀνεκαίνισε,
made an impressive defence of his administration of public affairs, and openly reviled the knights. He, too, departed from the city before the vote of the judges was taken. Mummius, the conqueror of Greece, was basely ensnared by the knights, who promised to acquit him, but condemned him to banishment. He passed the remainder of his life at Delos.

38. As this malice against the aristocracy grew more and more, the people were grieved because they were deprived all at once of so many distinguished men who had rendered such great services. When the Italians learned of the murder of Drusus and of the reasons alleged for banishing the others, they considered it no longer tolerable that those who were labouring for their political advancement should suffer such outrages, and as they saw no other means of acquiring citizenship they decided to revolt from the Romans altogether, and to make war against them with might and main. They sent envoys secretly to each other, formed a league, and exchanged hostages as a pledge of good faith.

The Romans were in ignorance of these facts for a long time, being busy with the trials and the seditions in the city. When they heard what was going on they sent men round to the towns, choosing those who were best acquainted with each, to collect information quietly. One of these agents saw a young man who was being taken as a hostage from the town of Asculum to another town, and informed Servilius, the praetor, who was in those parts. (It appears that there were praetors with consular power at that time governing the various parts of Italy; the emperor Hadrian revived the custom a long time afterward, but
καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπέμεινεν ἐς βραχὺ. ὁ δὲ Σερούλιος
θερμότερον ἐσδραμὼν ἐς τὸ Ἀσκλπων καὶ πανη-
γυρίζουσι τοῖς Ὄσκλαίοις χαλεπῶν ἀπειλῶν ἀυχρέθη ὡς ὑπὸ ἦδη πεφωραμένων. ἐπανηρέθη δ’
αὐτῷ καὶ Φοντήμος, ὁς ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ· καλοῦσι
δ’ οὕτω τοὺς τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἔθνων ἐκ τῆς Βουλῆς
ἐπομένους ἐς βοήθειαν. πεσόντων δὲ τῶιδε, οὐδὲ
τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων τις ἦν φειδώ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
παρὰ φύσι πάντας οἱ Ὅσκλαιοι συνεκέντον ἐπιτρέχοντες καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς διήρπαξον.

39. Ἐκραγείσης δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπαντά, ὅσα τοῖς Ὅσκλαιοι ἐθνη γείτονα ἦν, συνεξέφαινε
tὴν παρασκευὴν, Μάρσιοι τε καὶ Παιλιγνοὶ καὶ
Οὐνστῖνοι καὶ Μαρρουκύνοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πικεν-
tῖνοι καὶ Φρεντανοὶ καὶ Ἰρπῖνοι καὶ Πομπηιανοὶ
cαὶ Οὐνεόυσιοι καὶ Ἰάππυγες, Δευκανοὶ τε καὶ
Σαυρίται, χαλεπὰ Ῥωμαίως καὶ πρὶν ἔθνη γενό-
μενα, ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἀπὸ Διρίος σοτάμον, δυ νῦν
μοι δοκούσι Λύτερνον ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐπὶ τῶν μυχῶν ἔστι
τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου πεζένουτι καὶ περιπλέουντι.
πείμψας δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐς Ῥώμην πρέσβεις αἰτιω-
μένους, ὅτι πάντα Ῥωμαίως ἐς τὴν ἁρχὴν συνε-
γασάμενοι οὐκ ἀξίονται τῆς τῶν βεβοηθημένων
πολιτείας, ἡ βούλη μᾶλα καρτερῶς ἀπεκρίνατο, εἰ
μεταγινόσκουσι τῶν γεγονότων, πρεσβεύειν ἐς
αὐτήν, ἀλλὸς δὲ μή. οἱ μὲν δὴ πάντα ἀπογρόντες
ἐς παρασκευὴν καθίσταντο· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἑπὶ τῷ
κατὰ πόλιν στρατῷ κοινὸς ἦν ἵππεων τε καὶ
πεζῶν ἐτερος ἐς δέκα μυριάδας. καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τὸν
ἰσον αὐτοῖς ἀντεξέπεμπον ἀπὸ τὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ
τῶν ἑπὶ συμμαχοῦντων φύσιν ἔθνων τῆς Ἰταλίας.
it did not long survive him.) Servilius hastened to Asculum and indulged in very menacing language to the people, who were celebrating a festival, and they, supposing that the plot was discovered, put him to death. They also killed Fonteius, his legate (for so they call those of the senatorial order who accompany the governors of provinces as assistants). After these were slain none of the other Romans in Asculum were spared. The inhabitants fell upon them, slaughtered them all, and plundered their goods.

39. When the revolt broke out all the neighbouring peoples declared war at the same time, the Marsi, the Peligni, the Vestini, the Marrucini; and after them the Picentines, the Frentani, the Hirpini, the Pompeians, the Venusini, the Apulians, the Lucanians, and the Samnites, all of whom had been hostile to the Romans before; also all the rest extending from the river Liris (which is now, I think, the Liternus) to the extremity of the Adriatic gulf, both inland and on the sea coast. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain that although they had cooperated in all ways with the Romans in building up the empire, the latter had not been willing to admit their helpers to citizenship. The Senate answered sternly that if they repented of what they had done they could send ambassadors, otherwise not. The Italians, in despair of any other remedy, went on with their mobilization. Besides the soldiers which were kept for guards at each town, they had forces in common amounting to about 100,000 foot and horse. The Romans sent an equal force against them, made up of their own citizens and of the Italian peoples who were still in alliance with them.

1 Appian's geography is here inexact.
40. Ἡγούμενος δὲ Ἡρωμαίων μὲν ὑπατοὶ Σέξιστος τε Ἰούλιος Καίσαρ καὶ Πόπλιος Ῥουτιλίος Δοῦντος ἀμφῶς γὰρ ὡς ἐς μέγαν τε καὶ ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἔξησαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς πύλας οἱ ὑπόλοιποι καὶ τὰ τείχη διὰ χειρὸς εἶχον ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκεῖοι καὶ γείτονι μάλιστα ἔργον, τὸ τε ποικίλον τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πολυμερῆς ἐνθυμούμενοι ὑποστρατήγους τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνέπεμψαν τοὺς τότε ἀρίστους, ὑπὸ μὲν Ῥουτιλίῳ Γναῖον τε Πομπήιον, τὸν πατέρα Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου παρονομασθέντος, καὶ Κώντων Καίπινων καὶ Γάιον Περπένναν καὶ Γάιον Μάριον καὶ Οὐαλέριον Μεσσάλαν, ὑπὸ δὲ Σέξιστῳ Καίσαρι Πούπλιον Δεντλοῦν, ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ Τίτον Δίδιον καὶ Δικίων Κράσσου καὶ Κορύφλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Μάρκελλον ἐπὶ τοίσδε. τοσοῦτοι μὲν δὴ τοῖς ὑπάτοις διελόμενοι τὴν χώραν ὑπεστράτηγον, καὶ πάντας ἐπεπορεύοντο οἱ ὑπατοὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἡρωμαίοι καὶ ἐτέρους ὡς ἐς μέγαν ἀγώνα ἐπεμπον ἐκάστοτε. Ἰταλοῖς δὲ ἦσαν μὲν στρατηγοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐτεροί, κοινοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς αὐτοκράτορες Τίτος Δαφρήνιος καὶ Γάιος Ποντίλιος καὶ Μάριος Ἐγνάτιος καὶ Κώντως Ποπαίδιος καὶ Γάιος Πάπιος καὶ Μάρκος Δαμπώνιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ Ἐρίος Ἀσίνιος καὶ Οὐέττιος Σκάτων, οἱ τὸν στρατὸν ὁμοίως μερισάμενοι τοῖς Ἡρωμαίων στρατηγοῖς αὐτεκαθέζοντο καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἔδρασαν, πολλὰ δὲ ἔπαθον. ὃν ἐκατέρω, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φρύσαι, τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἦν τούτῳ.

41. Οὐέττιος μὲν Σκάτων Σέξιστον Ἰούλιον τρεψάμενος τε καὶ δισχίλιοις κτείνας ἐπὶ Λισερνίαις ἠλάσε Ἡρωμαίουσαν καὶ αὐτὴν οἱ μὲν
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK I

40. The Romans were led by the consuls Sextus Julius Caesar and Publius Rutilius Lupus, for in this great civil war both consuls marched forth at once, leaving the gates and walls in charge of others, as was customary in cases of danger arising at home and very near by. When the war was found to be complex and many-sided, they sent their most renowned men as lieutenant-generals to aid the consuls: to Rutilius, Gnaeus Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, Quintus Caepio, Gaius Perpenna, Gaius Marius, and Valerius Messala; to Sextus Caesar, Publius Lentulus, a brother of Caesar himself, as well as Titus Didius, Licinius Crassus, Cornelius Sulla, and Marcellus. All these served under the consuls and the country was divided among them. The consuls visited all parts of the field of operations, and the Romans sent them additional forces continually, realizing that it was a serious conflict. The Italians had generals for their united forces besides those of the separate towns. The chief commanders were Titus Lafrenius, Gaius Pontilius, Marius Egnatius, Quintus Pompaedius, Gaius Papius, Marcus Lamponius, Gaius Vidacilius, Herius Asinius, and Vettius Scaton. They divided their army in equal parts, took their positions against the Roman generals, performed many notable exploits, and suffered many disasters. The most memorable events of either kind I shall here summarize.

41. Vettius Scaton defeated Sextus Julius, killed 2000 of his men, and marched against Aesernia, which adhered to Rome. L. Scipio and L. Acilius, who
CAP. συντάττοντες, Δεύκιος τε Σκιπίων καὶ Δεύκιος
'Ακίλιος θεραπόντων ἐσθήτας υποδύντες ἀπεδρασαν, χρόνῳ δὲ καὶ λυμῷ παρεστήσαντο οἱ πολέμιοι. Μάριος δὲ Ἑγνάτιος Οὐέναφρον ἐλῶν ἐκ προσοσίας ἐκτεινε δύο 'Ρωμαίων σπείρας ἐν αὐτῇ. Προσενταῖος δὲ Πόπλιος Περπένναν μυρίων ἀνδρῶν ἤγοιμεν ἐτρέψατο καὶ ἐκτεινε τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ πλέονος μέρους τὰ ὀπλα ἐλαβε ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ Περπένναν 'Ρουτίλιος ὑπατός παρέλυσε τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ Γαίῳ Μαριῷ προσέθηκεν. Μάρκος δὲ Λαμπώνιος τῶν ἀμφὶ Δικύινον Κράσσον ἀνείλεν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς Γρούμεντον πόλιν συνεδώξε.

42. Γάιος δὲ Πάπιος Νωλάν τε ἐλευν ἐκ προσοσίας καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ 'Ρωμαίοις, δισχίλιοις οὐσιν, ἐκήρυξεν, εἰ μεταθῶντο, στρατεύσειν ἔαυτῷ. καὶ τούσ ἐν οἱ Πάπιος μεταθεμένους ἐστράτευεν· οἱ δὲ ήγεμόνες αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπακούσαντες τῷ κηρύγματι ἐλήφθησαν αἰχμαλώτουι καὶ λιμῷ πρὸς τοῦ Παπίου διεφθάρησαν. Πάπιος δὲ καὶ Ἐστίβιας ἐϊλε καὶ Μινέρουν καὶ Σάλερνον, ὡς 'Ρωμαίων ἀποικὸς ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἐς αὐτῶν αἰχμαλώτους τε καὶ δοῦλους ἐστράτευεν. ὥς δὲ καὶ Νουκερίας τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα κατέπρησεν, αἱ πλησίον αὐτῷ πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαι προσετίθεντο στρατιῶν τε αἰτοῦντι παρέσχον ἐς μυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεας χιλίους· μεθ' δὲν ὁ Πάπιος Ἀχέρρας παρεκάθητο. Σέξτου δὲ Καίσαρος Γαλατῶν πεζοὺς μυρίους καὶ Νουμάδας Μαυρουσίους ἵππεας καὶ πεζοὺς προσλαβόντος τε καὶ χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τᾶς Ἀχέρας, ὁ Πάπιος
were in command here, escaped in the disguise of chap. slaves. The enemy, after a considerable time, reduced it by famine. Marius Egnatius captured Venafrum by treachery and slew two Roman cohorts there. Publius Presentaeus defeated Perpenna, who had 10,000 men under his command, killed 4000 and captured the arms of the greater part of the others, for which reason the consul Rutilius deprived Perpenna of his command and gave his division of the army to Gaius Marius. Marcus Lamponius destroyed some 800 of the forces under Licinius Crassus and drove the remainder into the town of Grumentum.

42. Gaius Papius captured Nola by treachery and offered to the 2000 Roman soldiers in it the privilege of serving under him if they would change their allegiance. They did so, but their officers refusing the proposal were taken prisoners and starved to death by Papius. He also captured Slabiae, Minervium and Salernum, which was a Roman colony. The prisoners and the slaves from these places were taken into the military service. But when he also plundered the entire country around Nuceria, the towns in the vicinity were struck with terror and submitted to him, and when he demanded military assistance they furnished him about 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. With these Papius laid siege to Acerrae. When Sextus Caesar, with 10,000 Gallic foot and Numidian and Mauretanian horse and foot, advanced towards Acerrae, Papius took a son of Jugurtha, formerly king of Surrentum.
'Οξύνταυ, υίων 'Ιογόρθου τοῦ Νομάδων ποτὲ βασιλέως, ύπο Ρωμαίων ἐν Ὄινενούσια φυλαττό-
μενοι, ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς Ὄινενούσιας καὶ περιθεὶς
αὐτῷ πορφύραν βασιλικὴν ἐπεδείκνυ θαμνὰ τοῖς
Νομάσι τοῖς σὺν Καίσαρι. πολλῶν δ’ ὡς πρὸς
_idle_ βασιλέα αὐτομολούντων ἀθρόως, τοὺς μὲν
λοιποὺς τῶν Νομάδων ὡς ὑπόπτους ὁ Καίσαρ ἐς
Λιβύην ἀπέπεμψε, Πασίον δὲ πελάσαντος αὐτῷ
σὺν καταφρονήσει καὶ μέρος ἤδη τοῦ χάρακος
dιασπόωτος, τοὺς ἱππέας ἐκπέμψας καὶ ἅλλας
πύλας ἐκτείνε τοῦ Πατίου περὶ ἐξακισχίλους.
kαὶ ἐπὶ τῶ ὁδε Καίσαρ μὲν ἐξ Ἀχερρῶν ἀνεξεύγνυν,
Οὐδακιλίῳ δ’ ἐν Ἰαπυγίᾳ προσετίθεντο Κανύσιοι
καὶ Ὄινενούσιοι καὶ ἐτεραὶ πόλεις πολλαί.
τινὰς
dὲ καὶ ἀπειθούσας ἐξεπολιορκεῖ, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς
Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ἐπιθανεῖς ἐκτείνε, τοὺς δὲ
ἐπὶ
καὶ δούλους ἐστράτευε.

43. Ῥουτίλιος δὲ ὃ ὑπάτος καὶ Γάιος Μάριος
ἐπὶ τοῦ Λίριος ποταμοῦ γεφύρας ἐς διάβασιν ἐξ
οὐ πολλοῦ διαστήματος ἀπ’ ἄλληλων ἐπιγγυντο-
καὶ Ὄινετιος Σκάτων αὐτοῖς ἀντεστρατοπέδευε
παρὰ τὴν Μαρίον μάλιστα γεφυράν ἔλαβε τε
νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν Ῥουτίλιον γεφυρὰν λόχος ἐν
φάραγξιν ἐνεδρεύσας. ἀμα δ’ ἐφ τὸν Ῥουτίλιον
διελθεῖν ὑπεριδὼν ἀνέστησε τὰς ἐνέδρας καὶ
πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκτείνεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑιροῦ, πολλοὺς δ’ ἐς
τὸν ποταμὸν κατῶσεν ὁ τοῦ Ῥουτίλιος αὐτὸς ἐν
tῶ ὁδε τῷ πόνῳ βέλει τρωθεὶς ἐς τὴν κεφαλῆς μετ’
ὄλγον ἀπέθανε. καὶ Μάριος, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐτέρας ὁν
γεφύρα τὸ συμβὰν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων κατὰ τὸ
ῥέμα σωμάτων εἰκάσας τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ὤσπο

82
Numidia, named Oxynta, who was under charge of a Roman guard at Venusia, led him out of that place, clothed him in royal purple, and showed him frequently to the Numidians who were in Caesar's army. Many of them deserted, as if to their own king, so that Caesar was obliged to send the rest back to Africa, as they were not trustworthy. But when Papius attacked him contemptuously, and had already made a breach in his palisaded camp, Caesar debouched with his horse through the other gates and slew about 6000 of his men, after which Caesar withdrew from Acerrae. Canusia and Venusia and many other towns in Apulia sided with Vidacilius. Some that did not submit he besieged, and he put to death the principal Roman citizens in them, but the common people and the slaves he enrolled in his army.

43. The consul Rutilius and Gaius Marius built bridges over the river Liris at no great distance from each other. Vettius Scaton pitched his camp opposite them, but nearer to the bridge of Marius, and placed an ambush by night in some ravines near the bridge of Rutilius. Early in the morning, after he had allowed Rutilius to cross the bridge, he started up from ambush and killed a large number of the enemy on the dry land and drove many into the river. In this fight Rutilius himself was wounded in the head by a missile and died soon afterward. Marius was on the other bridge and when he guessed, from the bodies floating down stream, what had happened, he drove back those in his front, crossed the river, and captured the camp

1 Really the Tolenus.
καὶ τὸ ῥέμα περάσας τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Σκάτωνος ὑπ’ ὅλιγων φυλαττόμενον εἶλεν, ὡστε τὸν Σκάτωνα νυκτερεύσας τε, ἐνθαπερ ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀποροῦντα ἀγοραῖς ἀναζευξαὶ περὶ τὴν ἔω. Ὁρυτιλίοις δὲ τοῦ σῶματος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανῶν ἐπὶ ταφὴν ἐσ’ Ῥώμην ἐνεχθέντων ἢ τε ὄψις ἀνηδὴς ἢν ὑπάτου καὶ τοσώντες ἄλλων ἀνηρημένων καὶ πολυήμερον ἐπὶ τῶν πένθος ἡγέρθην, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἡ Βουλή τοὺς ἀποθυσκόντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκρινεν, ἐνθαπερ ἀνθάνωσι, θάπτεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ τοὺς λουποὺς ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῶν στρατευών. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ πολέμοι πυθόμενοι περὶ σφῶν ἐψηφίσαντο.

VI

44. Ῥούτηλίῳ μὲν δὴ διάδοχος ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἐτοὺς οὐκ ἐγένετο, Σέξστου Καῖσαρος οὐκ ἀγαγόντος σχολὴν διαδραμεῖν ἐπὶ ἀρχαίρεσια ἐς Ῥώμην τῆς δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ στρατιὰς ἡ Βουλή προσέταξεν ἄρχειν Γαίων τε Μάριον καὶ Κώντων Καίττων. τούτῳ τῷ Καίτωνι Κώντως Ποπαίδιος ὁ ἀντιστράτηγος οἰά τις αὐτόμολος προσέφυγεν, ἄγων καὶ διδοὺς ἐνέχυρον δύο βρέφη δοῦλα, καθάπερ νείες, ἐσκευασμένα ἐσθῆσε περιπορφύρους· ἐς δὲ πίστιν ἐφέρε καὶ μάζας ἐκ μολύβδου, χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ περιβεβλημένας· καὶ ἐδέιτο κατὰ σπουδὴν αὐτῷ τὸν Καίττωνα ἐπεσθαί μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς καταληψόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔρημον ἐτὶ ἀρχοντος. Καίττων μὲν δὴ πειθόμενος εἶπετο, Ποπαίδιος δὲ πλησίον τῆς ἐσκευασμένης ἐνέδρας γενόμενος 84
of Scaton, which was guarded by only a small force, so that Scaton was obliged to spend the night where he had won his victory, and to retreat in the morning for want of provisions. The body of Rutilius and those of many other patricians were brought to Rome for burial. The corpses of the consul and his numerous comrades made a piteous spectacle and the mourning lasted many days. The Senate decreed from this time on that those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army. When the enemy heard of this they made a similar decree for themselves.

VI

44. There was no successor to Rutilius in the consulship for the remainder of the year, as Sextus Caesar did not have leisure to go to the city and hold the comitia. The Senate appointed C. Marius and Q. Caepio to command the forces of Rutilius in the field. The opposing general, Q. Popaedius, fled as a pretended deserter to this Caepio. He brought with him and gave as a pledge two slave babies, clad with the purple-bordered garments of free-born children, pretending that they were his own sons. As further confirmation of his good faith he brought masses of lead plated with gold and silver. He urged Caepio to follow him in all haste with his army and capture the hostile army while destitute of a leader, and Caepio was deceived and followed him. When they had arrived at a place where the ambush had been laid, Popaedius ran up to the top of a hill
CAP. VI

45. Σέξστος δὲ Καϊσαρ μετὰ τρισμυρίων πεζῶν καὶ ἵππεων πεντακισχιλίων διεξών τινα φάραγγα καὶ κρημνοὺς, ἀφ'ον προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ Μαρίου Ἐγνατίου, ἐς τὴν φάραγγα περιωσθεὶς ἐφυγεν ἐπὶ κλίνης διὰ νόσου ἐπὶ τίνα ποταμόν, οὗ μία γέφυρα ἤν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πλέον τῆς στρατιάς ἀπολέσας καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τὰ ὄπλα, μόλις ἐς Τεανών καταφυγὸν ὤπλιζεν, οὕς ἐτὶ εἴχεν, ὡς ἐδύνατο. ἔτερου δὲ πλῆθους αὐτῷ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπελθόντος, ἐπὶ Ἀχέρρας ἐτὶ πολιορκομένας ὑπὸ τοῦ Παπίου μετήει.

Καὶ οἳδε μὲν ἄλληλαις ἀντιστρατοπεδεύοντες οὐκ ἐπεχείρουν οὐδέτερος οὐδέτέρῳ διὰ φόβον.

46. Μάρσους δὲ Κορνήλιος Σῦλλας καὶ Γάιος Μάριος ἐπιθέμενος σφίζει συντόνως ἐδώκον, μέχρι θριγκοῖς ἀμπέλων ἐμπεσείν αὐτοὺς· καὶ Μάρσοι μὲν τοὺς θριγκοὺς κακοπαθῶς ὑπερῆβαινον, Μαρίῳ δὲ καὶ Σῦλλα διόκειν ὑπὲρ τούτοις οὐκ ἔδοξεν. Κορνήλιος δὲ Σῦλλας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶν ἀμπέλων στρατοπεδεύων, αἰσθόμενος τοῦ γεγονότος ὑπῆρτα τοῖς ἐκφεύγουσι τῶν Μάρσων καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ὁδὲ ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς τὸν φόνον ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας γενέσθαι περὶ πλείους ἐξακισχιλίων, ὄπλα δ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ληφθῆναι πολύ πλείονα.

Μάρσου μὲν δὴ δίκην θηρίων, τῷ πταίσματι προσαγανακτοῦντες, αὖθις ὀπλίζοντο καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ἐπιέαν, προεπιχειρεῖν μὴ
as though he were searching for the enemy, and gave his own men a signal. The latter sprang out of their concealment and cut Caepio and most of his force in pieces; so the Senate joined the rest of Caepio's army to that of Marius.

45. While Sextus Caesar was passing through a rocky defile with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse Marius Egnatius suddenly fell upon him and drove him back into it. He retired, borne on a litter, as he was ill, to a certain stream where there was only one bridge, and there he lost the greater part of his force and the arms of the survivors, only escaping to Teanum with difficulty, where he armed the remainder of his men as best he could. Reinforcements were sent to him speedily and he marched to the relief of Acerrae, which was still besieged by Papius.

There, though their camps were pitched opposite each other, neither dared to attack the other, but Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius defeated the Marsians, who had attacked them. They pursued the enemy vigorously as far as the walls enclosing their vineyards. The Marsians scaled these walls with heavy loss, but Marius and Sulla did not deem it wise to follow them farther. Cornelius Sulla was encamped on the other side of these enclosures, and when he knew what had happened he came out to meet the Marsians, as they tried to escape, and he also killed a great number. More than 6000 Marsians were slain that day, and the arms of a still greater number were captured by the Romans.

The Marsians were rendered as furious as wild beasts by this disaster. They armed their forces again and prepared to march against the enemy, but
CAP. VI

θαρροῦσι μηδὲ ἀρχεῖν μάχης· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος πολεμικότατον, καὶ φασὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ θρίαμβον ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ πταίσματι γενέσθαι μόνῳ, λεγόμενον πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ Μάρσων οὔτε ἀνευ Μάρσων γενέσθαι θρίαμβον.

47. Περὶ δὲ τὸ Φάλερνον ὄρος Γναῖον Πομπήιον Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ Τίτος Λαφρήνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Οὐέττιος, ἐς ταῦταν ἀλλήλους συνελθόντες, ἐτρέποντο καὶ κατεδίωκον ἐς πόλιν Φίρμον. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἑτέρα ὁχυντῷ, Λαφρήνιος δὲ παρεκάθητο Πομπηίῳ ἐς τὸ Φίρμον κατακεκλεισμένῳ. ὁ δ' αὐτικὰ μὲν ὅπλῖζον τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἑς χεῖρας οὐκ ἦς, προσελθόντος δὲ ἑτέρου στρατοῦ Σουλπίκιον περιέπεμπεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λαφρήνιον γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ μέτωπον ἐπίτει. γενομένης δ' ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ πονομενοῖς ἀμφοῖν, ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐπίμπη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, καὶ τοῦτ' ὦ πολέμιοι κατιδόντες ἐς Ἀσκλον ἐφευγοῦν, ἀκόσμως ἀμα καὶ ἀστρατηγῆτως. Λαφρήνιος γὰρ ἐπεπτώκει μαχόμενος. Πομπῆιος δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀσκλον ἐπελθὼν ἐπολλόρκει.

48. Πατρὶς δ' ἤν Οὐιδακίλιον τὸ Ἀσκλον, καὶ δεδώς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴς ἤπειγετο, σπείρας ἁγων ὅκτω. προπέμψας τε τοῖς Ἀσκλαίοις ἐκέλευεν, ὅταν αὐτὸν ὤδωσι πόρρωθεν ἐπιντα, ἐκδραμεῖ ἐπὶ τοὺς περικαθημένους, ὡς τὸν ἁγώνα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκατέρωθεν γενέσθαι ἀλλὰ Ἀσκλαίοι μὲν ἀπώκησαν, ὁ δὲ Οὐιδακίλιος καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν διὰ μέσων τῶν πολεμίων ἐσώματο μεθ' ὅσων ἐδυνήθη, ὤνείδισε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτολμίαν καὶ δυσπείθειαν, οὐκ ἐπιτίζον δ' ἐτὶ τὴν πόλιν περιέσθεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς, οἷς τέως
did not dare to take the offensive or to begin a battle. CHAP. VI

They are a very warlike race, and it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, "No triumph over Marsians or without Marsians."

47. Near Mount Falernus, Vidacilius, T. Lafrenius and P. Vettius united their forces and defeated Gnaeus Pompeius, pursuing him to the city of Firmum. Then they went their several ways, and Lafrenius besieged Pompeius, who had shut himself up in Firmum. The latter at once armed his remaining forces, but did not come to an engagement; when, however, he learned that another army was approaching, he sent Sulpicius round to take Lafrenius in the rear while he made a sally in front. Battle was joined and both sides were in much distress, when Sulpicius set fire to the enemy's camp. When the latter saw this they fled to Asculum in disorder and without a general, for Lafrenius had fallen in the battle. Pompeius then advanced and laid siege to Asculum.

48. Asculum was the native town of Vidacilius, and as he feared for its safety he hastened to its relief with eight cohorts. He sent word beforehand to the inhabitants that when they should see him advancing at a distance they should make a sally against the besiegers, so that the enemy should be attacked on both sides at once. The inhabitants were afraid to do so; nevertheless Vidacilius forced his way into the city through the midst of the enemy with what followers he could get, and upbraided the citizens for their cowardice and disobedience. As he despaired of saving the city he first put to death all
CAP. αὐτῷ διεφέροντο καὶ τότε διὰ φθόνον ὁ πλῆθος ἐς ἀ παρηγγελλεν ἀπέτρεψαν, ἐκτεινε πάντας· ἐν δὲ ἱερῷ πυρὰν νίσας καὶ κλίνην ἐπιθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ, παρενωχὴθη σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ προϊόντος τοῦ πώτου φάρμακόν τε προσηνέγκατο καὶ κατακλίνας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐκέλευσε τοῖς φίλοις ἀψαι τὸ πῦρ. καὶ Οὐδακίλιος μὲν ὁ δὲ φιλοτιμηθεὶς πρὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖν κατελύθη, Σέξατος δὲ Καίσαρ ἐξήκοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀνθύπατος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἵρεθεις ἐπέδραμεν ἀνδράσι δισμυρίοις μεταστρατοπεδεύοντι τοι καὶ ἐκτεινών τούτων ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους ὁπλα τε πολὺ πλείονων ἐλαβε. χρονίου δ' αὐτῷ τῆς περὶ τὸ Ἀσκληπιον οὔσης πολιορκίας, ἀποθνήσκων ἐκ νόσου ἀντιστράτηγον ἀπέφηνε Γάιον Βαϊζιον.

49. Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἤν τὴν περὶ τοῦ 'Ιόνιου αἰσθάμενοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ρώμης Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ ἀλλα τινὰ αὐτοὺς ἐθνη γειτονεύοντα, πάντες ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἥρεθιζοντο. δείσασα οὖν ἡ βουλη, μὴ ἐν κύκλῳ γενόμενοι αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἀφύλακτος ἦ, τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν ἠφρούρει τὴν ἀπὸ Κύμης ἐπὶ τὸ ἀστυ δ' ἀπελευθέρων, τότε πρῶτον ἐς στρατεύων δ' ἀπορίαν ἀνδρῶν καταλεγέντων, Ἰταλισσόντων δὲ τοὺς ἐτὶ ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παραμένοντας ἐψηφίσατο εἶναι πολίτας, οὐ δ' ἡ μάλιστα μόνον ὁ πάντες ἐπεθύμουν, καὶ τάδε ἐς Τυρρηνοὺς περιέπεμπεν, οἱ δὲ ἀσμενοὶ τῆς πολιτείας μετελάμβανον. καὶ τῇ τῇ χάριτι ἡ βουλη τοὺς μὲν εὑρος εὕνουστέρους ἐποίησε, τοὺς δὲ εὐδοκιμούντας ἐβεβαιώσατο, τοὺς δὲ πολεμοῦντας ἐξενίπτει τινὶ τῶν ὀμοίων προσέρους ἐποίησεν. Ἡ ρώμαιοι
of his enemies who had been at variance with him before and who, out of jealousy, had prevented the people from obeying his recent orders. Then he erected a funeral pile in the temple and placed a couch upon it, and held a feast with his friends, and while the drinking-bout was at its height he swallowed poison, threw himself on the pile, and ordered his friends to set fire to it. Thus perished Vidacilius, a man who considered it glorious to die for his country. Sextus Caesar was invested with the consular power by the Senate after his term of office had expired. He attacked 20,000 of the enemy while they were changing camping-places, killed about 8000 of them, and captured the arms of a much larger number. He died of disease while pushing the long siege of Asculum; the Senate appointed Gaius Baebius his successor.

49. While these events were transpiring on the Adriatic side of Italy, the inhabitants of Etruria and Umbria and other neighbouring peoples on the other side of Rome heard of them and all were excited to revolt. The Senate, fearing lest they should be surrounded by war, and unable to protect themselves, garrisoned the sea-coast from Cumae to the city with freedmen, who were then for the first time enrolled in the army on account of the scarcity of soldiers. The Senate also voted that those Italians who had adhered to their alliance should be admitted to citizenship, which was the one thing they all desired most. They sent this decree around among the Etruscans, who gladly accepted the citizenship. By this favour the Senate made the faithful more faithful, confirmed the wavering, and mollified their enemies by the hope of similar treatment. The Romans did not enroll the new citizens in the
CAP. VI. μὲν δὴ τούσδε τῶς νεοπολίτας οὐκ ἐς τὰς πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα φυλάς, αὖ τὸτε ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, κατέλεξαν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πλέονες οὕτε ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις ἐπικρατοίεν, ἀλλὰ δεκατεύοντες ἀπέφηναν ἐτέρας, ἐν αἷς ἐχειροτόνοις ἐσχάτου. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῶν ἡ ψήφος ἀρχεῖος ἦν, ἀτε τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα προτέρων τε καὶ οὐσῶν ὑπὲρ ἤμισυν. ὥσπερ ἡ λαθὼν αὐτίκα ἤ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸ ἀγαπησάντων τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ὑστερον ἐπιγνωσθὲν ἐτέρας στάσεως ἵσρὲν.

50. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἰόνιον οὖπο τὴν Τυρρηνῶν μετάνοιαν ἐγνωκότες μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους όρον ἀτριβὴ καὶ μακρὰν ἐς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ περιέπεμπον. καὶ αὐτοὶς ἐπιτεσσάριον Γναῖος Πομπήιος, ὑπατος ὃν ἦδη, διέθειρεν ἐς πεντακισχίλιους καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐς τὰ σφέτερα διὰ ἀπόρου χώρας καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιτόπου διατρε- χόντων οἱ ἡμίσεις βαλανηφαγοῦντες διεφθάρησαν. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος Πόρκιος μὲν Κάτων, ὁ σύναρχος τοῦ Πομπήιο, Μάρσοις πολεμῶν ἀνηρέθη. Λεύκιος δὲ Κλοέντιος Σύλλα περὶ τὰ Πομπαία ὁρῇ στρατοπεδεύοντι μάλα καταφρονη- τικῶς ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν παρεστρατοπέδευε. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ὑβρίνοις όροιν οὐδὲ τῶν ἱδών τούς χορτολογοῦντας ἀναμείνας ἐπέδραμε τῷ Κλοέντιῳ. καὶ τότε μὲν ἢττομένους ἐφευγε, προσλαβὸν δὲ τοὺς χορτολογοῦντας τρέπεται τὸν Κλοέντιον. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα μὲν πορρωτέρω μετε- στρατοπέδευεν, ἀφικομένων δ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν αὐθίς ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Σύλλα. καὶ συνιόντων τῶν στρατῶν Γαλάτης ἀνὴρ μεγέθει μέγας προδραμῶν.
thirty-five existing tribes, lest they should outvote the old ones in the elections, but incorporated them in ten new tribes, which voted last. So it often happened that their vote was useless, since a majority was obtained from the thirty-five tribes that voted first. This fact was either not noticed by the Italians at the time or they were satisfied with what they had gained, but it was observed later and became the source of a new conflict.

50. The insurgents along the Adriatic coast, before they learned of the change of sentiment among the Etruscans, sent 15,000 men to their assistance by a long and difficult road. Gnaeus Pompeius, who was now consul, fell upon them and killed 5000 of them. The rest made their way homeward through a trackless region, in a severe winter; and half of them after subsisting on acorns perished. The same winter Porcius Cato, the colleague of Pompeius, was killed while fighting with the Marsians. While Sulla was encamped near the Pompaean hills Lucius Cluentius pitched his camp in a contemptuous manner at a distance of only three stades from him. Sulla did not tolerate this insolence, but attacked Cluentius without waiting for his own foragers to come in. He was worsted and put to flight, but when he was reinforced by his foragers he turned and defeated Cluentius. The latter then moved his camp to a greater distance. Having received certain Gallic reinforcements he again drew near to Sulla and just as the two armies were coming to an engagement a Gaul of enormous size advanced and

1 There is probably a gap in the text: "half, living on acorns, survived, but half perished."
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CAP. VI. προφαλείτο τινα ἑρμαίων ἐς μάχην. ὡς δ’ αὐτὸν ὑποστὰς Μαυρούσιος ἁνὴρ βραχὺς ἐκτεινεῖν, ἐκπλαγέντες οἱ Γαλάται αὐτικὰ ἐφευγον. παραλυ-θείσης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὐδ’ ὁ ἄλλος ὁμίλος ἔτι τοῦ Κλαεντίου παρέμενεν, ἀλλ’ ἐφευγεν ἐς Νῶλαν ἀκόσμως. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας αὐτοῖς ἐπόμενος ἐκτεινεν ἐς τρισμυρίους ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ τῶν Νωλιῶν αὐτοὺς μιᾷ πύλῃ δεχομένων, ἦν μὴ οἱ πολέμου σφίσι συνεπτέσοιεν, ἐτέρους ἐκτεινεν ἀμφὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐς δισμυρίους· καὶ σὺν τοῖς Κλαεντίοις ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔπεσε.

51. Σύλλας δ’ ἐς θυνὸς ἔτερον, Ἰρπίνους, μετε-στρατοπέδευε καὶ προσέβαλεν Λίκουλάῳ. οἱ δὲ Δευκανοὺς προσδοκώντες αὐτῆς ἡμέρας σφίσιν ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν ἀφίξεσθαι, τὸν Σύλλαν καρόν ἐς σκέψιν ἦτον. ὁ δ’ αἰσθανόμενος τοῦ τεχνά-σματος ὡραν αὐτοῖς ἐδωκε καί τῇ ἐνελίνῳ οὖν τῷ τείχει κληματίδας περιτιθέεις μετὰ τὴν ὑραν ὕψητεν. οἱ δὲ δείσαντες τὴν πόλιν παρεδίδουν. καὶ τῇ μὲν ὁ Σύλλας διήρταζεν ὡς οὐκ εὐνοία προσελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἐφείδετο προστιθεμένων, μέχρι τὸ Ἰρπίνων ἐθνος ἀπαν ὑπηγάγετο, καὶ μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ Σαυνιτας, οὐχ ἡ Μοτῖλος, ὦ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, τὰς παρ-όδους ἐφύλαττεν, ἀλλ’ ἐτέραν ἀδόκητον ἐκ περιό-δου. προσπεσῶν δ’ ἀφιων πολλοὺς τε ἐκτεινε, καὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων στοράδην διαφυγόντων ὁ μὲν Μοτῖλος πραματίας ἐς Αἰεξερίαν σὺν ὕλοις κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξελὼν ἐς Βοιάνον παρῆλθεν, ἢ τὸ κοινοβούλιον ἥν τῶν ἀποστάντων. τρεῖς δ’ ἀκρας τῆς πόλεως
challenged any Roman to single combat. A Mauru-
sian soldier of short stature accepted the challenge
and killed him, whereupon the Gauls became panic-
stricken and fled. Cluentius’ line of battle was thus
broken and the remainder of his troops did not stand
their ground, but fled in disorder to Nola. Sulla
followed them and killed 3000 in the pursuit, and as
the inhabitants of Nola received them by only one
gate, lest the enemy should rush in with them, he
killed about 20,000 more outside the walls and
among them Cluentius himself, who fell fighting
bravely.

51. Then Sulla moved against another tribe, the
Hirpini, and attacked the town of Aeculanum. The
inhabitants, who expected aid from the Lucanians that
very day, asked Sulla to give them time for consider-
ation. He understood the trick and gave them one
hour, and meanwhile piled fagots around their walls,
which were made of wood, and at the expiration of
the hour set them on fire. They were terrified and
surrendered the town. Sulla plundered it because
it had not been delivered up voluntarily but under
necessity. He spared the other towns that gave
themselves up, and in this way the entire population
of the Hirpini was brought under subjection. Then
Sulla moved against the Samnites, not where Mutilus,
the Samnite general, guarded the roads, but by
another circuitous route where his coming was not
expected. He fell upon them suddenly, killed many,
and scattered the rest in disorderly flight. Mutilus
was wounded and took refuge with a few followers
in Aesernia. Sulla destroyed his camp and moved
against Bovanum, where the common council of the
rebels was held. The city had three citadels.
CAP. ἑχουσης καὶ τῶν Βουάνων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπεστραμμένων, περιπέμψας τινὰς ὁ Σύλλας ἔκελευν καταλαβεῖν, ἢν τίνα τῶν ἄλλων δυνηθεῖν ἀκραν, καὶ καπνῷ τοῦτο σημῆναι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ καπνοῦ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐκ μετώπου καὶ μαχόμενοι ώρας τρισὶ καρτερῶς εἶλε τὴν πόλιν.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢν τοῦτο τοῦ θέρους εὐπραγήματα Σύλλας χειμῶνος δ' ἐπιοῦτος ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀρώμην ἀνέστρεφεν, ἐς υπατείαν παραγγέλλων, 52. Γναίος δὲ Πομπήιος ὑπηγάγετο Μάρσους καὶ Μαρροκάνους καὶ Ὀυχστίνους, καὶ Γαίος Κοσκώνιος, ἔτερος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, ἐπελθὼν Σαλαπίαν τε ἐνέπρησε καὶ Κάννας παρέλαβε, καὶ Καυσίον περικαθήμενος Σαυνίταις ἐπελθοῦσιν αὐτεμάχετο ἐγκρατῶς, μέχρι φόνος πολὺς ἐκατέρων ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος ἐλαττούμενος ἐς Κάννας ὑπεχώρει. Τρεβάτιος δ' αὐτῶν, ὅ τῶν Σαυνιτῶν στρατηγός, ποταμῶν διέργοντος, ἐκελεύει η' περᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐς μάχην ἢ ἀναχωρεῖν, ἵνα περάσειν. ο' δ' ἀναχωρεῖ καὶ διαβάντι τῷ Τρεβατίῳ προσπέσων μάχη τε κρείπτων ἐγένετο καὶ φεύγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ ῥέμα αὐτοῦ μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχίλιους διέφθειρεν οἳ δὲ λοιπὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τρεβατίου διέφυγον ἐς Καυσίουν. καὶ ὁ Κοσκώνιος τὴν Δαρναίων καὶ Οὐθενούσίων καὶ Ἀσκλαίων γῆν ἐπιδραμὼν ἐς Ποιδίκλους ἐσέβαλε καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις τὸ ἔθνος παρέλαβε.

53. Καικύλιος δ' αὐτῷ Μέτελλος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγιῶν διάδοχος, ἐς Ἰάπυγας ἐμβαλὼν ἐκράτει καὶ ὁδὲ μάχη τῶν Ἰάπυγων. καὶ Ποπαίδιος, ἄλλος τῶν ἀφεστῶτων στρατηγός, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεσεν· οἳ δὲ λοιποὶ σποράδην ἐς τὸν Καικύλιον 96
While the inhabitants were intently watching Sulla from one of these citadels, he ordered a detachment to capture whichever of the other two they could, and then to make a signal by means of smoke. When the smoke was seen he made an attack in front and, after a severe fight of three hours, took the city.

52. These were the successes of Sulla during that summer. When winter came he returned to Rome to stand for the consulship, but Gnaeus Pompeius brought the Marsians, the Marrucini, and the Vestini under subjection. Gaius Cosconius, another Roman praetor, advanced against Salapia and burned it. He received the surrender of Cannae and laid siege to Canusium; then he had a severe fight with the Samnites, who came to its relief, and after great slaughter on both sides Cosconius was beaten and retreated to Cannae. A river separated the two armies, and Trebatius sent word to Cosconius either to come over to his side and fight him, or to withdraw and let him cross. Cosconius withdrew, and while Trebatius was crossing attacked him and got the better of him, and, while he was escaping toward the stream, killed 15,000 of his men. The remainder took refuge with Trebatius in Canusium. Cosconius overran the territory of Larinum, Venusia, and Asculum, and invaded that of the Poediculi, and within two days received their surrender.

53. Caecilius Metellus, his successor in the praetorship, attacked the Apulians and overcame them in battle. Popaedius, one of the rebel generals, here lost his life, and the survivors joined Metellus in detachments. Such was the course of events through-

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CAP VI διέφυγον. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὡς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον, ἀκμάσαντα δὴ μάλιστα μέχρι τῶν, ἔως Ἰταλία πᾶσα προσεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν, χωρὶς γε Λευκανῶν καὶ Σαυνιτῶν τότε δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ οἴδε τυχεῖν, ὡς ἔχρηξον, ύστερον. ἐς δὲ τὰς φυλὰς ὡμοία τοῖς προτυχοῦσιν ἐκαστοι κατελεγοντο, τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναμεμημένοι ἐπικρατεῖν ἐν τάσις χειροτονίαις, πλέονες ἀντεσ.

54. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου κατὰ τὸ ἀστυ οἱ χρῆσται πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν, οἱ μὲν πράττοντες τὰ χρέα σὺν τόκοις, νόμου τυνὸς πάλαι οὐδὲνος ύπὸ δανείζειν επὶ τόκοις ἢ ζημίαν τὸν οὐτω δανείσαντα προσοφλεῖν. ἀποστραφήκαι γὰρ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοι, καθὰπερ Ἕλληνες, τὸ δανείζειν ὡς καπηλικὸν καὶ βαρὺ τοῖς πένησι καὶ δύσερι καὶ ἐχθροποιίν, ὃ λόγῳ καὶ Πέρσαι τὸ κίχρασθαι ὡς ἀπατηλὸν τε καὶ φιλοψευδὲς. ἔθους δὲ χρονίου τούς τόκους βεβαιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἦτον, οἱ δὲ οἶδον ἐκ πολέμων τε καὶ στάσεως ἀνεβάλλοντο τὰς ἀποδόσεις εἰσὶ δ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ζημίαν τοὺς δανείσαντας ἐκτίσειν ἐπητείλουν.

"Ο τε στρατηγὸς Ἀρσελλῖων, δ' ταῦτα προσέκειτο, ἔπει διαλύων αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐπείθεν, ἐδίδον κατ' ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς δικαστήρια, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἔθους ἀπορίαν ἐς τοὺς δικαστὰς περιφέρων. οἱ
out Italy as regards the Social War, which had raged with violence thus far, until the whole of Italy came into the Roman state except, for the present, the Lucanians and the Samnites, who also seem to have obtained what they desired somewhat later. Each body of allies was enrolled in tribes of its own, like those who had been admitted to citizenship before, so that they might not, by being mingled with the old citizens, vote them down in the elections by force of numbers.

54. About the same time dissensions arose in the city between debtors and creditors,¹ since the latter exacted the money due to them with interest, although an old law distinctly forbade lending on interest and imposed a penalty upon any one doing so. It seems that the ancient Romans, like the Greeks, abhorred the taking of interest on loans as something knavish, and hard on the poor, and leading to contention and enmity; and by the same kind of reasoning the Persians considered lending as having itself a tendency to deceit and lying. But, since time had sanctioned the practice of taking interest, the creditors demanded it according to custom. The debtors, on the other hand, put off their payments on the plea of war and civil commotion. Some indeed threatened to exact the legal penalty from the interest-takers.

The praetor Asellio, who had charge of these matters, as he was not able to compose their differences by persuasion, allowed them to proceed against each other in the courts, thus bringing the deadlock due to the conflict of law and custom before the judges.

¹ χρησταί in the Greek apparently includes both, unless καὶ δανειοσταί is to be inserted.
CAP. VI. δανεισταὶ δὲ χαλεπτήναντες, ὅτι τὸν νόμον παλαιὸν ὅντα ἄνεκαίνης, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν ὅδε· ὁ μὲν ἔθυε τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τοῦ πλήθους ὡς ἐπὶ θυσία περιστάντος· ἐνὸς δὲ λίθου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἀφεθέντος, ἔρρησε τὴν φιάλην καὶ ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἐστίας ἱερὸν ἔτο δρόμῳ. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν προλαβόντες τε ἀπέκλεισαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ καταφυγόντα ἐς τὶ πανδοχεῖον ἐσφαζαν. πολλοὶ τε τῶν διωκότων ἐς τὰς παρθένους αὐτὸν ἤγομένοι καταφυγεῖν ἐσέδραμον, ἐνθα μὴ θέμις ἦν ἀνδράσιν. οὔτω μὲν καὶ Ἀσελλίων στρατηγῶν τε καὶ σπένδων καὶ ἱερὰν καὶ ἐπίχρυσον ἐσθήτα ὡς ἐν θυσίᾳ περικείμενος ἁμφι δευτέραν ὡραν ἐσφάζετο ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ παρὰ ἱεροῖς. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκήρυσσεν, εἰ τις τι περὶ τὸν Ἀσελλίωνος φόνον ἐλέγχειεν, ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἄργυριον, δοῦλῳ δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, συνεγνωκότι δὲ ἄδειαν· οὐ μὴν ἐμήνυσεν οὐδείς, τῶν δανειστῶν περικαλυφάντων.

VII

CAP. VII. 55. Τάδε μὲν δὴ φόνοι καὶ στάσεις ἐτὶ ἴσαν ἐμφύλιοι κατὰ μέρη· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο στρατοῖς μεγάλοις οἱ στασίαρχοι πολέμου νόμῳ συνεπέλεκτο ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡ πατρὶς ἄθλου ἐκεῖτο ἐν μέσῳ. ἀρχὴ δ' ἐς ταῦτα καὶ πάροδος, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ, ἢδε ἐγύγνετο. Ἐπειδὴ Μιθριδάτης ὁ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ ἄλλων
The lenders, exasperated that the now obsolete law was being revived, killed the praetor in the following manner. He was offering sacrifice to Castor and Pollux in the forum, with a crowd standing around as was usual at such a ceremony. In the first place somebody threw a stone at him, on which he dropped the libation-bowl and ran toward the temple of Vesta. They then got ahead of him and prevented him from reaching the temple, and after he had fled into a tavern they cut his throat. Many of his pursuers, thinking that he had taken refuge with the Vestal virgins, ran in there, where it was not lawful for men to go. Thus was Asellio, while serving as praetor, and pouring out the libation, and wearing the sacred gilded vestments customary in such ceremonies, slain at the second hour of the day in the centre of the forum, in the midst of the sacrifice. The Senate offered a reward of money to any free citizen, freedom to any slave, impunity to any accomplice, who should give testimony leading to the conviction of the murderers of Asellio, but nobody gave any information. The money-lenders covered up everything.

VII

55. HITHERTO the murders and seditions had been internal and fragmentary. Afterward the chiefs of factions assailed each other with great armies, according to the usage of war, and their country lay as a prize between them. The beginning and origin of these contentions came about directly after the Social War, in this wise.

When Mithridates, king of Pontus and of other
CAP. VII ἑθνῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς Βιθυνίαν καὶ Φρογίαν καὶ τὴν ὁμορον αὐταῖς Ἀσίαν ἐνέβαλεν, ὡς μοι κατὰ τὴν Βίβλον εἰρηταὶ τὴν πρὸ τῆς διήθεν, Σύλλας μὲν ὑπατεύων ἐλαχεὶς στρατηγεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου (καὶ ἢν ἐτι ἐν ᾿Ῥώμη), Μάριος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον εὐχρῆ ἐκ τοῦ πολύχρυσον ἡγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς στρατηγίας ὑπηγάγετο οἱ συμπράσσειν ἐς τότῳ Πούπλιον Σουλπίκιον δήμαρχον ὑποσχέσει πολλαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ιταλίας νεοπολίτας, μειονεκτοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς χειροτονίαις, ἐπῆλπιζεν ὡς τὰς φυλάς ἀπάσας διαρρέειν, οὐ προλέγων μὲν τι περὶ τῆς ἕαυτοῦ χρείας, ὡς δὲ ὑπηρέταις ἐς πάντα χρησομένους εὔνους. καὶ νόμον αὐτικά ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐσέφερε περὶ τοῦτοι οὐ κυρωθέντος ἐμελλε πάν ὁ τί βουλοῖτο Μάριος ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἔσεσθαι, τῶν νεοπολίτων πολὺ παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πλειώνων ὄντων. οἱ δὲ ἄρχαιότεροι συνορῶντες ταῦτα ἐγκρατῶς τοὺς νεοπολίτας διεφέροντο. ξύλοις δὲ καὶ λίθοις χρωμένων αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ μείζονος αἰεὶ γιγνομένου τοῦ κακοῦ, δεῖσαντες οἱ ύπατοι περὶ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ τοῦ νόμου πλησίασον προύγραφαν ἡμερῶν ἀργίας πολλῶν, ὅποιον ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰσέθη γίγνεσθαι, ἢν τὸς ἀναβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ.

56. Σουλπίκιος δὲ τὴν ἀργίαν οὐκ ἀναμένων ἔκελευε τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦκεν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφίδιων καὶ δρᾶν, ὅ τι ἐπείγοι, μηδὲ αὐτῶν φειδομένους τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ δέοι. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἑτοιμα ἦν, κατηγορεῖ τῶν ἀργίων ὡς παρανόμων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν.
nations, invaded Bithynia and Phrygia and that part of Asia adjacent to those countries, as I have related in the preceding book, the consul Sulla was chosen by lot to the command of Asia and the Mithridatic war, but was still in Rome. Marius, for his part, thought that this would be an easy and lucrative war and desiring the command of it prevailed upon the tribune, Publius Sulpicius, by many promises, to help him to obtain it. He also encouraged the new Italian citizens, who had very little power in the elections, to hope that they should be distributed among all the tribes—not in any way openly suggesting his own advantage, but with the expectation of employing them as loyal servants for all his ends. Sulpicius straightway brought forward a law for this purpose. If it were enacted Marius and Sulpicius would have everything they wanted, because the new citizens far outnumbered the old ones. The old citizens saw this and opposed the new ones with all their might. They fought each other with sticks and stones, and the evil increased continually, till the consuls, becoming apprehensive, as the day for voting on the law drew near, proclaimed a vacation of several days, such as was customary on festal occasions, in order to postpone the voting and the danger.

56. Sulpicius would not wait for the end of the vacation, but ordered his faction to come to the forum with concealed daggers and to do whatever the exigency might require, sparing not even the consuls if need be. When everything was in readiness he denounced the vacations as illegal and ordered the consuls, Cornelius Sulla and Quintus

1. A cessation from all public business.
καὶ Κόιντον Πομπήιον ἐκέλευεν αὐτὰς αὐτίκα ἀναίρειν, ἵνα προθείη τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῶν νόμων. θορύβου δὲ ἀναστάντος οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ ἐξιφίδια ἐπεσπάσαντο καὶ τοὺς υπάτους ἀντιλέγοντας ἦπείλουν κτενεῖν, μέχρι Πομπήίος μὲν λαθῶν διέφυγε, Σύλλας δὲ ὡς Βουλευσόμενος ὑπεχώρηε. καὶ τὸδε Γομπηίου τὸν νῖόν, κηδεύοντα τῷ Σύλλα, παρρησιαζομένον τι καὶ λέγοντα κτείνοντι σύ τοῦ Σουλπτίκιον στασίωται. καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἐβάστασε τὴν ἀργίαν ἐς τῷ Καπινῇ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ στρατὸν, ὡς ἐκ Καπιῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον διαβαλῶν, ἦπείγετο, οὐ γὰρ πὼ τινὸς τῶν ἐπὶ αὐτὸ πραττομένων ἠσθετο. δὲ Σουλπτίκιος, ἀναίρεθείς τῆς ἀργίας καὶ Σύλλα τῆς πόλεως ἀποστάντος, ἐκύρων τὸν νόμον καὶ, οὐ χάριν ἀπαντὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, Μάριον εὔθυς ἐχειροτονεῖ τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην πολέμου στρατηγεῖν ἀντὶ Σύλλα.

57. Πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Σύλλας καὶ πολέμῳ κρίνας διακριθήναι συνήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τόνδε τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν Μιθριδάτην στρατείας ὀργομένων τε ὡς ἐπικερδοὺς καὶ νομίζοντα Μάριον ἐς αὐτὴν ἔτερους καταλέξειν ἀνθ’ ἐαυτῶν. τὴν δὲ ύβριν ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν Σουλπτίκιον τε καὶ Μάριον καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκόν (οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμα πῶ λέγειν περὶ τοιοῦτο πολέμου), παρήνεσεν ἐτοίμοις ἐς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ συνέντεις τῷ ὅν ἐπενείει καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες, μὴ τῆς στρατείας ἀποτύχοιεν, ἀπεγύμνουν αὐτὸ τὸ ἐνύμημα τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἐς Ἄρμην σφᾶς ἄγειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευον. δὲ ἴσθείς ἤγεν ἐξ τέλη στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα. καὶ
Pompeius, to put an end to them at once, in order to proceed to the enactment of the laws. A tumult arose, and those who had been armed drew their daggers and threatened to kill the consuls, who refused to obey. Finally Pompeius escaped secretly and Sulla withdrew on the pretext of taking advice. In the meantime the son of Pompeius, who was the son-in-law of Sulla, and who was speaking his mind rather freely, was killed by the Sulpicians. Presently Sulla came on the scene and, having annulled the vacation, hurried away to Capua, where his army was stationed, as if to cross over to Asia to take command of the war against Mithridates, for he knew nothing as yet of the designs against himself. As the vacation was annulled and Sulla had left the city, Sulpicius enacted his law, and Marius, for whose sake it was done, was forthwith chosen commander of the war against Mithridates in place of Sulla.

57. When Sulla heard of this he resolved to decide the question by war, and called the army together to a conference. They were eager for the war against Mithridates because it promised much plunder, and they feared that Marius would enlist other soldiers instead of themselves. Sulla spoke of the indignity put upon him by Sulpicius and Marius, and while he did not openly allude to anything else (for he did not dare as yet to mention this sort of war), he urged them to be ready to obey his orders. They understood what he meant, and as they feared lest they should miss the campaign they uttered boldly what Sulla had in mind, and told him to be of good courage, and to lead them to Rome. Sulla was overjoyed and led six legions thither forthwith; but all his superior officers, except
αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοῦ στρατοῦ χωρὶς ἕνος ταμίου διέδρασαν ἐς Ἡρώμην, οὐχ ὑφιστάμενοι στρατὸν ἁγείν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα. πρέσβεις δὲ ἐν ὁδῷ καταλαβόντες ἥρωτων, τί μεθ’ ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἔλαινοι. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ἐλευθερώσων αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τυραννῶν.

Καὶ τούτῳ διὰ τρῖς ἑτέροις καὶ ἑτέροις πρέσβειν ἔλθοσιν εἰπών ἐπηγγελλεν ὁμως, εἰ θέλων τὴν τε σύγκλητον αὐτῷ καὶ Μάριον καὶ Σουλπίκιον ἕς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδίον συναγαγεῖν, καὶ πράξειν, ὦ τι ἄν βουλευομένοι δοκῇ. πλησιάζοντι δὲ Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ σύναρχος ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἄρεσκομενος τοῖς γυγρομένοις ἀφίκετο συμπράξων ἐς ἀπαντα, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἐς παρασκευὴν ὀλίγου διαστήματος δεόμενοι πρέσβεις ἑτέρους ἐπεμπὸν ὡς δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεσταλμένους, δεόμενοι μὴ ἀγχοτέρω τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῇ Ἡρώμῃ παραστρατοπεδεύειν, μέχρι ἐπισκέψαιντο περὶ τῶν παρῶντων. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ ἐνθύμημα σαφῶς εἰδότες ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὅτε πράξειν, εὐθὺς δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπιούσιν εἴποντο.

58. Καὶ Σύλλας μὲν τὰς Δἰσκυλείας πύλας καὶ τὸ παρ’ αὐτὰς τεῖχος ἐνὶ τέλει στρατιωτῶν κατελάμβανε, Πομπήιος δὲ τὰς Κολλίνας ἑτέρω τέλει καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν ξυλίνην γέφυραν ἐχώρει, καὶ τέταρτον πρὸ τῶν τείχων ἐς διαδοχὴν ὑπὲμενε. τοῖς δ’ ὑπολοίποις ὁ Σύλλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει δοξὴ καὶ ἔργῳ πολεμίου. ὅθεν αὐτὸν οὶ περιοικοῦντες ἀνωθεν ἡμύνοντο βάλλοντες, μέχρι τὰς οἰκίας ἥπειρησεν ἐμπρησεῖν τότε δ’ οἱ μὲν ἀνέσχον, Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἀπῆμτων περὶ
one quaestor, left him and fled to the city, because they would not submit to the idea of leading an army against their country. Envoys met him on the road and asked him why he was marching with armed forces against his country. "To deliver her from her tyrants," he replied.

He gave the same answer to a second and a third embassy that came to him, one after another, but he announced to them finally that the Senate and Marius and Sulpicius might meet him in the Campus Martius if they liked, and that he would do whatever might be agreed upon after consultation. As he was approaching, his colleague, Pompeius, came to meet and congratulate him, and to offer his whole-hearted help, for he was delighted with the steps he was taking. As Marius and Sulpicius needed some short interval for preparation, they sent other messengers, also in the guise of envoys from the Senate, directing him not to move his camp nearer than forty stades from the city until they could review the state of affairs. Sulla and Pompeius understood their motive perfectly and promised to comply, but as soon as the envoys withdrew they followed them.

58. Sulla took possession of the Esquiline gate and of the adjoining wall with one legion of soldiers, and Pompeius occupied the Colline gate with another. A third advanced to the Wooden bridge, and a fourth remained on guard in front of the walls. With the remainder Sulla entered the city, in appearance and in fact an enemy. Those in the neighbouring houses tried to keep him off by hurling missiles from the roofs until he threatened to burn the houses; then they desisted. Marius and Sulpicius went, with some forces they had hastily armed, to meet the invaders
Την Αἰσκύλειον ἀγοραν μεθ' ὅσων ἐφθάκεσαν ὀπλίσαι. καὶ γίγνεται τις ἀγών ἔχθρων, ὥστε πρῶτος ἐν Ὀμη, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἐκόνι στάσεως ἐτι, ἀλλὰ ἀπροφασίστως ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι καὶ σημείοις, πολέμου νόμῳ ἐσ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶς κακοῦ τὰ τῶν στάσεων ἁμεληθέντα προέκοψε.

Τρεπομένων δὲ τῶν Σῦλλα στρατιωτῶν, ὁ Σῦλλας σημεῖον ἀρπάσας προεκινδύνειν, ὡς αἰδοὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ δεῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ σημείῳ εἰ ἀπέχοντο, ἀτιμίας εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς αὐτοῦς μετατίθεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Σῦλλας ἐκάλει τε τοὺς νεαλεῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ ἑτέρους κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Σιβούραν ὁδὸν περιέπεμπεν, ἢ κατὰ νότον τῶν πολεμίων ἐμελλον ἔσεσθαι περιδραμόντες. οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάριον πρὸς τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀκμῆτας ἀσθενῶς μαχόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς περιδραμούσης δείσαντες περικύκλωσιν τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολίτας ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄτι μαχομένους συνεκάλουν καὶ τοὺς δούλους ἐκήρυττον ἔλευθερίαν εἰ μετάσχοιν τοῦ πόνου. οὕδενδος δὲ προσιόντος ἀπογρόντες ἀπάντων ἐφευγον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὡσοὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνεπεπράχεσαν.

59. Ὁ δὲ Σῦλλας τότε μὲν ἐς τὴν λεγομένην Ἰερᾶν ὁδὸν παρῆλθε καὶ τοὺς διαρπάζοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ποσὶν αὐτίκα ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἐφορώντων ἐκόλαξε, φρουρὰν δὲ κατὰ μέρος ἐπιστήσας τῇ πόλει διενυκτέρευεν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, περιδέοντες ἐκάπττος, ἢν μή τι δεινὸν ἢ παρὰ τῶν δεδιότων ἢ παρὰ τῶν νεικηκότων ἐπιγένετο. ἀμα δ' ἠμέρα τὸν δήμον ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες ὅδυροντο περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK I

near the Esquiline forum, and here a battle took place between the contending parties, the first regularly fought in Rome with bugle and standards in full military fashion, no longer like a mere faction fight. To such extremity of evil had the recklessness of party strife progressed among them.

Sulla's forces were beginning to waver when Sulla seized a standard and exposed himself to danger in the foremost ranks, so that from regard for their general and fear of ignominy, should they abandon their standard, they might rally at once. Then he ordered up the fresh troops from his camp and sent others around by the Suburran road to take the enemy in the rear. The Marians fought feebly against these new-comers, and as they feared lest they should be surrounded they called to their aid the other citizens who were still fighting from the houses, and proclaimed freedom to slaves who would share their dangers. As nobody came forward they fell into utter despair and fled at once out of the city, together with those of the nobility who had co-operated with them.

59. Sulla advanced to the Via Sacra, and there, in sight of everybody, punished at once certain soldiers for looting things they had come across. He stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, he and Pompeius keeping watch by night. Each kept moving about his own command to see that no calamity was brought about either by the frightened people or by the victorious troops. At daybreak they summoned the people to an assembly and lamented the condition of the republic, which had been so long given over to demagogues, and said that they had
60. Ωδε μὲν αἱ στάσεις ἐξ ἑρίδος καὶ φιλονικίας ἑπὶ φόνους καὶ ἐκ φόνους ἐς πολέμους ἐντελεῖς προέκοπτον, καὶ στρατὸς πολιτῶν ὡδε πρῶτος ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίας ἐσέβαλεν. οὐδ’ ἐληξαν ἀπὸ τούδε αἱ στάσεις ἐτί κρινόμεναι στρατοπέδους, ἀλλ’ ἐσβολαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγίνοντο καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ ὡσὰ ἀλλὰ πολέμων ἐργα, οὐδενός ἐτὶ ἐς αἰῶν ὡς βιαζομένοις ἐμποδών ὄντος, ἡ νόμων ἡ πολιτείας ἡ πατρίδος. τότε δὲ Σουλπτίκιοι δημαρχοῦντα ἐτὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάριον, ἐξάκις
done what they had done as a matter of necessity. They proposed that no question should ever again be brought before the people which had not been previously considered by the Senate, an ancient practice which had been abandoned long ago; also that the voting should not be by tribes, but by centuries, as King Servius Tullius had ordained. They thought that by these two measures—namely, that no law should be brought before the people unless it had been previously before the Senate, and that the voting should be controlled by the well-to-do and sober-minded rather than by the pauper and reckless classes—there would no longer be left any starting-point for civil discord. They proposed many other measures for curtailing the power of the tribunes, which had become extremely tyrannical, and enrolled 300 of the best citizens at once in the list of the senators, who had been reduced at that time to a very small number and had fallen into contempt for that reason. They also annulled all the acts performed by Sulpicius after the vacation had been proclaimed by the consuls, as being illegal.

60. Thus the seditions proceeded from strife and contention to murder, and from murder to open war, and now the first army of her own citizens had invaded Rome as a hostile country. From this time the seditions were decided only by the arbitrament of arms. There were frequent attacks upon the city and battles before the walls and other calamities incident to war. Henceforth there was no restraint upon violence either from the sense of shame, or regard for law, institutions, or country. This time Sulpicius, who still held the office of tribune, together with Marius, who had been consul six times,
ΟΑΡ. ὑπατευκότα, καὶ τὸν Μαρίων παῖδα καὶ Πούπλιον
Κέθηγον καὶ Ίουνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Γναίον καὶ
Κοίντον Γράνιον καὶ Πούπλιον Ἀλβινουανὸν
καὶ Μάρκον Δαιτώριον ἔτέρουσ τε, ὅσοι μετ’
αὐτῶν, ἐς δώδεκα μάλιστα, ἐκ Ρώμης διεπεφεύ-
γεσαν, ὡς στάσω ἐγείραντας καὶ πολεμήσαντας
ὑπάτως καὶ δούλως κηρύξαντας ἐλευθερίαν εἰς
ἀπόστασιν πολεμίους Ἐρωμαίων ἑψήφιστο εἶναι
καὶ τὸν ἑντυχόντα νηπιωτεῖ κτείνειν ἡ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ
τοὺς ὑπάτους· τὰ τέ ὄντα αὐτοῦς δεδήμεντο.

Καὶ ξητηταί διέθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὦ Σουλ-
πίκιον μὲν καταλαβόντες ἐκτείναν 61. ὁ δὲ
Μάριος αὐτοὺς ἐς Μιντούρνας διέφυγεν, ἐρήμους
ὑπηρέτου τε καὶ θεράπουτος. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς
τόλεως ἄρχοντες ἀναπαύσαμεν ἐν οίκῳ ξοφώδει
δεδύσες μὲν τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ δήμου, φυλαττόμενοι
δὲ ἄνδρος ἑξάκις ὑπατεύσαντος καὶ πολλὰ καὶ
λαμπρὰ εἰργασμένου αὐθεντεῖ γενέσθαι, Γαλάτην
ἄνδρα ἐπιδημοῦντα μετὰ ξίφοις ἐσέπεμψαν ἀνε-
λείν. τὸν δὲ Γαλάτην φασίν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ προσ-
ιόντα τῷ στιβαδίῳ δεῖσαι, δόξαντα τοὺς ὀφθαλ-
μοὺς τοῦ Μαρίου πυρὸς αὐγὴν καὶ φλόγα ἀφιέναι·
ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάριος αὐτὸς ὑπαινιστάμενος ἐκ τῆς
εὐνής ἐνεβόησε παμμέγεθε αὐτῶ· "οὐ τοιμᾶς
κτείναι Γάιοι Μάριου;" προτροπᾶδην ἃ Γαλάτης
ἐφευγεν ἐξω διὰ θυρῶν μεμνητὶ ξοικῶς καὶ
βοῶν "οὐ δύναμαι κτείναι Γάιοι Μάριου;"
ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχονσιν, ἀτε καὶ τέως ταῦτα σὺν
ὄκνῳ κεκρικόσιν, ἐνέπιπτε τι δαιμόνιον δέος καὶ
μνήμη τῆς ἐκ παιδὸς ἑπιφημισθείσῃς τῷ ἄνδρι
ἐβδόμης ὑπατείας· παιδὶ γὰρ ὄντι φασίν ἐς τοὺς
κόλπους ἀετοῦ νεοτοῦς ἑπτὰ καταρρυήναι καὶ

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and his son Marius, also Publius Cethegus, Junius Brutus, Gnaeus and Quintus Granius, Publius Albino-vanus, Marcus Laetorius, and others with them, about twelve in number, had been exiled from Rome, because they had stirred up the sedition, had borne arms against the consuls, had incited slaves to insurrection, and had been voted enemies of the Roman people; and anybody meeting them had been authorized to kill them with impunity or to drag them before the consuls, while their goods had been confiscated.

Detectives, too, were hard on their tracks, who caught Sulpicius and killed him, but 61. Marius escaped them and fled to Minturnae without companion or servant. While he was resting in a darkened house the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul who was living there to kill him with a sword. The Gaul, it is said, was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk when he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from his eyes, and Marius rose from his bed and shouted to him in a thundering voice, "Do you dare to kill Gaius Marius?" He turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius." The magistrates had come to their previous decision with reluctance, and now a kind of religious awe came over them as they remembered the prophecy uttered while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times. For it was said that while he was a boy seven eaglets alighted on his breast, and that
Τοὺς μάντεις εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἔπτάκις ἐπὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἐσοίτο.

62. Ταύτ’ οὖν οἱ τῆς Μιντούρης ἀρχοντες ἐνθυμοῦμενοι καὶ τὸν Γαλάτην ἔνθουν κατὰ δαίμονα καὶ περιδεῖ οἰμόρομενες γεγονέναι, τὸν Μάριον αὐτίκα τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεμπτον, ὅπη δύνατο, σώζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ συγγυγιώσκων ἑαυτῷ ἡμομένῳ τε ἐκ Σύλλα καὶ πρὸς ἑπτεόν διωκομένῳ, ὥσπερ ἀτριβεῖς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἡλάτο καὶ καλύβης ἐπίτυχων ἀνεπαύετο, φυλλάδα ἐπιβαλόμενος τῷ σώματι. ψόφον δ’ αἰσθόμενος ἐς τὴν φυλλάδα ὑπεκρύθη καὶ μᾶλλον ἑτὶ αἰσθόμενος ἐς σκάφος ἀλιέως πρεσβύτου παρορμοῦν, βιασάμενος τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἐσὴλατο χειμῶνος ὄντος καὶ τὸ πεῖσμα κόνας καὶ τὸ ἰστίον πετάσας ἐπέτρεψε τῇ τύχῃ φέρειν. κατηχθεὶ δὲ ἐς τινὰ νῆσον, ὅθεν νεώς οἰκείων ἀνδρῶν παραπλεούσης ἐπίτυχον ἐς Λιβύην ἐπέρα. εἰργόμενος δὲ καὶ Λιβύης ὡς πολέμιος ὑπὸ Σεξστίλιου ἠγομένου, διεχείμαζεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ Λιβύην ἄνω, ἐν τοῖς Νομάδων ὅροις. καὶ αὐτῷ θαλασσεύοντι δεύρῳ κατὰ πῦστιν ἐπέπλευσαν τῶν συγκατεγευσμένων Κέθηγος τε καὶ Γράνιος καὶ Ἀλβινοναύδος καὶ Δαιτώριος καὶ ἔτεροι καὶ ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ Μαρίου· οὗ ἡ Παρσηψαλαὶ τῶν Νομάδων δυνάστην ἀπὸ Ρώμης διέψυχον, ὑποψία δ’ ἐκδόσεως ἐκείθεν ἀπέδρασαν. Οἱ μὲν δὴ, καθαρὰ καὶ Σύλλας ἐπεπράξει, βιάσασθαι τὴν πατρίδα διανοοῦμενοι, στρατιάν δ’ οὐκ ἔχοντες, περιεβλέπον, εἰ τι συμβαίνῃ. 63. ἐν δὲ Ρώμη Σύλλας μὲν, ὅπλοις τὴν τόλμων ὁδὲ πρῶτος καταλαβὼν τε καὶ δυνηθεῖς ἃν ἴσως ἢδη μοναρ.
the soothsayers predicted that he would attain the highest office seven times.

62. Bearing these things in mind and believing that the Gaul had been inspired with fear by divine influence, the magistrates of Minturnae sent Marius out of the town forthwith, to seek safety wherever he could. As he knew that Sulla was searching for him and that horsemen were pursuing him, he moved toward the sea by unfrequented roads and came to a hut where he rested, covering himself up with leaves. Hearing a slight noise, he concealed himself more carefully with the leaves, but becoming more sure he rushed to the boat of an old fisherman, which was on the beach, overpowered him, leaped into it, and, although a storm was raging, cut the painter, spread the sail, and committed himself to chance. He was driven to an island where he found a ship navigated by his own friends, and sailed thence to Africa. He was prohibited from landing even there by the governor, Sextilius, because he was a public enemy, and he passed the winter in his ship a little beyond the province of Africa, in Numidia. While he was sailing thither he was joined by Cethegus, Granius, Albinovanus, Laetorius, and others, and his son Marius, who had gained tidings of his approach. They had fled from Rome to Hiempsal prince of Numidia, and now they had run away from him, fearing lest they should be delivered up.

They were ready to do just as Sulla had done, that is, to master their country by force, but as they had no army they waited for some opportunity; 63. but in Rome Sulla, who had been the first to seize the city by force of arms, and now perhaps could have
χεῖν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμύνατο, τὴν βλαν ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς Καπύνην προπέμψας αὕτης ἤρχεν ὡς ὑπατος· οί δὲ τῶν ἐξελαθέντων στασιῶταί, ὅσοι τῶν πλούσιων, καὶ γύναια πολλὰ πολυχρήματα, τοῦ δέους τῶν ὁπλῶν ἀναπνεύσαντες ἤρεθίζοντο ὑπὲρ καθόδου τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οὐδὲν σπουδῆς ἢ δαπάνης ἢ τοῦτο ἀπέλειπον, ἐπιβουλεύοντες καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπάτων σώμασιν ὡς ὁμ ἐνὸν τῶν ἐπὶ περιοντῶν ἑκεῖνοι κατελθεῖν. Σύλλα μὲν δὴ καὶ παυσαμένῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς στρατὸς ἦν, ὃ ἐψήφισμένος ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἐς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ φύλαξ. Κόινον δὲ Πομπήιον, τὸν ἔτερον ὑπατον, ὁ δὴμος οἰκτείρων τοῦ δέους ἐψηφίσατο ἄρχειν Ἰταλίας καὶ ἔτερον τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς στρατοῦ, τότε ὄντος ὑπὸ Γναῖφ Πομπήιο. τοῦθ᾽ ὁ Γναῖφος πυθόμενος τε καὶ δυσχεράνας ἦκοντα μὲν τὸν Κόινον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐσεδέξατο, καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης τι χρηματίζοντος ὑπεχώρησε μικρὸν ὁλα ἰδιώτης, μέχρι τοῦ ὑπατον πολλοὶ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ἀκροάσεως περιστάνταις ἐκτειναν. καὶ φυγῆς τῶν λοιπῶν γενομένης ὁ Γναῖφος αὐτοῖς ὑπήντα, χαλεπάινων ὡς ὑπάτου παρανόμους ἀνηρμένου δυσχεράνας δ' ὄμως εὑθὺς ἤρχεν αὐτῶν.
wielded supreme power, having rid himself of his enemies, desisted from violence of his own accord. He sent his army forward to Capua and resumed consular authority. The supporters of the banished faction, especially the rich, and many wealthy women, who now found a respite from the terror of arms, bestirred themselves for the return of the exiles. They spared neither pains nor expense to this end, even conspiring against the persons of the consuls, since they thought they could not secure the recall of their friends while the consuls survived. For Sulla the army, which had been voted for the Mithridatic war, furnished ample protection even after he should cease to be consul; but the people commiserated the perilous position of the other consul, Quintus Pompeius, and gave him the command of Italy and of the army appertaining to it, which was then under Gnaeus Pompeius. When the latter learned this he was greatly displeased, but received Quintus in the camp, and, when next day Quintus began to take over his duties, he gave way to him for a time as if relieved of his command; but a little later a crowd that had collected around the consul under pretence of listening to him killed him. After the guilty ones had fled, Gnaeus came to the camp in a high state of indignation over the illegal killing of a consul, but despite his displeasure he forthwith resumed his command over them.1

1 The Epitome of Livy (lxxvii.) says that Gnaeus Pompeius the pro-consul procured the murder of Quintus Pompeius the consul, when the latter came to supersede him.
64. Ἐξαγγελθέντος δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Πομπήιου φόνου, αὐτίκα μὲν ὁ Σύλλας περιδεῖσι ἔφε
ἐαυτῷ γενόμενος τοὺς φίλους περιήγητο πανταχοῦ καὶ νυκτὸς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐίχεν, οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐπιμείνας
ἐς Καπίνην ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν κἀκεῖθεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξήλασεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν φυγάδων φίλοι Κίννα, τῷ μετὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατεύοντι, θαρροῦντες
toὺς νεοπολίτας ἡρέθιζον ἐς τὸ ἐνθύμιμα τοῦ Μαρίου, ταῖς φυλαῖς πάσαις ἄξιοιν ἀναμιχθῆ-
nai, ἵνα μὴ τελευταίοι Ψηφιζόμενοι πάντων ὄσιν ἄκυροι. τούτῳ δὴ προοίμιον τῆς αὐτοῦ τε
Μαρίου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν ἀνδρα καθόδουν. ἀνθι-
stαμένων δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ κράτος, Κίννας
μὲν τοὺς νεοπολίτας συνέπραττε, νομιζόμενος ἐπὶ
tῷ δὲ τριακόσια δωροδοκήσαι τάλαντα, τοῖς δ' ἀρχαῖοισ ὁ ἐτέρος ὑπατος Ὀκτάοιοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν
ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν προλαβόντες τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ
kεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων ἔβον ἐς τὰς φυλὰς πάσας ἀναμιγήναι: τὸ δὲ καθαρώτερον πλῆθος ἐς τὸν
Ὀκτάοιον ἔχωρει, καὶ οὗδε μετὰ ξιφιδίων.
"Ετι δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τὸ μέλλον περι-
ορωμένῳ ἐξαγγέλλεται τοὺς πλέονας δημάρχους
κωλύειν τὰ γιγνόμενα, θὸρυβον δὲ τῶν νεοπολίτῶν
einai καὶ ἀπογύμνωσιν ἡδὴ τῶν ξιφιδίων περὶ
όδων ἐς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας δημάρχους ἀναπηδών-
tων ἐπὶ τὰ ἔμβολα. ὧν Ὀκτάοιοι πυθόμενοι
κατέβαιν διὰ τῆς Ἰερᾶς ὁδοῦ μετὰ πυκνοῦ πάνω
πλῆθους καὶ οἰα χειμάρρους ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμπε-
σών ὡσατο μὲν διὰ μέσων τῶν συνεστῶτων καὶ
64. When the murder of Pompeius was reported in the city, Sulla became apprehensive for his own safety and was surrounded by friends wherever he went, and had them with him even by night. He did not, however, remain long in the city, but went to the army at Capua and from thence to Asia, and the friends of the exiles, encouraged by Cinna, Sulla’s successor in the consulship, excited the new citizens in favour of the scheme of Marius, that they should be distributed among all the old tribes, so that they should not be powerless by reason of voting last. This was preliminary to the recall of Marius and his friends. Although the old citizens resisted with all their might, Cinna co-operated with the new ones, the story being that he had been bribed with 300 talents to do this. The other consul, Octavius, sided with the old citizens. The partisans of Cinna took possession of the forum with concealed daggers, and with loud cries demanded that they should be distributed among all the tribes. The more reputable part of the plebeians adhered to Octavius, and they also carried daggers.

While Octavius was still at home awaiting the result, the news was brought to him that the majority of the tribunes had vetoed the proposed action, but that the new citizens had started a riot, drawn their daggers on the street, and assaulted the opposing tribunes on the rostra. When Octavius heard this he ran down through the Via Sacra with a very dense mass of men, burst into the forum like a torrent, pushed through the midst of the crowd,
CAP. VIII, Διεστησειν αυτούς· ώς δὲ κατέπληξεν, ἐς τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν παρῆλθε, τὸν Κίνναν ἐκτρεπό-
μενος. ὅσιοι δ᾽ αὐτῷ συνήσαν, χωρὶς ἐπαγγέλμα-
tος ἐμπεσόντες τοὺς νεοπολίταις ἐκτεινών τε πολ-
λους καὶ ἑτέρους φεύγοντας ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐδίωκον.
65. Κίννας δὲ θαρρήσας μὲν τῷ πλήθει τῶν
νεοπολιτῶν καὶ βιάσεσθαι προσδοκήσας, παρὰ
δόξαν δ᾽ ὀρῶν τὸ τόλμημα τῶν ὁλιγωτέρων ἐπικρα-
tοῦν, ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔθει τοὺς θεράποντας ἐπ᾽
ἐλευθερία συγκαλῶν. οὖνδεν δ᾽ αὐτῷ προσίστοτος
ἐξέδραμεν ἐς τὰς ἀγχοῦ πόλεις τὰς οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ
πολιτίδας Ἡρωμαίων γενομένας, Τίβυρτόν τε καὶ
Πραινεστὸν καὶ ὅσαί μέχρι Νώλης, ἐρεθίζων
ἀπαντας ἐς ὑπόστασιν καὶ χρῆματα ἐς τὸν πόλε-
μον συνλέγων. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐργαζόμενοι τε καὶ
ἐπινοοῦντι τῷ Κίννα προσέφυγον ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς
οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐφρόωνοι, Γαίος τε Μιλώνιος καὶ
Κώντος Σερτώριος καὶ Γαίος Μάριος ἑτέρος.
Ἡ μὲν δὴ βουλή τὸν Κίνναν, ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ τε
τὴν πόλιν καταλιπόντα ὑπατον καὶ δούλους ἐλευ-
θερίαν κηρύζαντα, ἐψηφίσατο μὴτε ὑπατον μὴτε
πολιτήν ἐτι εἶναι καὶ Λεύκιον Μερόλαν ἐχειροτό-
νησαν ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Δίος. λέγεται δ᾽
οὔτος ὁ ἱερεὺς φλαμέντας καὶ πιλοφορεῖ μόνος
αἰεί, τῶν ἄλλων ἵερεών ἐν μόναις πιλοφορούντων
tαῖς ἱερουργίαις. Κίννας δ᾽ ὡς Ἡκατυῖον τραπό-
μενος, ἐνθα Ἡρωμαίων στρατὸς ἄλλος ἦν, τοὺς τε
ἀρχοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσιοι ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπεδή-
μουν, ἐθεράπευε καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ὑπατος ἐς
μέσους τὰς τε ράβδους καθείλεν οἷα ἰδιώτης καὶ
and separated them. He struck terror into them, went on to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and drove Cinna away; while his companions fell upon the new citizens without orders, killed many of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to the city gates.

65. Cinna, who had been emboldened by the numbers of the new citizens to think that he should conquer, seeing the victory won contrary to his expectation by the bravery of the few, hurried through the city calling the slaves to his assistance by an offer of freedom. As none responded he hastened to the towns near by, which had lately been admitted to Roman citizenship, Tibur, Praeneste, and the rest as far as Nola, inciting them all to revolution and collecting money for the purposes of war. While Cinna was making these preparations and plans certain senators of his party joined him, among them Gaius Milo, Quintus Sertorius, and Gaius Marius the younger.

The Senate decreed that since Cinna had left the city in danger while holding the office of consul, and had offered freedom to the slaves, he should no longer be consul, or even a citizen, and elected in his stead Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter. It is said that this priest alone wore the flamen's cap at all times, the others wearing it only during sacrifices. Cinna proceeded to Capua, where there was another Roman army, whose officers together with the senators who were present, he tried to win over. He went to meet them as consul in an assembly, where he laid down the fasces as though he were a private

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1 The *apex* (in this case the *apex Dialis*), a conical hat or cap. See also § 74 below.
Δακρύσας ἔφη· "παρὰ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὦ πολῖται, τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἔλαβον· ὁ γὰρ δὴμος ἐχειροτόνησεν ἢ βουλὴ δ᾽ ἀφελετό με χωρὶς ὑμῶν. καὶ τάδε παθῶν ἐν οἴκειοις κακοῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὀμως ἀγα- νακτῶ· τί γὰρ ἐτί τὰς φυλὰς ἐν ταῖς χειροτονίαις θεραπεύουμεν, τί δὲ ὑμῶν δεόμεθα, ποῦ δὲ ἔσεσθε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ χειροτονίας ἡ τῶν ὑπατειῶν ἐτὶ κυρίοι, εἰ μὴ βεβαιώσετε μὲν, ἃ διδοτε, ἀφαιρή- σεσθε δ᾽, ὅταν αὐτοὶ δοκιμάσητε."

66. Ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν ἐς ἑρεθίσμα καὶ πολλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ κατοικτισάμενος τὴν τε ἑσθήτα κατέρρηξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταθρόων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν ἐς μέσους καὶ ἐκεῖτο ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ἐς ἐπικλα- σθέντες ἀνέστησαν τε αὐτὸν καὶ καθάσαντες αὐθις ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τὰς τε ράβδους ἀνέσχον καὶ θαρρεῖν οἰα ὑπατον ἐκέλευν καὶ σφᾶς ἀγειν ἐφ᾽ ὦ τι χρήζοι. τῆς δ᾽ ἀφορμῆς εὐθὺς οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπέβαινον καὶ ὁμνυον τῷ Κίννα τὸν ὄρκον τὸν στρατιωτικὸν, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐξώρκουν. ὁ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ οἱ ταῦτα ἐλεημ. ἀσφαλὼς, ἐπὶ τὰς συμμαχίας πόλεως διέδει καὶ ἱρέθιες κάλε- νους, ὡς διὰ τούσδε μάλιστα τὴν συμφορὰν αὐτῶ γενομένην οἱ δὲ χρήματα τε αὐτῷ καὶ στρατιῶν συνετέλουν· καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱρῶν δυνα- τῶν ἐτεροὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀφικνοῦντο, οἷς ἀπῆρεσκεν ἢ τῆς πολιτείας εὐστάθεια.

Καὶ Κίννας μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο, Ὁκτάοιος δὲ καὶ Μερόλας οἱ ὑπατοί τὸ μὲν ἀστυ τάφροις καὶ τειχῶν ἐπισκευαῖς ὁχύρων καὶ μηχανήματα ἐφίστανον, ἐπὶ δὲ στρατιῶν ἐς τε τὰς έτέρας
citizen, and shedding tears, said, "From you, citizens, I received this authority. The people voted it to me; the Senate has taken it away from me without your consent. Although I am the sufferer by this wrong I grieve amid my own troubles equally for your sakes. What need is there that we should solicit the favour of the tribes in the elections hereafter? What need have we of you? Where will after this be your power in the assemblies, in the elections, in the choice of consuls, if you fail to confirm what you bestow, and whenever you give your decision fail to secure it."

66. He said this to stir them up, and after exciting much pity for himself he rent his garments, leaped down from the rostra, and threw himself on the ground before them, where he lay a long time. Entirely overcome they raised him up; they restored him to the curule chair; they lifted up the fasces and bade him be of good cheer, as he was consul still, and lead them wherever he would. The tribunes, striking while the iron was hot, themselves took the military oath to support Cinna, and administered it each to the soldiers under him. Now that this was all secure, Cinna traversed the allied cities and stirred them up also, alleging that it was on their account chiefly that this misfortune had happened to him. They furnished him both money and soldiers; and many others, even of the aristocratic party in Rome, to whom the stability of the government was irksome, came and joined him.

While Cinna was thus occupied, the consuls, Octavius and Merula, fortified the city with trenches, repaired the walls, and planted engines on them. To raise an army they sent round to the towns that
67. "Ό δὲ ἦλθε καὶ πρὸς ταῖς Κολλίναις πύλαις ἑστρατοπέδευσε· καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ παρεστρατοπέδευε. Γάιος δὲ Μάριος τούτων πυθόμενος ἐς Τυρρηνίαν κατέπλευσεν ἀμα τοῖς συνεξελαθεῖσι καὶ θεράπουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπελθοῦσιν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης, ἐς πεντακοσίους μάλιστα ποὺ γεγονόσι. ὑπὸν δὲ ἐτι καὶ κόμης ἐμπλεως ἐπηεὶ τὰς πύλες, οἰκτρὸς ὅφθηναν μάχας τα καὶ τρόπαια αὐτοῦ Κιμβρικὰ καὶ ἐξ ὑπατείας ὑπερεπαίρων καὶ περὶ τῆς χειροτονίας σφόδρα αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος τε καὶ πιστὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, συνηγαγε Τυρρηνῶν ἐξακισχίλλους καὶ ἐς Κίνναν διήλθεν ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κοινωνία τῶν παρόντων δεχόμενον. ὡς δὲ ἀνεμίχθησαν, ἑστρατοπέδευσον ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Τιβέριος ἐς τρία διαρεθέντες, Κίννας μὲν καὶ Κάρβων σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρῦ, Σερτώριος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἀνὼ καὶ Μάριος πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ξενεγνύτες οἴδε τῶν ποταμοῦ καὶ γεφυρώντες, ἱνα τὴν πόλιν ἀφέλοιτο τὴν σιταγωγίαν. Μάριος δὲ καὶ Ὄστια εἶλε καὶ διήρπαξε, καὶ Κίννας ἐπιπέμψας Ἀρίμυνον κατελάβε, τοῦ μὴ τινα στρατιάν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὑπηκόου Γαλατίας.

68. Οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ δεδιότες καὶ στρατιάς ἄλλης δεόμενοι Σύλλαν μὲν οὐκ εἶχον καλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἥδη πεπερακότα, Κακίλιον δὲ Μέτελλου,
were still faithful and also to Nearer Gaul, and summoned Gnaeus Pompeius, the proconsul who commanded the army on the Adriatic, to hasten to the aid of his country.

67. So Pompeius came and encamped before the Colline gate. Cinna advanced against him and encamped near him. When Gaius Marius heard of all this he sailed to Etruria with his fellow-exiles and about 500 slaves who had joined their masters from Rome. Still squalid and long-haired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships; and what was extremely pleasing to them, promising, with all appearance of genuineness, to be faithful to their interests in the matter of the vote. In this way he collected 6000 Etruscans and reached Cinna, who received him gladly by reason of their common interest in the present enterprise. After joining forces they encamped on the banks of the Tiber and divided their army into three parts: Cinna and Carbo opposite the city, Sertorius above it, and Marius toward the sea. The two latter threw bridges across the river in order to cut off the city's food-supply. Marius captured and plundered Ostia, while Cinna sent a force and captured Ariminum in order to prevent an army coming to the city from the subject Gauls.

68. The consuls were alarmed. They needed more troops, but they were unable to summon Sulla because he had already crossed over to Asia. They, however, ordered Caecilius Metellus, who was carrying on
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τὰ λείψανα τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Σαυ-

νίτας διατιθέμενον, ἐκέλευσον ὅπη δύνατο εὔπρεπῶς
diaυσάμενον ἐπικουρεῖν τῇ πατρίδι τοῦλοκορκομένη.

οὖ συμβαίνοντος δὲ Σαυνίταις ἐς ἥτοιν τοῦ

Μετέλλου, ὁ Μάριος αἰσθόμενος συνέθετο τοῖς

Σαυνίταις ἐπὶ πάσιν οἷς ήτούν παρὰ τοῦ Μετέλλου.

ὡς μὲν δὴ καὶ Σαυνίται Μαρίῳ συνεμάχουν:

Κλαυδίου δὲ Ἀππίου χιλιάρχου, τείχοφυλακοῦντα

τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν λόφον τὸν καλοῦμενον Ἰάνουκλον,

εὐ ποτὲ παθόντα ύφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς ἐνεργεσίας

ἀναμηνήσας ὁ Μάριος ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἑσῆλθεν,

ὑπανοιχθείς αὐτῷ πῦλης περὶ ἔω, καὶ τὸν

Κίνναν ἑσεδέξατο. ἀλλ’ οὕτωι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐξεω-

σθησαν Ὀκταούλιο καὶ Πομπήιοι σφίσιν ἐπιδρα-

μόνων. κεραυνῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον

στρατόπεδον καταρραγέντων ἄλλοι τε τῶν ἐπι-

φανῶν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπόλετο.

69. Μάριος δὲ ἔπει τῆς ἄγορᾶς τῆς ἔκ τε

θαλάσσης καὶ ἀνωθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φερομένης

κατέσχεν, ἔπὶ τάς ἄγχους τῆς Ῥώμης πόλεως
dιετήραξεν, ἐνθα σῖτος ἢν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσε-

σωρευμένοις. ἀφόνω δὲ τοῖς φρουροῦσιν αὐτῶν

ἐπιπίπτουν εἶλε μὲν Ἀντιον καὶ Ἀρκίαν καὶ

Δανοῦβιον καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐστιν ἃ καὶ προ-

δίδοντων τινῶν ὡς δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἐκράτησεν

ἄγορᾶς, εὐθαρσῶς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα
dιὰ τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς καλομένης Ὀππίας, πρὶν τινὰ

αὐτοῖς ἄγοραν ἄλλην ἐτέρωθεν ἀχθήμα. τοῦ δ’

ἀστεοῦ ἐκατὸν στάδιοις αὐτὸς τε καὶ Κίννας καὶ

οἱ στρατηγοῦντες αὐτοῖς Κάρβων τε καὶ Σερτώριος

ἀποσχόντες ἐστρατοπέδευσαν, Ὀκταούλιον καὶ

Κράσσου καὶ Μετέλλου περὶ τὸ ὀρὸς τὸ Ἀλβανὸν

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what was left of the Social War against the Samnites, chap. VIII to make peace on the best terms he could, and come to the rescue of his beleaguered country. But Metellus would not agree to the Samnites' demands, and when Marius heard of this he made an engagement with them to grant all that they asked from Metellus. In this way the Samnites also became allies of Marius. Appius Claudius, a military tribune, who had command of the defences of Rome at the Janiculum hill, had once received a favour from Marius of which the latter now reminded him, in consequence of which he admitted him into the city, opening a gate for him at about daybreak. Then Marius admitted Cinna. They were at once thrust out by Octavius and Pompeius, who attacked them together, but a severe thunder-storm broke upon the camp of Pompeius, and he was killed by lightning together with others of the nobility.

69. After Marius had stopped the passage of food-supplies from the sea, or by way of the river from above, he hastened to attack the neighbouring towns where grain was stored for the Romans. He fell upon their garrisons unexpectedly and captured Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and others. There were some also that were delivered up to him by treachery. Having in this manner obtained command of their supplies by land, he advanced boldly against Rome, by the Appian Way, before any other supplies were brought to them by another route. He and Cinna, and their lieutenant-generals, Carbo and Sertorius, halted at a distance of 100 stades from the city and went into camp, but Octavius, Crassus, and Metellus had taken position against them at the Alban
CAP. VIII αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθημένων καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐσεσθαὶ περιβλεπομένων, ἃρετὴ μὲν ἐτὶ καὶ πλῆθει νομίζομένων εἶναι κρειττόνων, ὅκνουντων δὲ ὑπὲρ ὅλης ὀξέως κινδυνεῦσαι τῆς πατρίδος διὰ μάχης μιᾶς. ὡς δὲ περιτέμνῃς ὁ Κίννας περὶ τὸ ἀστυ κήρυκας ἐδίδον τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν αὐτομολοῦσι θεράπουσιν ἐλευθερίαν, κατὰ πλῆθος ἦτομόλουν αὑτίκα· καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ταραττομένη καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, εἰ βραδύνειεν ἡ σιτοδεία, παρὰ τὸν δήμον προσδοκῶσα μετέπιπτε τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ πρέσβεις περὶ διαλύσεων ἐς τὸν Κίνναν ἔπεμπον. οὐ δὲ αὐτοὶς ἠρετοῦ, πότερον ὡς πρὸς ὑπατον ἔλθοιεν ἢ πρὸς ἱδιώτην. ἀπορησάντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἐπανελθόντων, πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἦδη κατὰ πλῆθος πρὸς τὸν Κίνναν ἐξεπτῆδον, οἱ μὲν περὶ τῶν λιμῷ δεδίστες, οἱ δὲ πρὸ πολλοῦ τὰ ἐκεῖνων αἱροῦμενοι καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν τῶν γυνομένων περιμένουτες.

70. Κίννας δὲ ἦδη καταφρονητικῶς τῷ τείχει ἐπλησίαζε καὶ ἀποσχῶν ὅσου βέλους ὀρμὴν ἐστρατοπέδευεν, ἀποροῦντων ἐτὶ καὶ δεδίστων καὶ ὅκνουντων ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ τῶν ἁμφὶ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον διὰ τὰς αὐτομολίας τε καὶ διαπρεσβεύσεις. ὡς δὲ βουλὴ πάνυ μὲν ἀποροῦσα καὶ δεινὸν ἦγουμένη Δεύκιον Μερόλαν, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Διὸς, ὑπατεύοντα αὐτὶ τοῦ Κίννα καὶ οὐδὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀμαρτόντα ἀφελέσθαι, ἀκούσα δὲ ὅμως υπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν αὕθις ἐς τὸν Κίνναν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔπεμπεν ὡς πρὸς ὑπατον. οὐδὲν τε χρηστὸν ἐτὶ προσδοκῶντες τοῦτο μόνον ἄτον, ἐπομόσαι σφίς τὸν Κίνναν φόνον οὐκ ἐργάσεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ὁμόσαι μὲν οὐκ ἥξιωσεν, ὑπέσχετο δὲ καὶ ὁδε ἐκών οὐδενὶ 128
Mount, where they watched eventualities. Although they considered themselves superior in bravery and numbers, they hesitated to risk, through haste, their country's fate on the hazard of a single battle. Cinna sent heralds round the city to offer freedom to slaves who would desert to him, and forthwith a large number did desert. The Senate was alarmed, and, anticipating the most serious consequences from the people if the scarcity of corn should be protracted, changed its mind and sent envoys to Cinna to treat for peace. He asked them whether they came to him as a consul or as a private citizen. They were at a loss for an answer and went back to the city; and now a large number of citizens flocked to Cinna, some from fear of famine, and others because they had been previously favourable to his party and had been waiting to see which way the scales would turn.

70. Cinna now began to despise his enemies and drew near to the wall, halting out of range, and encamped. Octavius and his party were undecided and fearful, and hesitated to attack him on account of the desertions and the negotiations. The Senate was greatly perplexed and considered it a dreadful thing to depose Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who had been chosen consul in place of Cinna, and who had done nothing wrong in his office. Yet on account of the impending danger it reluctantly sent envoys to Cinna again, and this time as consul. They no longer expected favourable terms, so they only asked that Cinna should swear to them that he would abstain from bloodshed. He refused to take the oath, but he promised nevertheless that he would not willingly be the cause of
σφαγῆς αὐτίος ἔσεσθαι. Ὁκτάουιον δ' ἦδη περι-
οδεύσαντα καὶ κατ’ ἄλλας πύλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔσελθόντα ἐκέλευν ἐκστήνα τοῦ μέσου, μὴ τι καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πάθοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ’ ἐπὶ βήματος ύψηλοῦ, καθάπερ ὑπατος, τοῖς πρὸςβεσιν ἀνωθεν ἀπεκρίνατο. Μάριος δ’ αὐτῷ παρεστὼς παρὰ τὸν θρόνον ἡσύχαζε μὲν, ἔδηλον δὲ τῇ δριμύ-
τητι τοῦ προσώπου, πόσον ἐργάσεται φόνον. δεξα-
mένης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ καλούσης ἐσελθεῖν Κίνναν τε καὶ Μάριον (ἡσθοντο γὰρ δὴ Μαρίου μὲν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα τάδε πάντα, Κίνναν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράφεσθαι), σὺν εἰρωνείᾳ σφόδρα ὁ Μάριος ἐπιμειδίων ἔπεν οὐκ ἐναὶ φυγάσιν εἰσόδους. καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν φυγὴν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ Σύλλαν ὑπατον ἐξελίξαντο, ἐγηφί-
σαντο λελύσθαι.

71. Οἱ μὲν δὴ δεχομένων αὐτοὺς σὺν δέει πάντων ἐσῆσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀντι-
πρᾶξει σφίσι δοκοῦντων ἀκωλύτως πάντα διηρπά-
ζετο. Ὁκταούιοι δὲ Κίννας μὲν καὶ Μάριος ὥρκους ἐπετόμφεσαν, καὶ θύται καὶ μάντεις οὐδὲν πείσεσθαι προύλεγον, οἱ δὲ φίλοι φυγεῖν παρῆ-
νουν. ο” δ’ εἰπὼν ὡς' προλείησεν τὴν πόλιν ὑπατον ὃν ἐς τὸ Ἰάνουκλου, ἐκστὰς τοῦ μέσου, διήλθε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ τινός ἔτι καὶ στρατοῦ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ θρόνου προολήθητο, τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐσθῆτα ἐπικείμενος, ράβδων καὶ πελέκεων ὡς ὑπάτω περικειμένων. ἐπιθέοντος δ’ αὐτῷ μετὰ τιων ἐπέοιη Κηνσωρίνου καὶ πάλιν τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς παρεστώσης στρατιάς φυγεῖν παρα-
καλούντων καὶ τὸν ἔππον αὐτῷ προσαγάγοντω, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι οὖδὲ ὑπαναστήναι τὴν σφαγῆν
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anybody's death. He directed, however, that Octavius, who had gone round and entered the city by another gate, should keep away from the forum lest anything should befall him against his own will. This answer he delivered to the envoys from a high platform in his character as consul. Marius stood in silence beside the curule chair, but showed by the asperity of his countenance the slaughter he contemplated. When the Senate had accepted these terms and had invited Cinna and Marius to enter (for it was understood that, while it was Cinna's name which appeared, the moving spirit was Marius), the latter said with a scornful smile that it was not lawful for men banished to enter. Forthwith the tribunes voted to repeal the decree of banishment against him and all the others who were expelled under the consulship of Sulla.

71. Accordingly Cinna and Marius entered the city and everybody received them with fear. Straightaway they began to plunder without hindrance all the goods of those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna and Marius had sworn to Octavius, and the augurs and soothsayers had predicted, that he would suffer no harm, yet his friends advised him to fly. He replied that he would never desert the city while he was consul. So he withdrew from the forum to the Janiculum with the nobility and what was left of his army, where he occupied the curule chair and wore the robes of office, attended as consul by lictors. Here he was attacked by Censorinus with a body of horse, and again his friends and the soldiers who stood by him urged him to fly and brought him his horse, but he disdained even to
περιεβεν. ὁ δὲ Κηνσωρίνος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἐκόμισεν ἐς Κίνναν, καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐν ἀγορᾷ πρῶτον τοῦτο ὑπάτου. μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρουμένων ἐκρῆμυναντο αἱ κεφαλαί, καὶ οὐ διέλυσεν ἐτί καὶ τόδε τὸ μύσος, ἀρξάμενον τε ἀπὸ Ὁκταουλίου καὶ ἄς τοὺς ἑπειτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀναιρουμένους περιμέν.

Ζητηται δὲ ἐτὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτίκα ἐξέθεου τοὺς τέ ἀπὸ τὴς Βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἱππέων ἀναιρουμένων λόγων οὔδεις ἐτί μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐγίγνετο, αἱ δὲ τῶν Βουλευτῶν κεφαλαὶ πᾶσαι προτύπθηντο πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων. αἰδώς τε θεῶν ἡ νέμεσις ἀνδρῶν ἡ φθόνου φόβου οὔδεις ἐτί τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐπὶ, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἐργα ἀνήμερα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργαῖς ἐς οἴσεις ἐτρέποντο ἀθεμίστους, κτινύντες τε ἀνηλέως καὶ περιτέμνοντες αὐχένας ἀνδρῶν ἡδη τεθνεώτων καὶ προτιθέμεντες τὰς συμφορὰς ἐς φόβου ἡ κατάπληξιν ἡ θέαν ἀθέμιστον.

72. Γάιος μὲν δὴ Ἰουλίου καὶ Δεύκιος Ἰουλίου, δύο ἀλλήλων ἀδελφῶ, καὶ Ἀτηλίος Σερρανός καὶ Πούπλιος Δέντλος καὶ Γάιος Νεμέτωρίου καὶ Μάρκος Βαίβιος ἐν ὁδῷ καταληφθέντες ἀνηρεθησαν, Κράσσος δὲ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς διωκόμενος τὸν μὲν νιὸν ἐφθασε προανελείν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων ἐπαυγήρθη. τὸν δὲ ῥήτωρ Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον ἐς τι χωρίον ἐκφυγόντα ὁ γεωργὸς ἐπικρύπτων καὶ ἕξινζον ἐς πανδοκεῖον ἐπεμψε τὸν θεράποντα σπουδαιότερον τοῦ συνήθους οἷον πρίασθαι· καὶ τοῦ κατήλου, τί δὴ σπουδαιότερον αὐτοῖς, πυθομένου, ὁ μὲν θεράπων ἐψιθύρισε τὴν
arise, and awaited death. Censorinus cut off his head and carried it to Cinna, and it was suspended in the forum in front of the rostra, the first head of a consul that was so exposed. After him the heads of others who were slain were suspended there; and this shocking custom, which began with Octavius, was not discontinued, but was handed down to subsequent massacres.

Now the victors sent out spies to search for their enemies of the senatorial and equestrian orders. When any knights were killed no further attention was paid to them, but all the heads of senators were exposed in front of the rostra. Neither reverence for the gods, nor the indignation of men, nor the fear of odium for their acts existed any longer among them. After committing savage deeds they turned to godless sights. They killed remorselessly and severed the necks of men already dead, and they paraded these horrors before the public eye, either to inspire fear and terror, or for a godless spectacle.

72. The brothers Gaius Julius and Lucius Julius, Atilius Serranus, Publius Lentulus, Gaius Nemetorius, and Marcus Baebius were arrested in the street and killed. Crassus was pursued with his son. He anticipated the pursuers by killing his son, but was himself killed by them. Marcus Antonius, the orator, fled to a country place, where he was concealed and entertained by the farmer, who sent his slave to a tavern for wine of a better quality than he was in the habit of buying. When the innkeeper asked him why he wanted the better quality, the

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73. Κορυνοῦτον δὲ ἐν καλύβαις κρυπτόμενον οἱ θεράποντες εὑμηχάνοις περιέσωσαν· νεκρῷ γὰρ περιτυχόντες σῶματι πυρᾶν τε ἔνησαν καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπίστολον ἄφαντες τὴν πυρᾶν ἔφασαν τὸν δεσποτὴν καὶ εἰς ἀπαγχόμενον. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεράποντων περισέσωστο, Κόντος δὲ Ἀγχάριος Μάριον ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ μέλλοντα θύσειν ἐφύλαττεν, ἐλπίζων οἱ τὸ ἔρημον διαλλακτίριον ἐσεθαί. ὁ δὲ ἀρχόμενος τῆς θυσίας προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγχάριον καὶ προσαγορεύοντα αὐτῖκα ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς παρεστῶσι προσέταξεν ἄνελείν. καὶ ἡ κεφαλή καὶ τοῦδε καὶ Ἀντωνίου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπάτων ἡ στρατηγῶν γεγονότων ἐν ἁγορᾶ προντεθησαν. ταφὴν τε οὐδενὶ ἔξην ἐπενεγκεὶν ἐσσοῦντα τῶν ἀναρουμένων, ἄλλως οἶνοι καὶ κύνες ἀνδρας τοιούθες διεσπάσαντο. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ἦν τῶν στασιωτῶν φόνος ἐστὶν ἀνεθύνοις καὶ ἔξελάσεις ἐτέρων καὶ δημεύσεις περιουσίας καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα τεθέντων νόμων.
slave whispered the reason to him, bought the wine, and went back. The innkeeper ran and told Marius, who sprang up with joy as though he would rush to do the deed himself, but was restrained by his friends. A tribune despatched to the house sent some soldiers upstairs, whom Antonius, a speaker of much charm, tried to soften with a long discourse, appealing to their pity by recalling many and various subjects, until the tribune, who was at a loss to know what had happened, rushed into the house and, finding his soldiers listening to Antonius, killed him while he was still declaiming, and sent his head to Marius.

73. Cornutus concealed himself in a hut and was saved by his slaves in an ingenious way, for finding a dead body they placed it on a funeral pyre, and when the spies came set fire to it and said they were burning the body of their master, who had hanged himself. In this way he was saved by his slaves. As for Quintus Ancharius, he watched his opportunity till Marius was about to offer sacrifice in the Capitol, hoping that the temple would be a propitious place for reconciliation. But when he approached and saluted Marius, the latter, who was just beginning the sacrifice, ordered the guards to kill him in the Capitol forthwith; and his head, with that of the orator Antonius, and those of others who had been consuls and praetors, was exposed in the forum. Burial was not permitted to any of the slain, but the bodies of men like these were torn in pieces by birds and dogs. There was, too, much private and irresponsible murder committed by the factions upon each other. There were banishments, and confiscations of property, and depositions from office, and a repeal of the laws enacted during Sulla's
74. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ἀρχῆς ἐννο-μου μετὰ τοσοῦτος φόνους ἀκρίτους, ὑπεβλήθησαν κατήγοροι τῷ τε ίερεὶ τοῦ Διὸς Μερόλας, κατ' ὥργὴν ἁρα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἴνα Κίνναν οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν διεδέδεκτο, καὶ Λουτατίῳ Κάτλῳ, τῷ Μαρίοι περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικὰ συνάρχῳ, περισσοθέντι μὲν ἐκ Μαρίου πάλαι, ἀχαρίστῳ δ' ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ πικρο-τάτῳ περὶ τὴν ἐξέλασιν γενομένῳ. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ φυλλασσόμενοι τε ἀφανῶς καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἡμέρας ἐπελθούσης ἐς τὴν δίκην ἀνακαλούμενοι (τετράκις δὲ ἐχρήν κηρυττομένους ἐν ὁρισμένους ὅρων διαστήμασιν ἀλώναι), Μερόλας μὲν τὰς φλέβας ἐνέτεμεν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ πινάκιον αὐτῷ παρακείμενον ἐδήλου, ὅτι κόπτων τὰς φλέβας τὸν πῖλον ἀποθοῖτο (οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ίερεὰ περικείμενον τελευτάν), Κάτλος δ' ἐν οἰκίματι νεοχρίστῳ τε καὶ ἔτι ὑγρῷ καίων ἀνθρακάς ἐκῶν ἀπετύγχη. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, θεράποντες δ' ὅσοι κατὰ τὸ κήρυγμα πρὸς Κίνναν ἐκδραμόντες ἐλεύ-θεροι γεγένησαν καὶ αὐτῷ Κίννᾳ τότε ἐστρατεύοντο, ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπέτρεχον καὶ διήρπαξον, ἀναρροῦντες ἀμα οἷς περιτύχωσεν· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς 136
consulship. All Sulla’s friends were put to death, his house was razed to the ground, his property confiscated, and himself voted a public enemy. Search was made for his wife and children, but they escaped. Altogether nothing was wanted to complete these wide-spread miseries.

74. To crown all, under the similitude of legal authority after so many had been put to death without trial, accusers were suborned to make false charges against Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who was hated because he had been the successor of Cinna in the consulship, although he had committed no other fault. Accusation was also brought against Lutatius Catulus, who had been the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and whose life Marius once saved. It was alleged that he had been very ungrateful to Marius and had been very bitter against him when he was banished. These men were put under secret surveillance, and when the day for holding court arrived were summoned to trial (the proper way was to put the accused under arrest after they had been cited four times at certain fixed intervals), but Merula had opened his veins, and a tablet lying at his side showed that when he cut his veins he had removed his flamen’s cap, for it was accounted a sin for the priest to wear it at his death. Catulus of free will suffocated himself with burning charcoal in a chamber newly plastered and still moist. So these two men perished. The slaves who had joined Cinna in answer to his proclamation and had thereupon been freed and were at this time enrolled in the army by Cinna himself, broke into and plundered houses, and killed persons whom they met in the street, some of them attacking
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. VIII σφετέρους δεσπότας μάλιστα ἐπεχείρουν. Κίννας δ' ἐπεί πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύων οὐκ ἔπειθε, Γαλατῶν στρατιάν αὐτοῖς ἐτί νυκτός ἀναπαυμένοις περιστήσας διέφθειρε πάντας.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ θεράποντες δίκην ἀξίαν ἔδοσαν τῇς ἐς δεσπότας πολλάκις ἀπιστίας. 75. τοὺ δ' ἐπὶ-όντως ἔτοις ὑπατοὶ μὲν ἥρηντο Κίννας τε αὐθίς καὶ Μάριος ἐβδομον, ὃ μετὰ φυγὴν καὶ ἐπικήρυξεν, εἰ τις ὡς πολέμιον ἀνέλοι, τὸ μάντευμα ὅμως ἀπήντα τὸ τῶν ἑπτά νεογονῶν ἀετῶν. ἄλλο ὅντος μὲν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπινοῶν τοῦ πρῶτον μηνὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέθανε, καὶ Ὄμαλέριον Φλάκκου ὁ Κίννας ἐλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξεπεμψεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ καὶ Φλάκκου Κάρβωνα εἰλετο συνάρχειν ἐαυτῷ.

IX

CAP. IX 76. Σύλλας δ' ἐπείξει τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπανόδου τὰ ἐς Μιθριδάτην πάντ' ἐπιταχύνας, ὃς μοι προείρηται, καὶ ἔτεσιν οὐδ' ὁλοις τρισὶν ἀκκαίδεκα μὲν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας κατακανὼν, τὴν δὲ Ἐλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἰωνιᾶν καὶ Ἀσίαν καὶ ἄλλα ἕθνη πολλὰ, ὅσα Μιθριδάτης προειλήφει, ἐς Ρωμαίους ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοῦ τε τὸν βασιλεὰ τὰς ναῦς ἀφελόμενος καὶ ἐς μόνην τὴν πατρίδαν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τοσῶν δὲ κατακλείσας, ἐπανήγει στρατὸν ἀγῶν εὕνουν οἱ καὶ γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ πολὺν καὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἐπηρμένοιν. ἤγε δὲ καὶ νεὼν πλῆθος καὶ χρήματα καὶ παρα-σκευὴν ἐς ἀπαντὰ ἄξιόλογον, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἦν 138
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their own masters particularly. After Cinna had forbidden this several times, but without avail, he surrounded them with his Gallic soldiery one night while they were taking their rest, and killed them all.

Thus did the slaves receive fit punishment for their repeated treachery to their masters. 75. The following year Cinna was chosen consul for the second time, and Marius for the seventh; so that, notwithstanding his banishment and the price on his head, the augury of the seven eaglets proved true for him. But he died in the first month of his consulship, while forming all sorts of terrible designs against Sulla. Cinna caused Valerius Flaccus to be chosen in his place and sent him to Asia, and when Flaccus lost his life he chose Carbo as his fellow-consul.

IX

76. Sulla now hastened his return to meet his enemies, having quickly finished the war with Mithridates, as I have already related. Within less than three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's fleet away from him, and from such vast possessions restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone. He returned with a large and well-disciplined army, devoted to him and elated by its exploits. He had an abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was
CAP. IX ἐπίφοβος, ὥστε δειμαίνοντες αὐτὸν ὁ τε Κάρβων καὶ ὁ Κίννας ἐς ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν τινὰς περιεπεμπὼν, χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ σῖτον αὐτῶς ἄθροίζειν, τοὺς τε δυνατοὺς συνουσίας ἀνελάμβανον καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἥρεθιζον μάλιστα τὰς νεοπολιτίδας, ὡς δὲ αὐτὰς ἄντες ἐν τοσῷ δὲ κυνδύνῳ. τὰς τε ναύς ἐπεσκεύαζον ἄθροώς καὶ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ μετεκάλουν καὶ τὴν παράλιον ἐφύλασσον καὶ οὐδὲν ὄξειας οὐδὲ ὁδὲ παρασκευῆς μετὰ δέους ἁμα καὶ σπουδῆς ἐξέλιτπον.

77. Σύλλας δὲ ἐπὶ φρονήματος ἐπέστελλε τῇ Βουλῇ περὶ τε αὐτοῦ καταλέγων, ὡσπερὶ Διβύην ἐς Ἰογόρθαν τὸν Νομάδα ἐτί ταμεῖνοι ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς Κιμβρικοῖς πρεσβεύουν ἢ Κιλικίαν ἡγούμενος ἢ ἐν τοῖς συμμαχικοῖς ἢ ὑπατεύων ἐπραξε, τὰ δὲ ἐναγχοὶ ἢς Μιθριδάτην ὑπερεπαίρον τε μάλιστα καὶ καταλογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς ἄθρόως ἔθυμ πολλά, ὡσ Μιθριδάτων γενόμενα Ῥωμαίοις ἀναλάβοι, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἦττον, ὅτι τοὺς ἐξελαθέντας ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κίννα καταφυγόντας ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποδέξατο ἀπορομμένους καὶ ἐπικουφίζω τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς. ἀνθ' ὅν ἐφ' τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολέμων αὐτὸν ἀναγράψαι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀνασκάψαι καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελεῖν, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα μόλις πρὸς έαυτὸν διαφυγεῖν. ἀλλ' αὐτίκα καὶ τοίσδε καὶ τῇ πόλει πάση τιμωρῶς ἦξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους. τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοίς πολίταις τε καὶ νεοπολίταις προύλεγεν, οὐδενὶ μέμψεσθαι περὶ οὐδενὸς.
an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna CHAP. IX were in such fear of him that they despatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies. They took the leading citizens into friendly intercourse and appealed especially to the newly created citizens of the towns, pretending that it was on their account that they were threatened with the present danger. They began at once to repair the ships, recalled those that were in Sicily, guarded the coast, and with fear and haste they, for their part, made preparations of every kind.

77. Sulla wrote to the Senate in a tone of superiority recounting what he had done in Africa in the war against Jugurtha the Numidian while still quaestor, as lieutenant in the Cimbric war, as praetor in Cilicia and in the Social war, and as consul. Most of all he dwelt upon his recent victories in the Mithridatic war, enumerating to them the many nations which had been under Mithridates and which he had recovered for the Romans. Of nothing did he make more account than that those who had been banished from Rome by Cinna had fled to him, and that he had received them in their helplessness and supported them in their affliction. In return for this, he said, he had been declared a public enemy by his foes, his house had been destroyed, his friends put to death, and his wife and children had with difficulty made their escape to him. He would be there presently to take vengeance, on behalf of themselves and of the entire city, upon the guilty ones. He assured the other citizens, and the new citizens, that he would make no complaint against them.
*Ων ἀναγινωσκόμενων δέος ἀπαντας ἐπείχε, καὶ πρέσβεις ἐπεμπον, οὗ συναλλάξειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐμελλον καὶ προερεῖν, εἰ τινος ἀσφαλείας δέοιτο, τῇ βούλῃ τάχιστα ἐπιστείλαι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κίνναν εἰρήτο μὴ στρατολογεῖν, ἔστε ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίνασθαι. οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν ὡδὲ πράξειν, οἱ ὁμοίων δὲ τὸν πρέσβεων ἐσ τὸ μέλλον ἑαυτοὺς ἀνεῖπον ὑπάτους αὐτίκα, τοῦ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἄρχαιρεσια θάττον ἐπανήκειν, καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν περιόντες στρατιὰν συνῆγον, ἢν ἦν Λιβυριών, ὡς ἐκείθεν ἀπαντήσουντες τῷ Σύλλα, κατὰ μέρος ἐπὶ νεῶν διεβίβαζον.

78. τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον μέρος εὐσταθῶς διέπλευσε· τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς χειμῶν ἐπέπεσε, καὶ ὅσοι τῆς γῆς ἑλαμβάνοντο, εὐθὺς ἐσ τὰς πατρίδας διεδίδρασκον ὡς οὐ στρατεύσουσί τε κατὰ πολιτῶν· οὐ τε λοιποὶ πυνθανόμενοι ταὐτ' οὐδ' αὐτοί περάσειν ἐπὶ ἔλεγον ἐς τὴν Λιβυριών. Κίννας δ' ἀγανακτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπιπλήξων συνεκάλεσας καὶ οἱ σὺν ὅργῃ παρῆσαν ὡς ἀμυνοῦμενοι τῶν δὲ ῥαβδοφόρων τινός ὀδοποιοῦντος τῷ Κίννα καὶ τίνα τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πατάξαντος, ἔτερος ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν ῥαβδοῦχον ἐπάταξε. καὶ Κίννα κελεύσαντος αὐτῶν συλλαβεῖν βοῆ παρὰ πάντων ἀνέστη, καὶ λίθων ἦσαν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἀφέσεις· οἱ δ' ἐγγὺς καὶ τὰ βιοίδια ἐπισπάσαντες συνεκέντησαν αὐτὸν. οὔτω μὲν δὴ καὶ Κίννας ὑπατεύων ἀπέθανε· Κάρβων δ' ἐκ τε Λιβυριώς τοὺς διαπεπλευκότας ἐς αὐτὴν μετεκάλει καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα δεδωκε ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐ
When the letters were read fear fell upon all, and they began sending messengers to reconcile him with his enemies and to tell him in advance that, if he wanted any security, he should write to the Senate at once. They ordered Cinna and Carbo to cease recruiting soldiers until Sulla's answer should be received. They promised to do so, but as soon as the messengers had gone they proclaimed themselves consuls for the ensuing year so that they need not come back to the city earlier to hold the election. They traversed Italy, collecting soldiers whom they carried across by detachments on shipboard to Liburnia, which was to act as their base against Sulla.

78. The first detachment had a prosperous voyage. The next encountered a storm, and those who reached land again escaped home immediately, as they did not relish the prospect of fighting their fellow-citizens. When the rest learned this they too refused to cross to Liburnia. Cinna was indignant and called them to an assembly in order to terrify them, and they assembled, angry also and ready to defend themselves. One of the lictors, who was clearing the road for Cinna, struck somebody who was in the way and one of the soldiers struck the lictor. Cinna ordered the arrest of the offender, whereupon a clamour rose on all sides, stones were thrown at him, and those who were near him drew their dirks and stabbed him. So Cinna also perished during his consulship. Carbo recalled those who had been sent over by ship to Liburnia, and, through fear of what was taking place, did not go back to the city, although the tribunes summoned him with

1 On the northern coast of Illyria.
CAP. κατ' ἑαυτόν καὶ πάντων δημάρχων αὐτῶν καλοῦντων ἐπὶ συνάρχου χειροτονίαν. ἀπειλησάντων δὲ ἰδιῶτην ἀποφασεῖν, ἐπανήλθε μὲν καὶ χειροτονίαν προύθηκεν ὑπάτου, ἀπαισίου δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης ἔτεραν προῦγγαρω, καὶ ταύτῃ κεραυνῷ πεσόντος ἐστὸ τῆς Σελήνης καὶ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἵερὸν οἱ μάντεις ὑπὲρ τὰς θερίνας τροπὰς ἀνετίθεντο τὰς χειροτονίας, καὶ μόνος ἦρχεν ὁ Κάρβων.

79. Σύλλας δὲ τοῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἦκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτὸς μὲν οὔποτε ἀνδράσι, τοιάδε ἐργασαμένοις ἐσεσθαί φίλος, τῇ πόλει δ' οὐ φθονίσσειν χαρίζομένη τῷ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτοῖς: ἀσφάλειαν δὲ αὐτὸς μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἔφη καὶ τοῖς ἐς αὐτὸν καταφυγοῦσιν ἕς ἄει παρέξειν, στρατὸν ἔχων εὔνουν. ὥ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα δήλος ἐγένετο, ἐνὶ ῥήματι τῷ δὲ, οὐ διαλύσων τὸν στρατὸν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τυραννίδα ἦδη διανοούμενος. ἤτει δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ περιουσίαν καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο γέρας ἔχειν, ἐντελὴ πάντα ἀποδοθήματι καὶ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἐροῦντας συνέπεμπε τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. οἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, Κίνναν τε πυθόμενοι τεθνάναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀδιοίκητον εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἀνέστρεφον ἀπρακτοῖ. καὶ οἱ Σύλλας πέντε Ιταλοῦ στρατὸν τέλη καὶ ἰππέας ἐξακισχύλους, ἄλλους τὲ τινας ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Μακεδονίας προσλαβών, ἀπαντάς ἄγων ἐς μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τέσσαρας, ἐπὶ τε Πάτρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν ἐς Βρεντεσίου χιλίαις καὶ ἐξακοσίαις ναυσὶ διέπλει. δεξαμένων δ' αὐτῶν ἄμαχε τῶν Βρεντεσίων, τούσδε μὲν ὑστερον ἐδωκεν ἀτέλειαν, ἦν καὶ νῦν.
urgency to hold an election for the choice of a colleague. However, when they threatened to reduce him to the rank of a private citizen he came back and ordered the holding of the consular election, but as the omens were unfavourable he postponed it to another day. On that day lightning struck the temples of Luna and of Ceres; so the augurs prorogued the comitia beyond the summer solstice, and Carbo remained sole consul. 79. Sulla answered those who came to him from the Senate, saying that he would never be on friendly terms with the men who had committed such crimes, but would not prevent the city from extending clemency to them. As for security he said that he, with a devoted army, could better furnish lasting security to them, and to those who had fled to his camp, than they to him; whereby it was made plain in a single sentence that he would not disband his army, but was now contemplating supreme power. He demanded of them his former dignity, his property, and the priesthood, and that they should restore to him in full measure whatever other honours he had previously held. He sent some of his own men with the Senate's messengers to confer about these matters, but they, learning at Brundusium that Cinna was dead and that Rome was in an unsettled state, went back to Sulla without transacting their business. He then started with five legions of Italian troops and 6000 horse, to whom he added some other forces from the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, in all about 40,000 men, from the Piraeus to Patrae, and then sailed from Patrae to Brundusium in 1600 ships. The Brundusians received him without a fight, for which favour he afterward gave them exemption
CAP. ἔχουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἤγεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω.

80. Καὶ αὐτῷ Μέτελλος Καικίλιος ὁ Ἐὔσεβής, ἐκ πολλοῦ τε ἱρημένος ἐς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου καὶ διὰ Κίνναν καὶ Μάριον ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔσελθὼν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ Διβυστίδῃ τὸ μέλλον περιορῶν, αὐτόκλητος σύμμαχος ἀπήντα μεθ' ἢς εἰχε συμμαχίας, ἀνθύπατος ἐτί ὅν ἐστι γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς αἵρεθεῖσιν, ἐστε ἐπανέλθοιεν ἐς Ὀώμην. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ Γναῖος Πομπήιος, ὁ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Μέγας παρονομασθεὶς, Πομπηίου μὲν ὅν παῖς τοῦ διεθθαρμένου τῷ κεραυνῷ, οὐκ εἶνυ τῷ Σύλλα ονομαθέντος, τὴν δ' ὑποψίαν διαλυόμενος, ἠλθε καὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ἐκ τῆς Πικήνιτιδας κατὰ κλέος τοῦ πατρὸς ἵσχύσαντος ἐν αὐτῇ μάλιστα ἄγειρας. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ δύο ἄλλα συνέλεξε καὶ χρησιμώτατος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅτε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο τῷ Σύλλα: ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι νεώτατον ὄντα ἤγεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἐπίοντος, φασίν, ὑπανιστατο μόνῳ. λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐς Διβύνην ἐπεμψεν ἐξελάσαι τε τοὺς Κάρβωνος φίλους καὶ Ἰεμψάλαν ἐκπεσόντα ὕπο Νομάδων ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καταγαγεῖν. ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ καὶ θριαμβεύσαι κατὰ τῶν Νομάδων αὐτῷ παρέσχεν ὁ Σύλλας, ἔτι ὅτι νέω καὶ ἔτι ὅτι τοῖς ἐπείνω. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ μέγα ὁ Πομπηίος ἐπὶ Σερτώριον ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμφθη καὶ ἐς τὸν Ποντὸν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ὑστερον. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Κέθηγος ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν, χαλεπώτατος ἀντιστασιώτης αὐτῷ μετὰ Κίννα καὶ Μαρίον γενόμενος καὶ σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκπεσών, 146
from customs-duties, which they enjoy to this day. Chap. IX

80. He was met on the road by Caecilius Metellus Pius, who had been chosen some time before to finish the Social War, but did not return to the city for fear of Cinna and Marius. He had been awaiting in Libya the turn of events, and now offered himself as a volunteer ally with the force under his command, as he was still a proconsul; for those who have been chosen to this office may retain it till they come back to Rome. After Metellus came Gnaeus Pompeius, who not long afterward was sur-named the Great, son of the Pompeius who was killed by lightning and who was supposed to be unfriendly to Sulla. The son removed this suspicion by coming with a legion which he had collected from the territory of Picenum owing to the reputation of his father, who had been very influential there. A little later he recruited two more legions and became Sulla's right-hand man in these affairs. So Sulla held him in honour, though still very young; and they say he never rose at the entrance of any other than this youth. When the war was nearly finished Sulla sent him to Africa to drive out the party of Carbo and to restore Hiempsal (who had been expelled by the Numidians) to his kingdom. For this service Sulla allowed him a triumph over the Numidians, although he was under age, and was still in the equestrian order. From this beginning Pompeius achieved greatness, being sent against Sertorius in Spain and later against Mithridates in Pontus. Cethegus also joined Sulla, although with Cinna and Marius he had been violently hostile to him and had been driven out of the city with them.
CAP. IX

ìkètìs te gunvómenos kai èautòn ùpìrètìn ìs ò ti
bouòloito parèxw.

81. 'O ðè kai stratìadìs polì plìthos ìçhòn ìdò
kai fílouìs polloiùs tòon ìtiphànòù, toîste ìme
ùpostratìgìouìs èkhrìto, autòs ðè kai Mèttellòs
ànthuòtìw ìnte ìs òo pròsthèn èçwònuì èdòkei
gàp ðè kai ðì Sùllìaìs, ànthupàtòs ìptì Mìthridàtì
genvómenos, ouì àpothèsth ìpò òn ìròkhìn, èi kai
polèìmuì autò ìçhìfrìasto Kìnnas. ò ìme ðè
kata tòw èçhròw ìçi bárutàtì kai àfàneì èçhrà:
oi ðè èn ìste te ìçfìseos autòì kàlòs tekmair-
ìròmenoi kai òn pròtèraì ìs òn pòlìn èsboùì
autòì kai kataìkhìs ìçi èçhontes èn ìçhì e òa te
ìçhìfrìsìmta, ò èpèckhrìzìan autòì, logìzìmenoi kai
tòn ouììan òròntes ànveskamìènì kai perìoussìan
dèdhamìènì kai fílouìs ànhÌhìmenouì kai gèneàì
mòlìs èkfròghùsan èdèìmaìnoù. kai ouìèìn sfìsi
vìkìs ì tìpanòlethìaì ìmeòn èìnai nòmìzòntes suvì-
stìntì te ìç ìpàtoùì ìptì òn Sùllìaìs ìtò mà déouì,
ìs te òpò òì Ìtaliìan perìpèmpòntes stratìadì kai
trofàs kai ìçhìmatà suvìggìon, ouìèìn ìì perì
ëskàtòw sfìsiìn àpopléìpòntes ouìte spoudèìs ouìte
pròtheìas.

82. Gàìòs te Ìòòrbànòs kai Dèukìos Ìkìpìw, 
tòò tòte ìnte ìpàtoùì, kai met àutòì Kàrìbòw, ìs
pèrùsìì ìrìxìn, èçhìra ìmeì ìs ònì Sùllìaìs ìmòìa
ìçhìmenoi, ìdiì ðè kai suvìeìdòti ìwì èprìzìan polì
òwì ìllìwì ìçìrìoùì, èì te ìçì ìpòleos stratììn, 
oììèì èùpòròwì, kàtèlègìì kai òòì èì te ìçì Ìtaliìì
ìproslàbòntes ìptì ònì Sùllìaìs kàtà mèров ìçhò-
ìwì, spèìràìs èì pèntìkòsììì ìmdòìì ìdàkòsìììs
He now turned supplicant, and offered his services to Sulla in any capacity he might desire.

81. Sulla now had plenty of soldiers and plenty of friends of the higher orders, whom he used as lieutenants. He and Metellus marched in advance, being both proconsuls, for it seems that Sulla, who had been appointed proconsul against Mithridates, had at no time hitherto laid down his command, although he had been voted a public enemy at the instance of Cinna. Now Sulla moved against his enemies with a most intense yet concealed hatred. The people in the city, who formed a pretty fair judgment of the character of the man, and who remembered his former attack and capture of the city, and who took into account the decrees they had proclaimed against him, and who had witnessed the destruction of his house, the confiscation of his property, the killing of his friends, and the narrow escape of his family, were in a state of terror. Conceiving that there was no middle ground between victory and utter destruction, they united with the consuls to resist Sulla, but with trepidation. They despatched messengers throughout Italy to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, and, as in cases of extreme peril, they omitted nothing that zeal and earnestness could suggest.

82. Gaius Norbanus and Lucius Scipio, who were then the consuls, and with them Carbo, who had been consul the previous year (all of them moved by equal hatred of Sulla and more alarmed than others because they knew that they were more to blame for what had been done), levied the best possible army from the city, joined with it the Italian army, and marched against Sulla in detachments. They
CAP. ἵνα τὸ πρῶτον ὑστερον γὰρ καὶ πλέοσι τούτων. ἢ γὰρ εὖνοια τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐσ τοὺς ὑπάτους παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔργον τὸ Σύλλα, χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα, δόξαν ἔχον πολεμίῳ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων, εἰ καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἐπραττόν, πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίδος. τῶν τε ἀμαρτηθέντων αὐτοῖς οἱ πολλοὶ συνεγνωκότες καὶ τοῦ φόβον μετέχειν ὑγούμενοι συνέπρασσον, εὐ τὸν Σύλλαν εἰδότες οὐ κόλασιν ἢ διόρθωσιν ἢ φόβον ἐπὶ σφίσιν, ἀλλὰ λύμας καὶ θανάτους καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ἀναίρεσιν ὅλως ἀθρόον ἐπινοοῦντα. ὅν οὐκ ἐφεύσθησαν τῆς δόξης. ὁ τε γὰρ πόλεμος ἐφθειρε πάντας, ὅν γε καὶ μύριοι καὶ δισμύριοι πολλάκις ἐν μάχῃ μιᾷ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἄστυ πέντε μυριάδες ἀμφοῖν ἀπέθανον καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ὁ Σύλλας οὐδὲν δεινὸν καὶ καθ’ ἕνα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἐξελίπτε δρῶν, μέχρι καὶ μόναρχον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὅλης, ἐφ’ ὅσον ἔχρηζε τε καὶ ἐβούλετο.

83. Καὶ τάδε αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τάδε τῷ πολέμῳ προσημῆναι. δειματά τε γὰρ ἄλογα πολλοῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κατὰ πλῆθος ἐνέπτυττε περὶ ὅλην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ μαντευμάτων παλαιῶν ἐπιφοβωτέρων ἐμιμομένουν, τέρατα τε πολλὰ ἐγώνοντο, καὶ ἡμίονος ἔτεκε, καὶ γυνὴ κύουσα ἐχιν ἀντὶ βρέφους ἐξέδωκε, τὴν τε γῆν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ μέγα ἐσεισε καὶ νεώς τινὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατηνέγκε, καὶ πάνυ Ῥωμαίων ὄντων ἐς τὰ τοιάῦτα βαρυργών. τὸ τε Καπιτώλιον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων τετρακοσίως ποὺ πρόσθεν ἔτεσι γενόμενον ἐνεπρήσθης.
had 200 cohorts of 500 men at first, and their forces were considerably augmented afterward. For the sympathies of the people were much in favour of the consuls, because the action of Sulla, who was marching against his country, seemed to be that of an enemy, while that of the consuls, even if they were working for themselves, was ostensibly the cause of the republic. Many persons, too, who knew that they had shared the guilt, and who believed that they could not despise the fears, of the consuls, co-operated with them. They knew very well that Sulla was not meditating merely punishment, correction, and alarm for them, but destruction, death, confiscation, and wholesale extermination. In this they were not mistaken, for the war ruined everyone. From 10,000 to 20,000 men were slain in a single battle more than once. Fifty thousand on both sides lost their lives round the city, and to the survivors Sulla was unsparing in severity, both to individuals and to communities, until, finally, he made himself the undisputed master of the whole Roman government, so far as he wished or cared to be.

83. It seems, too, that divine providence foretold to them the results of this war. Mysterious terrors came upon many, both in public and in private, throughout all Italy. Ancient, awe-inspiring oracles were remembered. Many monstrous things happened. A mule foaled, a woman gave birth to a viper instead of a child. There was a severe earthquake divinely sent and some of the temples in Rome were thrown down (the Romans being in any case very seriously disposed towards such things). The Capitol, that had been built by the kings 400 years before, was burned down, and nobody could dis-

Omens and prodigies
CAP. Τὴν αὐτίαν οὐδεὶς ἐπενόει. πάντα δ' ἐδοξεῖν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολουμένων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως κατά-λυσιν καὶ πολιτείας μεταβολὴν προσημῆραι.

84. Ἡράκλειον μὲν ὦν οὗτ ὁ πόλεμος, ἐξ οὗ Σύλλας ἐς Βρεττέσιον παρῆλθεν, ὀλυμπιάδων οὖσῶν ἐκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων μῆκος ὁ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὸ ἡμέρας τῶν ἐργῶν, σὺν ἐπείξει ὡς ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς ἑδόμους ἑκατοντάρχων, οὐ πολὺ ὑπὲρ τοὐσοῦδε ἐργαῖς ἐγένετο. ὅθεν καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς τὰ παθήματα ἐπειγομένους ἐν βραχεί μείζω καὶ ὄξυτα ἰσόμετρα ἑγερέθαι. ὥς ἐν τριετίς ὁμοι προῆλθε, κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, μέχρι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνεδήσατο Σύλλας· ἐν γὰρ Ἱθυρία καὶ μετὰ Σύλλαν ἔξετειν ἐπὶ πλεῖον. μάχαι δὲ καὶ ἀκροβολίαι καὶ πολυρρίαι καὶ πολέμων ἰδεαὶ πᾶσαι κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀθρόαι τε καὶ κατὰ μέρη τόις στρατηγοῖς ἐγένοντο πολλαί, καὶ πᾶσαι διαφανεῖς. ὅν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ ἄξιολογότατα, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ φράσαι, τοιάδε ἦν.

Χ

CAP. Πρῶτη μὲν ἀμφὶ Κανύσιον τοῖς ἀνθυπότατοι πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐγίγνετο μάχη· καὶ θυμὸκουσι Νωρβανὸ μὲν ἐξακισχίλιοι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τῶν Σύλλαν ἐβδομήκοντα, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο πολλοὶ· καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐς Καπῦν ἀνέξευξε. 85. Σύλλα δὲ καὶ Μετέλλω περὶ τὸ Τεανὸν οὔσι Δεύκιος Σκιπίων ἐπῆει μεθ' ἐτέρου στρατοῦ,
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK I

cover the cause of the fire. All things seemed to point to the multitude of coming slaughters, to the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, to the capture of the city, and to constitutional change.

84. This war began as soon as Sulla arrived at Brundusium, which was in the 174th Olympiad. B.C. 88. Considering the magnitude of the operations, its length was not great, compared with wars of this size in general, since the combatants rushed upon each other with the fury of private enemies. For this special reason greater and more distressing calamities than usual befell those who took part in it in a short space of time, because they rushed to meet their troubles. Nevertheless the war lasted three years in Italy alone, until Sulla had secured the supreme power, but in Spain it continued even after Sulla’s death. Battles, skirmishes, sieges, and fighting of all kinds were numerous throughout Italy, and the generals had both regular battles and partial engagements, and all were noteworthy. The greatest and most remarkable of them I shall mention in brief.

X

First of all Sulla and Metellus fought a battle against Norbanus at Canusium and killed 6000 of his men, while Sulla’s loss was seventy, but many of his men were wounded. Norbanus retreated to Capua.

85. Next, while Sulla and Metellus were near Teanum, L. Scipio advanced against them with another army which was very downhearted and

1 The text is certainly corrupt here, and cannot adequately be rendered as it stands.
CAR. πάνυ ἀθύμως ἐχοντος καὶ ποθοῦντος εἰρήνην γενέσθαι. αἰσθόμενοι δ’ οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύλλαν πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπρέσβευον, οὕτως εἰπτίζοντες ἢ χρήζοντες, ὡς στασιάσειν προσδοκώντες αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀθύμως ἔχοντα. ο’ καὶ συνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Σκιπίων μὲν γὰρ ὀμηρὰ τῆς συνόδου λαβὼν ἐσ τὸ πεδίον κατῆλε, καὶ συνήχεσαν τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν, θεν δ’ ὑνών τὰ λεχθέντα συνεβη. εὖδοκει δ’ ἀναθέμενος ὁ Σκιπίων ὡς Νωρβανὸν τὸν σύναρχον περὶ τῶν λελεγμένων πέμψαι. Σερτώριον ἀπαγγελοῦντα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ ἐκατέρων ἡσύχαζε, τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένοντες. Σερτώριον δ’ ἐν παρόδῳ Σύνεσαν, ἢ τὰ Σύλλεια ἱρήτῳ, καταλαβόντος ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἡτίατο πέμπων ἐσ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, ὁ δ’ εἰτε τῷ γενομένῳ συνεγνωκός εἰτε ἀποκρίσεως ἀπορῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ δή τῷ Σερτώριον ἑργῷ, τὰ ὀμηρὰ ἀπέπεμπε τῷ Σύλλα. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, τῇ τῇ Ἔν συνέσθης ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀλόγῳ καταλήγει καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀμηρῶν οὐκ ἀπαίτουμένων ἀποπέμψει τῶν ὑπάτων ἐχοντες ἐν αἰτίαις, κρύφα τῷ Σύλλα συνετέθεντο μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ, εἰ πελάσει. καὶ προσίοντος αὐτίκα πάντες ἀθρόως μετέστησαν, ὡς τῶν ὑπατον Σκιπίωνα καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ Δεύκιον μόνους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ διηπορημένους Σύλλαν καταλαβεῖν. καὶ μοι δοκεὶ τόδε ὑπ’ στρατηγῷ παθεῖν ὁ Σκιπίων, ἀγνοῆς ὀλοι στρατοῦ τοσίμῳ δινήκει. 86. Σκιπίωνα μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοῦ παῖδος οὖ μεταπεθών ο Σύλλας ἀπέπεμπε ἀπαθῇ. καὶ πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐς Καπύνην περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπεμπεν ἐτέρους, εἰτε δεισας τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἐτι τοῖς
longed for peace. The Sullan faction knew this and sent envoys to Scipio to negotiate, not because they hoped or desired to come to an agreement, but because they expected to create dissensions in Scipio's army, which was in a state of dejection. In this they succeeded. Scipio took hostages for the conference and marched down to the plain. Only three from each side conferred, so that what passed between them is not known. It seems, however, that during the armistice Scipio sent Sertorius to his colleague, Norbanus, to communicate with him concerning the negotiation, and there was a cessation of hostilities while they were waiting for the answers. Sertorius on his way took possession of Suessa, which had espoused the side of Sulla, and Sulla made complaint of this to Scipio. The latter, either because he was privy to the affair or because he did not know what answer to make concerning the strange act of Sertorius, sent back Sulla's hostages. His army blamed the consuls for the unjustifiable seizure of Suessa during the armistice and for the surrender of the hostages, who were not demanded back, and made a secret agreement with Sulla to go over to him if he would draw nearer. This he did, and straightway they all went over en masse, so that the consul, Scipio, and his son Lucius, alone of the whole army, were left, not knowing what to do, in their tent, where they were captured by Sulla. Scipio's ignorance of a conspiracy of this kind, embracing his whole army, seems to me inexcusable in a general.

86. When Sulla was unable to induce Scipio to change, he sent him away with his son unharmed. He also sent other envoys to Norbanus at Capua to open negotiations, either because he was apprehensive
CAP. υπάτοις συνισταμένης εἶτε καὶ ἐς τόνδε καθάπερ ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα τεχνάζων. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προιόντος οὐδ' ἐς ἀπόκρισιν (ὁ γὰρ τοι Νωρβανός, ὡς ἐκεῖ, μὴ διαβληθεὶ τὰ ὀμοία ἐς τὸν στρατὸν ἐδεισεν) ἀναστήσας Σύλλας ἔχορει πρόσω τὰ πολέμια πάντα δηῇν· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἔπραττε κατ' ἄλλας ὀδοὺς. Κάρβων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ προδράμων Μέτελλον τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅσοι ὄντες ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ Σύλλα συνήθαν, ἐγινότετο εἶναι πολεμίους. αἳς ἡμέραις καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνεπιμπρατο καὶ τὸ ἔργον τινές ἐλογοποίουν Κάρβωνος ἢ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ Σύλλα πέμψαντος εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀκριβές ἀδηλὸν ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τὴν αὐτίναν ἐγὼ συμβαλεῖν, δ' ἦν ἐν ὦτῳς ἐγένετο. Σερτώριος δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ στρατηγεύν ἡρμηνεύον Ἰβηρίας μετὰ τὴν Συνέσσης κατάληψιν ἐφευγεν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν προτέρων στρατηγῶν οὐ δεχομένων, πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁδὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀνεκτίνησε πόνους. πλέονος δ' ἀεὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις γιγνομένου στρατοῦ ἀπὸ τῇ πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἢ σφίσι συνεστώσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀμορῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰρεδανὸν Γαλατίας, οὐδ' ὁ Σύλλας ἦμελει, περιπέμπτων ἐσ' ὁσα δύνατο τῆς Ἰταλίας, φίλα τε καὶ φόβῳ καὶ χρήματι καὶ ἐλπίδων ἤγείρων, μέχρι τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ θέρους ἐκατέροις ἐς ταῦτα ἀνηλόθη.

87. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἐτους ὑπατοί μὲν ἐγενέσθη Παπίριος τε Κάρβων αὖθις καὶ Μάριος δ' ἀδελφίδους Μαρίου τοῦ περιφανοῦς, ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἔτη γεγονός· χειμῶν δὲ καὶ κρύος πολὺ γενόμενον ἀπαντας ἀλλήλων διέστησεν. ἀρχομένου δ'
of the result (since the greater part of Italy still adhered to the consuls), or in order to play the same game on him that he had played on Scipio. As nobody came forward and no answer was returned (for it seems that Norbanus feared lest he should be accused by his army in the same way that Scipio had been), Sulla again advanced, devastating all hostile territory, while Norbanus did the same thing on other roads. Carbo hastened to the city and caused Metellus, and all the other senators who had joined Sulla, to be decreed public enemies. It was at this time that the Capitol was burned. Some attributed this deed to Carbo, others to the consuls, others to somebody sent by Sulla; but of the exact fact there was no evidence, nor am I able now to conjecture what caused the fire. Sertorius, who had been some time previously chosen praetor for Spain, after the taking of Suessa fled to his province, and as the former praetor refused to recognize his authority, he stirred up a great deal of trouble for the Romans there. In the meantime the forces of the consuls were constantly increasing from the major part of Italy, which still adhered to them, and also from the neighbouring Gauls on the Po. Nor was Sulla idle. He sent messengers to all parts of Italy that he could reach, to collect troops by friendship, by fear, by money, and by promises. In this way the remainder of the summer was consumed on both sides.

87. The consuls for the following year were Papirius Carbo for the second time and Marius, the nephew of the great Marius, then twenty-seven years of age. At first the winter and severe frost kept the combatants apart. At the beginning of spring, on the
Χ. Ἰρρος περὶ τῶν Αἰσίων ποταμῶν ἐξ ἡνός ἐπὶ μεσημβριάν ἀγῶν καρτερὸς ἐγένετο Μετέλλῳ τῇ καὶ Κάρρινα, Κάρβωνος στρατηγῷ, πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ φεύγει μὲν ὁ Κάρρινας πολλοὺς ἀποβαλῶν, τὰ δὲ περίοικα πάντα ἐς τὸν Μετέλλου ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων μετετίθητο. Μετέλλου δὲ Κάρβων καταλαβὼν ἐφρούρει περικαθήμενος, ἐστε Μάριον τὸν ἐτερον ὑπατον μεγάλη μάχῃ περὶ Πραινεστοῦ ἡττήθατι πυθόμενος ἀνεστρατοπέδευεν ἐς Ἄριμινον. καὶ τοῦτὸ μὲν Πομπήιος τῆς οὐρανίας ἐξαπτόμενος ἠνώχλησι, ἡ δὲ περὶ Πραινεστοῦ ἠσσα ὅδε ἐγένετο. Σύλλα Σήτιον καταλαβόντος, ὁ Μάριος ἀγχοῦ στρατοπεδεύων ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ὡς δ' ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλοῦμενον Ἰερὸν λιμένα, ἐξετάσασεν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἠγονιζέτο προθύμως. ἀρχομένου δ' ἐνδιδόνα τοῦ λαίου μέρους, σπειραὶ πέντε πεζῶν καὶ δύο ἑπτέων οὐκ ἀναμείνασαι τὴν τροπὴν ἐκφανήναι τὰ τε σμεία ἐρρύζαν ὅμοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν μετετίθετον. καὶ τὸν εὐθὺς ἤρχε τῷ Μάριῳ δυσχεροῦση ἡττησ. κοπτόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Πραινεστοῦ ἐφευγον ἀπαντεῖς, ἐπομένου τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν δρόμῳ. καὶ οἱ Πραινεστοῦ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐσεδέξαντο, Σύλλα δ' ἐπικεμένου τὰς τύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ Μάριον καλῳδίοις ἀνυμήσαντο. πολὺς δ' ἄλλος ἐκ τούτῳ περὶ τοῖς τεχεσιν ἐγύμνετο φόνοις, καὶ πλήθος αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σύλλας ἔλαβεν, ὅν τοὺς Σαυνίτας ἐκτεινε πάντας ὡς αἰεὶ χαλεποὺς Ἦρωμαίους γενομένους.

88. Ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡμέραις καὶ Μετέλλους ἐνίκα ἐτερον Κάρβωνος στρατόν, πέντε κάνταυθα σπειρῶν ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ σεσωσμένων ἐς Μετέλλου.
banks of the river Aesis, there was a severe engagement lasting from early morning till noon between Metellus and Carinas, Carbo's lieutenant. Carinas was put to flight after heavy loss, whereupon all the country thereabout seceded from the consuls to Metellus. Carbo came up with Metellus and besieged him until he heard that Marius, the other consul, had been defeated in a great battle near Praeneste, when he led his forces back to Ariminum, while Pompey hung on his rear doing damage. The defeat at Praeneste was in this wise. Sulla having captured the town of Setia, Marius, who was encamped near by, drew a little farther away. But when he arrived at the Sacred Lake he gave battle and fought bravely. When his left wing began to give way five cohorts of foot and two of horse decided not to wait for open defeat, but threw away their standards in a body and went over to Sulla. This was the beginning of a terrible disaster to Marius. His shattered army fled to Praeneste with Sulla in hot pursuit. The Praenestines gave shelter to those who arrived first, but when Sulla pressed upon them the gates were closed, and Marius was hauled up by ropes. There was another great slaughter round the walls by reason of the closing of the gates. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners, and killed all the Samnites among them, because they had all along been ill-affected toward the Romans.

88. About the same time Metellus gained a victory over another army of Carbo, and here again five cohorts, for safety's sake, deserted to Metellus
CAP. Πομπηίος τε Μάρκιον ἑνίκα περὶ πόλιν Σήνας καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξεν. ὃ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Μάριον ἐς Πραινεστὸν κατακλείσας τὴν πόλιν ἀπετάφρενε καὶ ἀπετείχιζεν ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος καὶ Σουκρήτιον Ὀφέλλαν ἐπέστησε τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς οὐκέτι μάχη παραστησόμενος Μάριον, ἀλλὰ λιμῷ. Μάριος δὲ οὐδὲν χρήστον ἔτι προσδοκῶν τοὺς ἰδίους ἐχθροὺς ἦπειγέτο προανελείν καὶ Βρούτῳ στρατηγοῦντι τῆς πόλεως ἐπέστελλε τὴν σύγκλητον ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλο συναγαγεῖν καὶ κτεῖναι Πόπλιον Ἀντίστιον καὶ Παπίριον Κάρβωνα ἐπεροῦ καὶ Λεύκιον Δομίτιον καὶ Μούκιον Σκαιόλαν, τὸν τὴν μεγαστὴν Ῥωμαίους ἱέρωσύνην ἱερωμένων, οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν ἀνηρέθησαν ἐν τῇ Βουλή, καθὰ Μάριος προσέταξε, τῶν σφαγών ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσαχθέντων. Δομίτιος δὲ ἐκτρέχων παρὰ τὴν ἔξοδον ἀνηρέθη, καὶ μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτήριον Σκαιόλας, τὰ τε σώματα αὐτῶν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρριφη ἐπεπόλαξε γὰρ ἢδη μὴ καταθάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους. Σύλλας δὲ στρατὸν ἐς Ῥώμην κατὰ μέρη δὲ ἐτέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ὦδὸν περιέπεμπεν, ἐντελλόμενος τὰς πύλας καταλαβεῖν, εἶ δὲ ἀποκρουσθεῖν, ἐπὶ Ὁστία χωρεῖν. τοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πόλεις παροδεύοντας ἕνων φόβῳ προσεδέχοντο, καὶ τὸ ἄστυ προσιούσι τὰς πύλας ἀνέφξαν, ὑπὸ τε λιμὸν πιεζούμενοι καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀρα ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπικρατοῦντα φέρειν ἐθιζόμενοι.

89. Σύλλας δὲ ὡς ἔμαθεν, αὐτίκα ἐπελθὼν τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν ὑδρυσε πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ εἶσω παρῆλθεν, ἐκφυγόντων τῶν
during the battle. Pompey overcame Marcius near Senae and plundered the town. Sulla, having shut Marius up in Praeneste, drew a line of circumvallation round the town a considerable distance from it and left the work in charge of Lucretius Ofella, as he intended to reduce Marius by famine, not by fighting. When Marius saw that his condition was hopeless he hastened to put his private enemies out of the way. He wrote to Brutus, the city praetor, to call the Senate together on some pretext or other and to kill Publius Antistius, the other Papirius, Lucius Domitius, and Mucius Scaevola, the pontifex maximus. Of these the two first were slain in their seats as Marius had ordered, assassins having been introduced into the senate-house for this purpose. Domitius ran out, but was killed at the door, and Scaevola was killed a little farther away. Their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, for it was now the custom not to bury the slain. Sulla sent an army to Rome in detachments by different roads with orders to seize the gates, and if they were repulsed to rendezvous at Ostia. The towns on the way received them with fear and trembling, and the city opened its gates to them because the people were oppressed by hunger, and because, of present evils, men always nerve themselves to bear the worse.¹

89. When Sulla learned this he came on immediately and established his army before the gates in the Campus Martius. He went inside himself, all of

¹ The famine, that is, being the lighter evil of the two.
CAP. άντιστασιωτῶν ἀπάντων. καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων ἀυτίκα ἐδημεῦσε τοῖς δὲ δῆμοιν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τῶν παρόντων ὠλοφύρετο καὶ θαρρεῖν προσέταξεν ὡς αὐτίκα τῶν δε παυσομένων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐς τὸ δέον ἐλευσομένης. διοικησάμενος δὲ ὅσα ἦπειγε καὶ τῇ πόλει τινὰς ἐπιστήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐξωρ-μησεν ἐς Κλούσιον, ἐνθα τοῦ πολέμου τὰ λοιπὰ ἠκμαξεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς ὑπάτοις προσεγένοντο ἰππεῖς Κελτίβηρες, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατηγῶν ἀπεσταλμένοι, καὶ γενομένης παρὰ τὸν Γλάνιν ποταμὸν ἰππομαχίας ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἐκτείνεις ἐς πεντήκοντα τῶν πολεμιῶν, διακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τῶν τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἥπτομόλησαν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Κάρβων ἀνείλεν, εἴτε χαλεπήσας τῆς τῶν ὁμοθυνῶν αὐτομολίας εἴτε δείσας περὶ ὁμοίων. τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ Σατουρνίαν ἐτέρφε μέρει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁ Σύλλας ἐνίκη, καὶ Μέτελλος ἔπι Ὁρίβεναν περιπλέον τὴν Ὀὐριτανὴν χώραν, πεδιάδα καὶ πυροφόρον οὐσάν, προκατελάμβανεν. ἐς τε Νέαν πόλιν ἐκ προ- δοσίας νυκτὸς ἐτερόφι τῶν Συλλείων ἐσελθόντες ἐκτείναν ἀπαντας χορίς ὅλων διαφυγόντων καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τῆς πολέως ἕλαβον. αὐτῷ δὲ Σύλλα καὶ Κάρβων περὶ Κλούσιον ἐξ ὑής ὑπὲρ ἐσπέραν γίγνεται μάχη καρτερᾶ· καὶ φανέντες ἀλλήλοις ἱσόμαχοι μετὰ σκότους διεκρίθησαν.

90. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Σωληνίῳ πεδίῳ Πομπῆιος καὶ Κράσσος, ἀμφῶ Σύλλα στρατηγὸς, κτείνωσα τῶν Καρβωνείων εἰς τρισχίλιοις καὶ Καρρίναν τῶν ἀντιστρατηγοῦντα σφίσιν ἐπολιόρκουν, ἔστε Κάρ-
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK 1

the opposite faction having fled. Their property was confiscated and exposed to public sale. Sulla summoned the people to an assembly, where he lamented the necessity of his present doings and told them to cheer up, as the troubles would soon be over and the government go on as it ought. Having arranged such matters as were pressing and put some of his own men in charge of the city, he set out for Clusium, where the war was still raging. In the meantime a body of Celtiberian horse, sent by the praetors in Spain, had joined the consuls, and there was a cavalry fight on the banks of the river Glanis. Sulla killed about fifty of the enemy, and then 270 of the Celtiberian horse deserted to him, and Carbo himself killed the rest of them, either because he was angry at the desertion of their countrymen or because he feared similar action on their own part. About the same time Sulla overcame another detachment of his enemies near Saturnia, and Metellus sailed around toward Ravenna and took possession of the level wheat-growing country of Uritanus. Another Sullan division effected an entrance into Neapolis by treachery in the night, killed all the inhabitants except a few who had made their escape, and seized the triremes belonging to the city. A severe battle was fought near Clusium between Sulla himself and Carbo, lasting all day. Neither party had the advantage when darkness put an end to the conflict.

90. In the plain of Spoletium, Pompey and Crassus, both Sulla's officers, killed some 3000 of Carbo's men and besieged Carinas, the opposing general. Carbo sent reinforcements to Carinas, but Sulla learned of

1 So Viereck; but it may be "ager viritanus," "qui viritim distribuitur" according to Festus.
CAP. χβών μὲν ἐτερον τῷ Καρρίνα στρατὸν ἐπεμψευ·
ό δὲ Σύλλας αἰσθόμενος καὶ ἐφεδρεύσας ἐκτείνειν
αὐτῶν παροδευόντων ἐς δισχίλιους, καὶ Καρρίνας
δὲ νυκτός, ὑδατὸς τε ὄντος ἐξ οὗρανοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ
σκότους, αἰσθομένων μὲν τι τῶν περικαθημένων,
διὰ δὲ τὸν ὀμβρὸν ἠμέλουντον, διέφυγε. καὶ
Κάρβων ἐς Πραινεστὸν Μαρίῳ τῷ συνάρχῳ
Μάρκιον ἐπεμπεν, ὅκτω τέλη στρατιῶς ἀγοντα,
πυθανόμενος αὐτῶν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ κακοπαθείν ὅις ὁ
Πομπήιος ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐν στενῷ προσπεσὼν
τρέπεται τε καὶ πόλλους διαφθείρας ἐς λόφον
συνέκλεισε τοὺς λοιποὺς. ἐξ οὐ Μάρκιος μὲν
οὐ σβέσας τὸ πῦρ ἀπεδίδρασκεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς
αὐτῷ τὴν αίτια τῆς ἐνέδρας προστιθείς ἐστασίασε
χαλέπῳ, καὶ τέλος μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς σημείους ὅλου
ἀνευ παραγγέλματος ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Ἀρίμινον, οἱ
λοιποὶ δ’ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας κατὰ μέρη διελύθησαν,
ὡς ἐπτὰ σπέιρας τῷ στρατηγῷ μόνας παρα-
μεῖναι.

Καὶ Μάρκιος μὲν ὄδε πράξας κακῶς ἐς Κάρ-
βωνα ἐπανῆει, Μάρκον δὲ Δαμπώνιον ἐκ Δευκάνιας
καὶ Πόντιον Τελεσίνον ἐκ τῆς Σαυνύτιδος καὶ τὸν
Καπναίον Γούτταν, μεθ’ ἐπτὰ μυριάδων ἐπενεγμέ-
νος Μάριον ἐξελέσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, ὁ Σύλλας
ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἡ μόνη διαβατόν ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς
παρόδου. καὶ ὁ Μάριος, ἀπογυνώσκων ἡδὴ ταῖς
ἐξωθεὶ ἐπικοινώσας, φρούριον ἐν τῷ μεταιχμίῳ
μεγάλῳ ὄντι ἤγειρεν, ἐς δ’ καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ στρα-
τίαν συναγαγὼν ἐπεχείρησε βιάσασθαι τὸν Δουκρή-
τιον. πολυμερέουν δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ποικίλης τῆς
πειρᾶς γενομένης, οὐδὲν αὖν ἐς Πραινεστὸν
αὖθις συνεκλείετο.

91. Καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας ἐν Φαυνενία
their movement, laid an ambush for them, and killed about 2000 of them on the road. Carinas escaped by night during a heavy rain-storm and thick darkness, since although the besiegers were aware of some movement, they made no opposition on account of the storm. Carbo sent Marcius with eight legions to the relief of his colleague, Marius, at Praeneste, having heard that he was suffering from hunger. Pompey fell upon them from ambush in a defile, defeated them, killed a large number, and surrounded the remainder on a hill. Marcius indeed made his escape, leaving his fires burning, but the army blamed him for being caught in an ambush and there was a serious mutiny. One whole legion marched off under their standards to Ariminum without orders. The rest separated and went home in driblets, so that only seven cohorts remained with their general.

Marcius, having made a failure of it in this way, returned to Carbo. However, Marcus Lamponius from Lucania, Pontius Telesinus from Samnium, and Gutta the Capuan, with 70,000 men, hastened to deliver Marius from the siege, but Sulla occupied a pass which was the only approach to the place, and blocked the road. Marius now despaired of aid from without, and built a raised fort in the wide space between himself and the enemy, within which he collected his soldiers and his engines, and from which he attempted to force his way through the besieging army of Lucretius. The attempt was renewed several days in different ways, but he accomplished nothing and was again shut up in Praeneste.

91. About the same time Carbo and Norbanus
Κάρβων καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐξ ὀδοῦ βραχὺ πρὸ ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ Μετέλλου στρατόπεδον ἠλθόντες, λοιπῆς ὑσὺς ὦρας μιᾶς καὶ ἀμπέλων πυκνῶν περικειμένων, ἀνοίτως μάλα ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἐς μάχην ἐξέταττον, ἐλπίσαντες Μέτελλον τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλῆξειν. ἦττόμενοι δὲ ὡς ἐν ἄφυει χωρᾶ τε καὶ ὁ ὅρα καὶ ἐς τὰ φυτὰ ἐμπίπτοντες ἐφθείροντο κατὰ πλῆθος, ὡς ἀπολέσθαι μὲν ἄμφι τοὺς μυρίους, αὐτομολῆσαι δ' ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς διαρριφῆναι, μόνων ἐν τάξει χιλίων ἐπανελθόντων ἐς Ἀρίμυνον. τέλος δ' ἄλλο Δευκανῶν ἀγόμενον ὕπὸ Ἀλβευνονοῦ, τῆς ἡττησι πυθόμενον, μετεχώρει πρὸς Μέτελλον δυσχεραῖοντος Ἀλβευνονοῦ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν ὡς κατασχῶν τῆς ὀρμῆς αὐτῶν ἐς Νωρβανὸν ἐπανηλθείην, οὐ πολλαὶς δὲ ἡμέραις ὕστερον κρύφα τῷ Σύλλᾳ κοινολογησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἀδειαν, εἰ τι πράξειν ἄξιόλογον, ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκύλει Νωρβανὸν τε καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ στρατηγοὺς, Γάιον Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Φλάνιον Φιμβρίαν, ἀδελφὸν τοῦδε τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀσιαν ἐαυτὸν ἀνελόντος, ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι τῶν Καρβωνείων στρατηγοῖ τότε παρῆσαν. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο χωρὶς γε Νωρβανοῦ (μοῦνος γὰρ ὅμως ἄφικετο), πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀλβευνονὸς ἑκτείνει ἐπὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν διέφυγε. Νωρβανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἀρίμυνον ἐπὶ τῆς τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πλησίον στρατοπέδων ἐς τὸν Σύλλαν μεταχωρεῖν πυνθανόμενος τῶν τε παρόντων οἱ φίλοις οὐδένα ἐτί πιστῶν οὐδὲ βέβαιον ᾧς ἐν συμφορᾶς τιθέμενος, ἱδιωτικοῦ σκάφους ἐπιβᾶς ἐς 'Ρόδον διέπλευσεν ὅθεν ὕστε-
went by a short road to attack the camp of Metellus in Faventia just before nightfall. There was only one hour of daylight left, and there were thick vineyards thereabout. They made their plans for battle with more temper than judgment, hoping to take Metellus unawares and to stampede him. But they were beaten, both the place and the time being unfavourable for them. They became entangled in the vines, and suffered a heavy slaughter, losing some 10,000 men. About 6000 more deserted, and the rest were dispersed, only 1000 getting back to Ariminum in good order. Another legion of Lucanians under Albinovanus, when they heard of this defeat, went over to Metellus to the great chagrin of their leader. As the latter was not able to restrain this impulse of his men, he, for the time, returned to Norbanus. Not many days later he sent secretly to Sulla, and having obtained a promise of safety from him, if he should accomplish anything important, he invited Norbanus and his lieutenants, Gaius Antipater and Flavius Fimbria (brother of the one who committed suicide in Asia), together with such of Carbo’s lieutenants as were then present, to a feast. When they had all assembled except Norbanus (he was the only one who did not come), Albinovanus murdered them all at the banquet and then fled to Sulla. Norbanus, having learned that, in consequence of this disaster, Ariminum and many other camps in the vicinity were going over to Sulla, and being unable to rely on the good faith and firm support of many of his friends on the spot, now that he found himself in adversity, took passage on a private ship, and sailed to Rhodes. When, at a later period, Sulla demanded his surrender, and while the
ρον ἐξαιτούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα, Ὅροδίων ἔτη ἀμφίγυμούντων, ἑαυτὸν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέση διέφθειρε.

92. Κάρβων δὲ ἔτερα δύο τελη στρατιωτῶν ἐς Πρασινίστον ἀγείν ἐπειπτε Δαμάσιππον, ὑπερεπει-
γόμενος Μάριον ἐκλύσαι τῆς πολιορκίας. ἀλλ' ἦν οὖτοι τὰ στενὰ διελθεῖν ἐδύναντο φυλασσό-
μενα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα. Ταλάται τε ὁσοὶ ἀπὸ Ῥαβένης ἐπὶ τὰ "Ἀλπεία παρῆκουσιν, ἀθρώως ὡς
Μέτελλον μετετίθεντο· καὶ Δεύκολλος ἐτέρους
τῶν Καρβωνείου ἕνικα περὶ Πλακεντίαν. ὡν
ὁ Κάρβων πυθανόμενος, πρισμυρίους ὦμος ἐτι
ἐχων περὶ τὸ Κλούσιον καὶ δύο τελη τὰ Δαμασ-
ἰππον καὶ ἔτερα περὶ Καρρίναν καὶ Μάρκιον
Σαυνιτῶν τε αὐτῷ χειρὶ πολλὴ προθύμῳ περὶ τὰ
στενὰ κακοπαθοῦντων, ἀπογονὸς ἀπάντων ἀσθενῶς
ἐφευγε σὺν τοῖς φίλοις ἐς Λεβύνην ἐξ Ἰταλίας
ὕπατος ἐτι ὦν, ὡς Λεβύνη παραστησόμενος ἀντὶ τῆς
Ἰταλίας. τῶν δ' ὑπολειφθέντων οἱ μὲν ἄμφι τὸ
Κλούσιον Πομπηῖος συνενεχθέντες ἐς μάχην ἀπε-
βαλον ἐς δισμυρίους, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορὰ μεγίστη
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τούδε τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰς πατρίδας
κατὰ μέρη διελύθη. Καρρίνας δὲ καὶ Μάρκιος
καὶ Δαμάσιππος οἰς εἶχον ἀπασιν ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ
ἐχώρουν ὡς ὀμοῦ τοῖς Σαυνίταις βιασόμενοι πάντως
αὐτὰ περάσαι. οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ οὐδ' ὡς, ἐφερόντο
ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καὶ τροφῶν ἀμα
καταληψόμενοι τὸ ἀστυ καὶ πρὸ σταδίων ἐκατον
ἐστρατοπέδευον ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν.

93. Δείσας οὖν ὁ Σύλλας περὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς
μὲν ἱππέας προὔπεμψε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐνοχλεῖν
αὐτοῖς ὀδεύουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπειδήθεις ἄθρώω τῶ
στρατῷ παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίναις πύλαις περὶ μεσημ-
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Rhodians were deliberating on it, he killed himself in the middle of the market-place.

92. Carbo sent Damasippus in haste with two other legions to Praeneste to relieve Marius, who was still besieged, but not even these could force their way through the pass that was guarded by Sulla. The Gauls who inhabited the country lying between Ravenna and the Alps went over to Metellus en masse and Lucullus won a victory over another body of Carbo’s forces near Placentia. When Carbo learned these facts, although he still had 30,000 men around Clusium, and the two legions of Damasippus, and others under Carinas and Marcius, besides a large force of Samnites, who were courageously enduring hardships at the pass, he fell into despair and weakly fled to Africa with his friends, although he was still consul, hoping to win over Africa instead of Italy. Of those whom he left behind, the army around Clusium had a battle with Pompey in which they lost 20,000 men. Naturally, after this greatest disaster of all, the remainder of the army broke into fragments and each man went to his own home. Carinas, Marcius, and Damasippus went with all the forces they had to the pass in order to force their way through it in conjunction with the Samnites. Failing in the attempt they marched to Rome, thinking that the city might be easily taken, as it was bereft of men and provisions, and they encamped in the Alban territory at a distance of 100 stades from it.

93. Sulla feared for the safety of the city, and sent his cavalry forward with all speed to hinder their march, and then hastened in person with his whole army and encamped beside the Colline gate near
CAP. βρίαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἀμφι τὸ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ἱερόν, ἢδη καὶ τῶν πολέμιων περὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδεύσατον. μάχης δ’ εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν γενομένης τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Σύλλας ἐκράτει, τὸ δὲ λαϊὸν ἤπτώμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέφυγεν. οἱ δὲ γέροντες, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς εἶδον αὐτοῖς συνεστρέχοντας τοὺς πολέμιους, τὰς πύλας καθῆκαν ἀπὸ μηχανῆς· αἱ δ’ ἐμπίπτουσαὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθειραν, πολλοὺς δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ λοιποὶ δ’ ὑπὸ δέους καὶ ἀνάγκης ἀνέστρεφον ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους. καὶ νυκτὸς ὅλης ἀγωνισμένοι πολὺ πλήθος ἐκτείναν ἐκτείναν δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν Τελεσί-νόν τε καὶ 'Αλβίνον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν ἔλαβον. Δαμπόνιος τε ὁ Δευκανός καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ὅσοι τε ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῆς Καρβωνείου στάσεως αὐτοῖς συνῆσαν, διέφυγον. καὶ θάνατος ἐκ τούδε τοῦ ἔργου πέντε μυριάδων ἐδόκει γενέσθαι παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων· τὰ τε αἰχμάλωτα ὀκτακισχιλίων πλεῖον γενόμενα Σύλλας, ὅτι Σαυ-νίται τὸ πλέον ἢν, κατηκότισε. μετὰ δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν αὐτὸ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Καρρίνας ἀλόντες προσήγοντο· καὶ οὔτε τῶν διεισδύομενος οὔτε Ἱω-μαίων ἐκτείνειν ἀμφῳ καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς Πραι-νεστὼν Λουκρητίῳ περὶ τὰ τεῖχα περιευγκείν ἐπεμψεν.

94. Πραινέστιοι δὲ καὶ τάδε θεόμενοι καὶ τὸν Κάρβωνον στρατὸν ἀπολωλέναι πάντα πυνθανό-μενοι αὐτὸν τοῦ Νωρβανοῦ ἢδη φυγεὶν εἰς Ἰταλίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ἱρώμην ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Σύλλαν ἐκτενὸς κεχειρώθαι, τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λουκρητίῳ παρέδοσαν, Μαρίου καταδύντος ἐς 170
the temple of Venus about noon, the enemy being already encamped around the city. A battle was fought at once, late in the afternoon. On the right wing Sulla was victorious, but his left was vanquished and fled to the gates. The old soldiers on the walls, when they saw the enemy rushing in with their own men, dropped the portcullis, which fell upon and killed many soldiers and many senators. But the majority, impelled by fear and necessity, turned and fought the enemy. The fighting continued through the night and a great many were slain. The generals, Telesinus and Albinus, were slain also and their camp was taken. Lamponius the Lucanian, Marcius, and Carinas, and the other generals of the faction of Carbo, fled. It was estimated that 50,000 men on both sides lost their lives in this engagement. Prisoners, to the number of more than 8,000, were shot down with darts by Sulla because they were mostly Samnites. The next day Marcius and Carinas were captured and brought in. Sulla did not spare them because they were Romans, but killed them both and sent their heads to Lucretius at Praeneste to be displayed round the walls.

94. When the Praenestians saw them and knew that Carbo's army was completely destroyed, and that Norbanus himself had fled from Italy, and that Rome and all the rest of Italy were entirely in the power of Sulla, they surrendered their city to Lucretius. Marius hid himself in an underground...
CAP. X

τάφρους ὑποῦμοις καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ ἀνελόντος ἑαυτῶν. Λουκρῆτιος μὲν δὴ Μαρίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμὼν ἐπεμπεν ἐς Σύλλαν· καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ἁγορᾷ μέση πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων θέμενος ἐπιγελάσαι λέγεται τῇ νεότητι τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ εἶπειν ἃ ἔρετην δεὶ πρῶτα γενέσθαι, πρῶν πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν. Λουκρῆτιος δὲ ἐπεὶ Πραινεστὸν εἶλε, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα Μαρίῳ στρατηγοῦντων τῶν μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνήρει, τοὺς δὲ ἐς φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλλεν· οὕς οὖν Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἀνείλε. καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πραινεστῷ προσέταξε χωρὶς ὀπλῶν προελθεῖν ἀπαντασὲ τὸ πεδίον καὶ προελθὼντον τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῷ τι χρησίμους γενομένους, ὀλίγους πάμπαν, ἔξειλετο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἃς τρία ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων διαστῆναι, Ἱωμαίους θε καὶ Σαννίτας καὶ Πραινεστίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ διέστησαν, τοὺς μὲν Ἱωμαίους ἐπεκήρυξεν, ὅτι καὶ οἶδε ἄξια θανάτου δεδράκασι, καὶ συγγνώμην ἐδώκεν ὁμοίως, τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους κατηκόντισεν ἀπαντασὲ· γύναια δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ παιδία μεθῆκεν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπίεναι. καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπισε, πολυχρήματον ἐν τοῖς μᾶλλα τότε ὀδύσαι.

Ὡδὲ μὲν δὴ καὶ Πραινεστὸς ἐάλω, ὁ νόητα οὗ, ἐτέρα πόλις, ἀντεἶχεν ἐτὶ ἐγκρατῶς, ἔτει Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου νυκτὸς ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐσελθόντος διαγανακτήσαντες οὐ ἐνδόν ἐτὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ, οὐ μὲν ἑαυτὸς ἀνήρουν, οὐ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐκόντες, οὐ δὴ καὶ βρόχους ἐνυπεπλέκοντο· καὶ τὰς ὑδας ἐνεφραττόν ἐτεροι καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν . . . ἀνεμὸς τε πολὺς ἐμπεσὼν ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐδαπάνησεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λάφυρον γενέσθαι.

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tunnel and shortly afterward committed suicide. Chapter X

Lucretius cut off his head and sent it to Sulla, who exposed it in the forum in front of the rostra. It is said that he indulged in a jest at the youth of the consul, saying "First learn to row, before you try to steer."1 When Lucretius took Praeneste he seized the senators who had held commands under Marius, and put some of them to death and cast the others into prison. The latter were put to death by Sulla when he came that way. All the others who were taken in Praeneste he ordered to march out to the plain without arms, and when they had done so he chose out a very few who had been in any way serviceable to him. The remainder he ordered to be divided into three sections, consisting of Romans, Samnites, and Praenestians respectively. When this had been done he announced to the Romans by herald that they had merited death, but nevertheless he would pardon them. The others he shot down to the last man, but their wives and children he allowed to go unharmed. The town, which was extremely rich at that time, he gave over to plunder.

In this way was Praeneste taken. Norba, another town, still resisted with all its might until Aemilius Lepidus was admitted to it in the night by treachery. The inhabitants, maddened by this treason, killed themselves, or fell on each other's swords, or strangled themselves with ropes. Others closed the gates and set fire to the town. A strong wind fanned the flames, which so far consumed the place that no plunder was gained from it.

1 A quotation from Aristophanes (Knights 542).
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

XI

95. Καὶ οἶδε μὲν οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς ἀπέθανον ἕμνυσμένων δὲ τῶν ἄμφε θην Ἰταλίαν πολέμου καὶ πυρὶ καὶ φὸνῳ πολλῷ, οἱ μὲν τοῦ Σύλλα στρατηγοὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιώντες τὰ ὑποττα ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Πομπήιος ἐς τε Διβύην ἐπὶ Κάρβωνα καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ Κάρβωνος φίλους ἐστέλλετο· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σύλλας Ἀρμαῖος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν πολλὰ ἐμεγαληγόρησεν ἐφʼ ἐαυτῷ καὶ φοβερὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐπεν ἑτέρα καὶ ἐπίνεγκεν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν δῆμον ἐς χρυστὴν ἂξει μεταβολήν, εἰ πεθοιντὸ ὦ, τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν οὐδενὸς ἐς ἐσχατὸν κακοῦ φείστεαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡ ταμίας ἡ χιλιάρχους ἡ ὅσοι τι συνεπράξαν ἄλλοι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μεθʼ ἂν ἢμέραν Σκυπίων ὁ ὑπατος οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄμφος ὁμολογημένοις, μετελεύσεσθαι κατὰ κράτος. ταῦτα δʼ εἴπον αὐτίκα ἰουλευτὰς ἐς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἵππεων ἄμφι χιλίους καὶ ἕξακοσίους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προῦγραφεν. οὕτως γὰρ δοκεῖ πρῶτος, οὐς ἐκολοσε θανάτων προγράψει καὶ γέρα τοῖς ἀναρκοῦσι καὶ μῆνυτρα τοῖς ἑλέγχουσι καὶ κολάσεις τοῖς κρύπτουσιν ἐπηγράψας. μετʼ οὖν πολὺ δὲ βουλευτὰς ἄλλους αὐτοῖς προσετίθει. καὶ τῶντες οἱ μὲν ἀδοκίτως καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο, ἐνθα συνελαμβάνοντο, ἐν οἰκίαις ἡ στενωποῖς ἡ ἱεροῖς, οἱ δὲ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν
95. So perished the stout-hearted men of Norba; and now, after thus crushing Italy by war, fire, and murder, Sulla's generals visited the several cities and established garrisons at the suspected places. Pompey was despatched to Africa against Carbo and to Sicily against Carbo's friends who had taken refuge there. Sulla himself called the Roman people together in an assembly and made them a speech, vaunting his own exploits and making other menacing statements in order to inspire terror. He finished by saying that he would bring about a change which would be beneficial to the people if they would obey him, but of his enemies he would spare none, but would visit them with the utmost severity. He would take vengeance by strong measures on the praetors, quaestors, military tribunes, and everybody else who had committed any hostile act after the day when the consul Scipio violated the agreement made with him. After saying this he forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights. He seems to have been the first to make a formal list of those whom he punished, to offer prizes to assassins and rewards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed. Shortly afterward he added the names of other senators to the proscription. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed where they were caught, in their houses, in the streets, or in the temples. Others were hurled

1 Latin *proscribere*, whence "proscription."
Σύλλας φερόμενοι τε καὶ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτῶν ῥυπτοῦμενοι· οScrollBar τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐσύροντο καὶ κατεπατοῦντο, οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι τῶν θεωμένων οὐδενὸς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτος κακοῖς ἔχοντος ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως. ἐξέλασις τε ἐτέρων ἤν καὶ δήμευσις τῶν ἐτέρως ὄντων. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τὴς πόλεως ἐκφυγόντας ξητηταί πάντα μαστεύοντες διέθεον καὶ ὅσους αὐτῶν λάβοιεν ἀνήρουν.

96. Πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀναίρεσις τε καὶ ἐξέλασις καὶ δήμευσις ἤν, ὅσοι τι Κάρβωνος ἢ Νωρβανὸς ἢ Μαρίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνους στρατηγοῦντων ὑπῆκοουσαν. κρίσεις τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πικραὶ καὶ ἐγκλήματα ποικίλα, στρατηγίας ἢ στρατείας ἢ ἐσφορᾶς χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλης ὑπηρεσίας ἢ βουλεύσεως ὅλως κατὰ Σύλλα. ἐγκλήματα δ᾽ ἦν καὶ ἡξεία καὶ φιλία καὶ δάνεισμα, λαβόντως ἢ δόντως, ἢδη δὲ τις καὶ προθυμίας ἢ μόνης συνοδίας ἡλίσκετο. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἦκμαξε μάλιστα κατὰ τῶν πλουσίων. ὡς δ᾽ ἐξέλιπτε τὰ καθ᾽ ἐνα ἄνδρα ἐγκλήματα, ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ὁ Σύλλας μετήκει καὶ ἐκόλαξε καὶ τάσδε, τῶν μὲν ἀκροπόλεις κατασκάπτων ἢ τείχη καθαρῶν ἢ κοινὰς ξημίας ἐπιτίθεις ἢ ἐσφορᾶς ἐκτρύχων βαρυτάταις· ταῖς δὲ πλείοσὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῷ στρατευσμένους ἐπόκιξεν ὡς ἐξων φρούρια κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐς τούσδε μεταφέρων διεμέρισεν· ὦ καὶ μάλιστ᾽ αὐτῶν έύνους αὐτῷ καὶ τελευτήσαντι ἐποίησεν· ὡς γὰρ οὐχ ἐξοντες αὐτὰ βεβαίως, εἰ μὴ πάντ᾽
through mid-air\(^1\) and thrown at Sulla's feet. Others were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against these horrors. Banishment was inflicted upon some and confiscation upon others. Spies were searching everywhere for those who had fled from the city, and those whom they caught they killed.

96. There was much massacre, banishment, and confiscation also among those Italians who had obeyed Carbo, or Marius, or Norbanus, or their lieutenants. Severe judgments of the courts were rendered against them throughout all Italy on various charges—for exercising military command, for serving in the army, for contributing money, for rendering other service, or even giving counsel against Sulla. Hospitality, private friendship, the borrowing or lending of money, were alike accounted crimes. Now and then one would be arrested for doing a kindness to a suspect, or merely for being his companion on a journey. These accusations abounded mostly against the rich. When charges against individuals failed Sulla took vengeance on whole communities. He punished some of them by demolishing their citadels, or destroying their walls, or by imposing fines and crushing them by heavy contributions. Among most of them he placed colonies of his troops in order to hold Italy under garrisons, sequestrating their lands and houses and dividing them among his soldiers, whom he thus made true to him even after his death. As they could not be secure in their own holdings unless all Sulla's

\(^1\) Probably from windows or roofs; but the Greek may merely mean "carried" as opposed to "dragged."
Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν 'Ἰταλίαν, Κάρβωνα δ’ ἐκ Διβύθης ἐς Σικελίαν μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐς Κοσσύραν νήσου ὑποφεύγοντα πέμψας των ὁ Πομπήιος συνέλαβε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἀγούσιν ἐκέλευσεν οὐδ’ ἐς ὅψιν οἱ προσαχθέντας ἀνελεῖν, Κάρβωνα δὲ παραστησάμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶ δεσμώτην τρίς ὑπιτον ἐπεδημηγόρησε καὶ κατέκανε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπεμψεν.

97. Ὅ δ’, ἐπεὶ οἱ πάντα, ὥς ἐβούλετο, ἑπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διώκητο καὶ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἦν ἐτὶ πλὴν Σερτωρίου μακρὰν ὄντος, Μέτελλον μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων ἐξέπεμπεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, τὰ δ’ ἐν τῇ πόλει καθίστατο ἀπαντὰ ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ, καθ’ ὑν ἐβούλετο τρόπον. νόμου γὰρ ἡ χειροτονίας ἡ κλήρου λόγος οὐκ ἦν ἐτὶ, πεφρικότων ὑπὸ δέους πάντων καὶ κρυπτομένων ἡ σιωπώντων οἱ καὶ πάντα, ὡσα διώκησεν ὁ Σύλλας ὑπατεύων τε καὶ ἀνθυπατεύων, βέβαια καὶ ἀνεύθυνα ἐψηφίζοντο εἰναι εἰκόνα τε αὐτοῦ ἐπίχρυσον ἐπὶ ἱπποῦ πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν καὶ ὑπέγραψαν "Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος Εὐτυχοῦς." ὅδε γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κόλακες, διεντυχοῦντα ἑπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὀνόμαζον καὶ προῆλθεν ἐς βέβαιον ὄνομα ἡ κολακεία. ἡδὴ δὲ τοῦ γραφή περιέτυχον ἡγομένη τὸν Σύλλαν Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν τῷ δὲ τῷ ψηφίσματι ἀναγραφῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικός ἐφαίνετο μου καὶ τόδε, ἐπεὶ καὶ Φαῦστος ἐπωνυμάζετο δύναται δὲ τοῦ αἰσίου καὶ ἔπαφροδίτου ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα. ἔστι δ’ ὅπου
system were on a firm foundation, they were his stoutest champions even after he died. While the affairs of Italy were in this state, Pompey sent a force and captured Carbo, who had fled with many persons of distinction from Africa to Sicily and thence to the island of Cossyra. He ordered his officers to kill all of the others without bringing them into his presence; but Carbo, "the three times consul," he caused to be brought before his feet in chains, and after making a public harangue at him, murdered him and sent his head to Sulla. 97. When everything had been accomplished against his enemies as he desired, and there was no longer any hostile force except that of Sertorius, who was far distant, Sulla sent Metellus into Spain against him and seized upon everything in the city to suit himself. There was no longer any occasion for laws, or elections, or for casting lots, because everybody was shivering with fear and in hiding, or dumb. Everything that Sulla had done as consul, or as proconsul, was confirmed and ratified, and his gilded equestrian statue was erected in front of the rostra with the inscription, "Cornelius Sulla, the ever Fortunate," for so his flatterers called him on account of his unbroken success against his enemies. And this flattering title still attaches to him. I have come across a document which relates that Sulla was styled Epaphroditus by a decree of the Senate itself. This does not seem to me to be inappropriate for one of his names was Faustus (lucky), which name seems to have very nearly the same significa-
tion as Epaphroditus. There was also an oracle given to him somewhere which, in response to his 1 "The favourite of Venus."
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XI καὶ χρησμὸς αὐτῷ δοθεὶς ἐβεβαιών τάδε σκεπτο-
μένῳ τὰ μέλλοντα.

πείθεό μοι, Ῥωμαίε. κράτος μέγα Κύπρις ἔδωκεν
Αἰνείου γενεῆ μεμελημένη. ἀλλὰ σὺ πᾶσιν
ἀθανάτοις ἐπέτεια τίθει. μὴ λήθεο τῶνδε:
Δελφοῖς δώρα κόμιζε. καὶ ἔστι τις ἀμβαίνουσι
Ταύρου ὑπὸ νιφόεντος, ὅπου περιμήκετον ἀστι
Καρῶν, οἱ ναίουσιν ἐπώνυμον ἔξ Ἀφροδίτης·
ἡ πέλεκυν θέμενος λήψῃ κράτος ἀμφιλαφές σοι.

ὄποτερα δ' αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσαντο Ῥωμαίοι τὴν εἰκόνα
tidέντες, δοκοῦσι μοι παρασκώπτοντες ἢ ἐκμει-
λισόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπιγράψαι. ἐπέμψε δὲ καὶ
στέφανον χρύσεον καὶ πέλεκυν, ἐπιγράψας τάδε:

τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφρο-
dίτη,

ὡ σ' εἶδον κατ' ονειρον ἀνά στρατὴν διέπουσαι
tεὐχέσει τοῖς 'Αρεος μαρναμένην ἐνοπλον.

98. ὦ δὲ ἐργῶ βασιλεὺς ὁ οἱ τύραννος, οὔχ
αἵρετος, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει καὶ βίᾳ, δεόμενος δ' ἄρα
καὶ τοῦ προσποιήματος αἵρετος εἶναι δοκεῖν, ὥδε
καὶ τόδε ἐμηχανήσατο. Ῥωμαίοις πάλαι κατ'
ἀρετὴν ἦσαν οἱ βασιλεῖς· καὶ ὅποτε τις αὐτῶν
ἀποθάνοι, βουλευτὴς ἔτερος παρ' ἐτερον ἐπὶ πέντε
ἡμέρας ἦρξεν, ἐως τινὰ ἄλλον ὁ δῆμος δοκιμάσει
βασιλεύειν. καὶ τόνδε τὸν πενθήμερον ἄρχοντα
ὑπερρηγα ἕκάλουν· εἰ ὡς δ' ἄν ἐν τοσῷ βασιλεὺς.
ἀρχιφέσια δ' ὑπάτων οἱ λήγοντες τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀεὶ
προντίθεσαν· καὶ εἴ ποτε κατὰ συντυχίαν ὑπάτος
question concerning the future, assured his prosperous career as follows:—

"Roman, believe me! On Aeneas' line
Cypris, its patron, sheddeth power divine;
To all the Immortals bring thy yearly gifts;
And chief to Delphi. But where Taurus lifts
His snowy side, and Carian men have walled
A far-spread town, from Aphrodite called,¹
There bring an Axe, and power supreme is thine!"

Whichever inscription the Romans voted when they erected the statue, they seem to me to have inscribed it either by way of jest or cajolery. However, Sulla did actually send a golden crown and axe to Venus with this inscription:—

This Axe to Aphrodite Sulla brought,
For in a dream he saw her as she fought
Queen of his host, full armed, and deeds of knighthood wrought.

98. Thus Sulla became king, or tyrant, de facto, not elected, but holding power by force and violence. As, however, he needed the pretence of being elected this too was managed in this way. The kings of the Romans in the olden time were chosen for their bravery, and whenever one of them died the senators held the royal power in succession for five days each, until the people should decide who should be the new king. This five-day ruler was called the Interrex, which means king for the time being. The retiring consuls always presided over the election of their successors in office, and if there

¹ Aphrodisias in Caria.
οὐκ ἐν, ὅδε ὁ ἐν τοσοῦδε βασιλεὺς καὶ τότε ἐγένετο ἐς τὴν τῶν ὑπάτων χειροτονίαν. τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἔθους ἐπιβαίνων ὁ Σύλλας, ὑπάτων οὐκ ὄντων, ἐπει καὶ Κάρβων ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ Μάριος κατὰ Πραιστοῦν ἐτεθνήκεσαν, αὐτὸς μὲν ποὺ τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξῆλθε, τῇ δὲ βούλῃ προσέταξεν ἐλέσθαι τὸν καλούμενον μεταξὺ βασιλέα.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ὑπαλέριον Φλάκκον ἐἴλετο, ἐπίσασα ὑπάτων προτεθῆκεσθαι χειροτονίαν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἐπέστελλε τῷ Φλάκκῳ γνώμην ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσενεγκείν, ὡς χρήσιμον ἦγοιτο Σύλλας ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐσεθαί τῇ πόλει τὴν ἁρχήν, οὕς ἐκάλουν δικτάτορας, πανσάμενον ἐθος ἐκ τετρακοσίων ἐτῶν, ὅτι ἔδοικεν ἀρχεῖν οὐκ ἐς χρόνον ῥητον, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἄλλην στάσεσι καὶ πολέμους σεσαλευμένην στηρίσειν. ο μὲν δὴ νοῦς τὴν γνώμην ἐς αὐτὸν ἔφερε τὸν Σύλλαν, καὶ οὐδ᾽ ἄμφιβολον ἦν· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ κατασχῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτ ἐν τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἀνεκάλυπτεν, ὅτι οἱ δοκοὶ μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῷ δὲ γενέσθαι χρήσιμος.

99. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἐπέστελλε, Ὑμωμαῖοι δ᾽ οὐχ ἐκοίμησε μὲν οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον ἐτί χειροτονοῦντες οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἤγοιμενοι τὸ ἐργὸν ὅλως, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάντων ἀπορίᾳ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τῆς χειροτονίας ὡς ἔλευθερίας εἶκον καὶ πρόσχημα ἀσπασάμενοι χειροτονοῦσι τὸν Σύλλαν, ἐς ὁσον θέλοι, τύραννον αὐτοκράτορα. τυραννὶς μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν δικτατόρων ἁρχὴ καὶ πάλαι, ὅλιγῳ χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὀριζομένης τότε δὲ πρῶτον ἐς ἀόριστον ἐλθοῦσα
chanced to be no consul at such a time an Interrex was appointed for the purpose of holding the consular comitia. Sulla took advantage of this custom. There were no consuls at this time, Carbo having lost his life in Sicily and Marius in Praeneste. So Sulla went out of the city for a time and ordered the Senate to choose an Interrex.

They chose Valerius Flaccus, expecting that he would soon hold the consular comitia. But Sulla wrote ordering Flaccus to represent to the people his own strong opinion that it was to the immediate interest of the city to revive the dictatorship, an office which had now been in abeyance 400 years. He told them not to appoint the dictator for a fixed period, but until such time as he should firmly re-establish the city and Italy and the government generally, shattered as it was by factions and wars. That this proposal referred to himself was not at all doubtful, and Sulla made no concealment of it, declaring openly at the conclusion of the letter that, in his judgment, he could be most serviceable to the city in that capacity.

99. Such was Sulla's message. The Romans did not like it, but they had no more opportunities for elections according to law, and they considered that this matter was not altogether in their own power. So, in the general deadlock, they welcomed this pretence of an election as an image and semblance of freedom, and chose Sulla their absolute master for as long a time as he pleased. There had been autocratic rule of the dictators before, but it was limited to short periods. But under Sulla it first

1 Some slip of text or memory is probable; 120 years is correct.
CAP. XI. τυραννις ἐγίγνετο ἐντελῆς. τοσοῦτοι προσέθεσαν εἰς εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ ῥήματος, ὅτι αὐτὸν αἵροιντο δικτάτορα ἐπὶ θέσει νόμων, διὸ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμάσει, καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ἡρωμαιοὶ βασιλεύσιν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας χρησάμενοι, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνοις δημοκρατίᾳ τε καὶ ὑπάτους ἐτησίους προστάτας ἐς ἄλλας ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδας, αὕτης ἐπειρώντο βασιλείας, ὀλυμπιάδοις οὐσῶν ἐν Ἑλλησσιν ἑκατον ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε καὶ οüδενὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπία τότε ἀγωνίσματος πλὴν σταδίου δρόμου γηγομένου τούς γὰρ ἀθλητὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα θέαματα πάντα ὁ Σύλλας ἐς Ἡρωμαιοὺς μετεκέκλητο ἐπὶ δόξη τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργων ἡ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν. πρόφασις δ' ἂν ἀναπνεύσας καὶ ψυχαγωγηθῇ τὸ πλήθος ἐκ καμάτων.

100. Ὁ δ' ἂν μὲν πρόσχημα τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ὑπάτους αὐτοὺς ἐπέτρεψεν ἀποφήναι, καὶ ἔγενοντο Μάρκος Τύλλιος καὶ Κορινήλιος Δολοβέλλας: αὐτὸς δ' οἷα δὴ βασιλεύσων δικτάτωρ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἤν πελέκεις τε γὰρ ἐφέροντο πρὸ αὐτοῦ, οἷα δικτάτορος, ἐκοσὶ καὶ τέσσαρες, ὅσοι καὶ τὸν πάλαι βασιλεύσαν ἤγοντο, καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος περιέθετο πολλῆν. νόμους τε ἔξελυνε καὶ ἐτέρους ἐτύθετο· καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀπείπε, πρὶν ταμιεύσαι, καὶ ὑπατεύειν, πρὶν στρατηγηθῇ, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὴν αὕτης ἀρχεῖν ἐκώλυσε, πρὶν ἔτη δέκα διαγενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ τῶν δημάρχων ἀρχὴν ἦσα καὶ ἄνειλεν, ἀσθενεστάτην ἀποφήνας καὶ νόμων κωλύσας μηδεμίαν ἀλλὰ πόλεως τὸν δῆμαρχον ἀρχὴν ἐτι ἀρχεῖν· διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ δόξης ἢ...
became unlimited and so an absolute tyranny. All the same they added, for propriety's sake, that they chose him dictator for the enactment of such laws as he himself might deem best and for the regulation of the commonwealth. Thus the Romans, after having government by kings for above sixty Olympiads, and a democracy, under consuls chosen yearly, for 100 Olympiads, resorted to kingly government again. This was in the 175th Olympiad, according to the Greek calendar, but there were no Olympic games then except races in the stadium, since Sulla had carried away the athletes and all the sights and shows to Rome to celebrate his victories in the Mithridatic and Italian wars, under the pretext that the masses needed a breathing-spell and recreation after their toils.

100. Nevertheless, by way of keeping up the form of the republic he allowed them to appoint consuls. Marcus Tullius and Cornelius Dolabella were chosen. But Sulla, like a reigning sovereign, was dictator over the consuls. Twenty-four axes were borne in front of him as dictator, the same number that were borne before the ancient kings, and he had a large body-guard also. He repealed laws and enacted others. He forbade anybody to hold the office of praetor until after he had held that of quaestor, or to be consul before he had been praetor, and he prohibited any man from holding the same office a second time till after the lapse of ten years. He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterward hold any other office; for which reason all men of reputation or family, who
CAP. XII. γένους ἀντιποιούμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐξετρέποντο. καὶ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἰ Σύλλας αὐτὴν, καθὰ νῦν ἔστω, εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μετήνεγκεν. αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ βουλῇ διὰ τὰς στάσεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους πάμπαν ὁλιγαν- δρούσῃ προσκατέλεξεν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἑκ τῶν ἁριστῶν ἑπτῶν, ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδόθη ἴησθον περὶ ἐκάστου. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τοὺς δούλους τῶν ἀνηρημένων τοὺς νεωτάτους τε καὶ εὐρώστους, μυρίων πλείους, ἔλευθερώσας ἐγκατέλεξε καὶ πολίτας ἀπέφηνε 'Ῥωμαίων καὶ Κορυνήλιος ἅφ έαυτοῦ προσεῖπεν, ὡς ἐτοίμως ἐκ τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα μυρίων χρώτῳ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπινοῶν τέλεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ στρατευσαμένοις τρισὶ καὶ ἐκκοιν ἐπένειμεν, ὡς μοι προείρηται, πολλὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεις γῆν, τὴν μὲν ἕτη οὖσαν ἀνέμητον, τὴν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφαιρούμενος ἐπὶ ξημίας.

101. Ἐσ ἀπαντᾷ δ' ἂν οὕτω φόβηρος καὶ ἀκρος ὅργην, ὡς καὶ Κόντον Λουκρήτιον Ὅφελλαν τὸν Πραινεστὸν αὐτῷ λαβόντα καὶ Μάριον τὸν ὑπατὸν ἐκπεπολυροκηκότα καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῷ τῆς νίκης συναγαγόντα, ὑπατεύειν ἔτι ἱππεά ὄντα, πρὸς ταμιεύς καὶ στρατηγῆσαι, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εἰργασμένων κατὰ παλαιῶν ἔθος ἄξιοντα καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν δεόμενον, ἐπεὶ κωλύων καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος οὐ μετέπειθεν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ κτείναι. καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἐς ἐκκλησίαν ἐιπεν, "ἰστε μέν, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀκούσατε, ὅτι Λουκρή- τιον ἐγὼ κατέκανον ἀπειθοῦντά μοι." καὶ λόγον 186
formerly contended for this office, shunned it thereafter. I am not able to say positively whether Sulla transferred this office from the people to the Senate, where it is now lodged, or not. To the Senate itself, which had been much thinned by the seditions and wars, he added about 300 members from the best of the knights, taking the vote of the tribes on each one. To the plebeians he added more than 10,000 slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the youngest and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them Cornelii after himself. In this way he made sure of having 10,000 men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands. In order to provide the same kind of safeguard throughout Italy he distributed to the twenty-three legions that had served under him a great deal of land in the various communities, as I have already related, some of which was public property and some taken from the communities by way of fine.

101. So terrible in all ways was he and so uncontrollable in anger that finding it vain to check and hinder by persuasive means Q. Lucretius Ofella, who had besieged and captured Praeneste together with the consul Marius, and had won the final victory for him, and who now, despite the new law, presumed to be a candidate for the consulship while still in the equestrian order and before he had been quaestor and praetor, counting on the greatness of his services, according to the traditional custom, and appealing to the populace, he slew him in the middle of the forum. Then Sulla assembled the people and said to them, "Know, citizens, and learn from me, that I put to death Lucretius because he disobeyed me." And then he
CAP. εἶπε: "φθείρες γεωργόν ἀροτριῶντα ὑπέδακνον· ὁ δὲ δὴς μὲν," ἔφη, "τὸ ἀροτρον μεθεὶς τῶν χιτωνισκῶν ἐκάθηρεν· ὡς δ᾽ αὖθις ἐδάκνετο, ἦνα μῆ πολλάκις ἄργοι, τῶν χιτωνισκῶν ἕκασσεν. καγὼ τοῖς δὲς ἕτημένοις παραινῶ τρίτου πυρὸς μὴ δεηθῆναι." Σύλλας μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο καταπληξάμενος αὐτοῦς, καθὰ ἐβούλετο, ἦρχε. καὶ ἔθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ πολέμῳ. καὶ τίνες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄρχην ἀρμομένην βασιλείαν ἐπισκόποντος ἐκάλουν, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως όνομα μόνον ἐπικρύπτοτοι· οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων μετέφερον καὶ τυραννίδα ὀμολογοῦσαν ἔλεγον.

102. Ἔσ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς τε Ρωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς ἀπασιν ὁ πόλεμος ὀδὲ προύβη κακοῦ, προύβη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθνεσιν ἀπασιν, ἀρτὶ μὲν ὑπὸ λῃστῶν καὶ Μιθριδάτου καὶ Σύλλα πεπολεμημένοις, ἀρτὶ δ᾽ ἀποροῦντο τοῦ ταιμείου διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐκετρυχωμένους εἰσφοραῖς πολλαῖς. ἔθνη τε ἧδρ πάντα καὶ βασιλεῖς, ὦσιν σύμμαχοι, καὶ πόλεις, οὐχ ἐσαι μόνον ὑποτελεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσαι ἑαυτὰς ἑγκεχειρίκεσαν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἐνορκοὶ καὶ ἐσαι διὰ σύμμαχιαν ἢ τινα ἄρετην ἄλλην αὐτόνομοτε καὶ φόρον ἴσαν ἀτελεῖς, τότε πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν, χώρας τε ἐνιαὶ καὶ λιμένων κατὰ συνθήκας σφίσι δεδομένων ἀφηρόντο.

Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύσαντος ύιόν, ἀνατραφέντα μὲν ἐν Κῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Κώνων ἐκδοθέντα Μιθριδάτη, διαφυγόντα δὲ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἐκ Μιθριδάτου καὶ συνήθη γενόμενον, ἐψηφίσατο

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told a parable: "A husbandman was bitten by fleas while ploughing. He stopped his ploughing twice in order to shake them out of his shirt. When they bit him again he burned his shirt, to avoid interruption in his work. And I tell you, who have felt my hand twice, to take warning lest the third time you need fire." With these words he terrified them and thereafter ruled as he pleased. He had a triumph on account of the Mithridatic war, during which some of the scoffers called his government "the official denial of royalty" because he kept back only the name of king. Others took the contrary view, judging from his acts, and called it "the official avowal of tyranny."

102. Into such evils were the Romans and all the Distress Italians plunged by this war; and so likewise were all the countries beyond Italy by the recent piracies, or by the Mithridatic war, or by the many exhausting taxes levied to meet the deficit in the public treasury due to the seditions. All the allied nations and kings, and not only the tributary cities, but those which had delivered themselves to the Romans voluntarily under sworn agreements, and those which by virtue of their furnishing aid in war or for some other merit were autonomous and not subject to tribute, all were now required to pay and to obey, while some were deprived of the territory and harbours that had been conceded to them under treaties.

Sulla decreed that Alexander (the son of Alexander the former sovereign of Egypt), who had been reared in Cos and given up to Mithridates by the inhabitants of that island, and had fled to Sulla and become intimate with him, should be king of Alexandria.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XI  
Basilieýeiv 'Alæxandréów, érímou tís 'Alæxei-
dréów àrhíhs ándrôs úúṭhís kai tón gnvaikón, ὃσαι basilieíon ýévous, ánðrôs syggyeyóou déomé-
ýwv, ἐήπίσας χρηματιεύοαi πολλά ἐκ basi-
leías poluxúpsou. ἀλλά τόúde méν oi 'Alæxei-
dréís énnneakaidékátiθn ýmééran éçóunta tís àrhíhs kai ἀτοπώτερον σφών, οία Σúllla peýoiθóta, 
ὲçggýýmenon, ἔσ τó γυμνásaioν ék tóú basilieíou 
proagagóntes éçteunαv. οútwos éti kai oúde diá 
té mégeðhos àrhíhs ãdzias kai tón éçwðen kákóu 
éti óntes ἀπαθéis ἀφόβwos éççwv étérov.

XII

CAP. XI  
103. Tóu δ’ ἐπιόντος ἔτους Σúlllas, καίσερ ὃν 
dikitátpo, ἐς ὑπόκρισιν ὀμώς καὶ σχῆμα δημοκρα-
tikís àrhíhs ú̄pétsthai kai úπatous áúthis ἑνεζéthetai 
súν Metéllw tò̄ Εὐσεβεί. καὶ ἀπò τούδε ἵσωs 
ἐτι νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαίων basilíées, úpátous ἀποφαῖ-
νοντες τῇ πατρίδι, ἐστίν ὅτε καὶ ἑαυτούς ἀποδεικ-
νόνοντον, ἐν καλῶ τιθέμενοι μετὰ τῆς μεγάςθης 
ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑπατεύοσαι.

Τῷ δ’ ἔξης ἔτει ὁ μὲν δήμος καὶ τότε τὸν 
Σúllלאn ἑραπεύον ἑρείτο ὑπατεύειν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ 
ἀνασχόμενος ὑπάτους μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπέφηγε Σερου-
ιλίον Ἰσαυρικοὺν καὶ Κλαύδιον Πούλχρον, αὐτὸς 
δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχήν οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἕκων 
ἀπέθετο. καὶ μοι θαύμα μὲν καὶ τόδε αὐτοῦ 
καταφαίνεται τοσοῦτο ἀρχήν πρῶτον ἀνδρῶν καὶ 
μόνον ἐς τότε Σúlllass οὐδενὸς ἐπείγοντος ἀπο-
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He did this because the government of Alexandria was destitute of a sovereign in the male line, and the women of the royal house wanted a man of the same lineage, and because he expected to reap a large reward from a rich kingdom. As, however, Alexander relying upon Sulla behaved himself in a very offensive manner toward them, the Alexandrians, on the nineteenth day of his reign, dragged him from the palace to the gymnasion and put him to death; for they too were still without fear of foreigners, either by reason of the magnitude of their own government or their inexperience as yet of external dangers.

XII

103. The following year Sulla, although he was dictator, undertook the consulship a second time, with Metellus Pius for his colleague, in order to preserve the pretence and form of democratic government. It is perhaps from this example that the Roman emperors appoint consuls for the country and even sometimes nominate themselves, considering it not unbecoming to hold the office of consul in connection with the supreme power.

The next year the people, in order to pay court to Sulla, chose him consul again, but he refused the office and nominated Servilius Isauricus and Claudius Pulcher, and voluntarily laid down the supreme power, although nobody interfered with him. This act seems wonderful to me—that Sulla should have been the first, and till then the only one, to abdicate such vast power without compulsion, not to sons (like

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CAP. θέσθαι, οὐ παύσιν, ὡς Πτολεμαῖος ἐν Ἀγάμπτῳ καὶ Ἀρισταρχᾶς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ Σέλευκος ἐν Συρίᾳ, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶς τοῖς τυραννουμένοις ἄλογον δ’ ἦδη καὶ τὸ βιασάμενον ἐς τὴν ἄρχην ρυφοκιν-
δύνως, ἐπείπτε ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο, ἐκόντα ἀποθέσθαι καὶ παράδοξον, ὅποι σύπω τι ἔτερον, τὸ μὴ δεῖσαι νεότητος ἐν τῶδε τῷ πολέμῳ πλέον μυριάδων δέκα ἀνηρμένης καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν ἀνελόντα 
βουλευτάς μὲν ἐνενήκοντα, ὑπάτους δὲ ἐς πεντε-
καίδεκα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων δισχί-
λίους καὶ ἐξακοσίους σὺν τοῖς ἐξεληλαμένοις· ὅ
τις τε περιουσίας δεδημευμένης καὶ πολλῶν ἀτάφων ἐκριφέντων, οὔτε τοὺς οἰκοὺ ὁ Σύλλας οὔτε τοὺς 
φεύγοντας καταπλαγεῖς οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις, ὅ
ν ἀκροπόλεις τε καὶ τείχη καὶ γῆν καὶ χρήματα 
καὶ ἀτελείας ἀφήρητο, ἐαυτὸν ἀπέφημεν ἰδιώτην.
104. Τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐν τῶδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τόλμης καὶ 
τύχης· ἦν γε φασιν ἐπειπείν ἐν ἄγορᾷ, τὴν ἄρχην 
ἀποτιθέμενον, ὅτι καὶ λόγον, εἰ τις αὐτοῖς, τῶν 
γεγονότων ὑφέξει, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθελόντα καὶ 
tους πελέκεις τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος 
ἀπώσασθαι καὶ μόνων μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς πολὺ 
ἐν μέσῳ βαδίσαι θεωμένου τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ 
καταπεπληγώτος αὐτὸν καὶ τότε. ἀναχωροῦντα 
δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν μόλις ποτὲ μειράκιον ἐπεμέμφετο 
καὶ οὔδενος αὐτὸ ἀπερύκοντος ἐθάρρησε καὶ 
λοιδορούμενον αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς οἰκίας ἔλθειν. ὁ 
δὲ κατὰ τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων ἄκρος 
ὀργῆν γενόμενος εὐσταθῶς τὸ μειράκιον ἤνεγκε 
καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐσιῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, εἰτε ἀπὸ 
ξυνέσεως εἰτε καὶ τύχη καταμαντεύμενος τῶν 
ἐσομένων, ἀπεκρίματο, ὅτι κωλύσει τὸ μειρά-
Ptolemy in Egypt, or Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, or Seleucus in Syria), but to the very people over whom he had tyrannized. Almost incredible is it that after incurring so many dangers in forcing his way to this power he should have laid it down of his own free will after he had acquired it. Paradoxical beyond anything is the fact that he was afraid of nothing, although more than 100,000 young men had perished in this war, and he had destroyed of his enemies 90 senators, 15 consulars, and 2600 knights, including the banished. The property of these men had been confiscated and the bodies of many cast out unburied. Undaunted by the relatives of these persons at home, or by the banished abroad, or by the cities whose towers and walls he had thrown down and whose lands, money, and privileges he had swept away, Sulla now proclaimed himself a citizen.

104. So great was this man's boldness and good fortune. It is said that he made a speech in the forum when he laid down his power in which he offered to give the reasons for what he had done to anybody who should ask them. He dismissed the lictors with their axes and discontinued his bodyguard, and for a long time walked to the forum with only a few friends, the multitude looking upon him with awe even then. Once only when he was going home he was reviled by a boy. As nobody restrained this boy he made bold to follow Sulla to his house, railing at him; and Sulla, who had opposed the greatest men and states with towering rage, endured his reproaches with calmness, and as he went into the house said, divining the future either by his intelligence or by chance, "This young man will
Καὶ Ἦρωμαίοις μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι συνηνέχθη μετ’ ὅλων, Γαίου Καίσαρος τὴν ἄρχην οὐκέτι μεθέντος· ὁ δὲ Σύλλας μοι δοκεῖ, ἐσ πάντα σφοδρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμήσας τύραννος ἔξ ἱδιώτον γενέσθαι καὶ ἱδιώτης ἐκ τυράννου καὶ μετὰ τούτ’ ἐπ’ ἔρημιας ἀγροίκου δια-γενέσθαι. διήλθε γὰρ ἐσ χωρία ἱδία ἐς Κύμην τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπ’ ἔρημιας θαλάσσης τε καὶ κυνηγεσίοις ἑχρῆτο, οὐ φυλασσόμενος ἄρα τὸν κατὰ ἄστυ ἱδιώτην βίον ὀυδ’ ἄσθενης ὡς αὐθινες ἐσ ὑ τ’ ὀρμήσειν· ἦ δυνατῇ μὲν ἐτι ἡ ἠλικία καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὐρωστον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δυσδεκα μυριάδες ἄνδρῶν ἱσαν ἐναγχὸς ὑπεστρατευμένων καὶ δωρεάς μεγάλας καὶ γην πολλὴν παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντων, ἔτοιμοι δ’ οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ μῦριοι Κορνήλιοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος αὐτοῦ στασιώτης λεώς, εὕνους αὐτῷ καὶ φοβηρὸς ὡς ἐτι τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ τὸ σφέτερον ἀδεές, ὡς τῷ Σύλλα συνεπεπράχεσαν, ἐν τῷ Σύλλαν περιείναι τιθέ-μενοι· ἄλλα μοι δοκεῖ κόρον τε πολέμων καὶ κόρον ἄρχης καὶ κόρον ἀστεος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τέλει καὶ ἀγορικίας ἐρασθήναι.

105. Ἀρτι δ’ ἀποστάντος αὐτοῦ, Ἦρωμαίοι φόνου καὶ τυραννίδος ἀπαλλαγέντες ἧσυχῇ πάλιν ἐπὶ στάσεις ὑπερρίπτοντο ἐτέρας. καὶ ὑπατοί αὐτοῖς καθίστανται Κόμιτος τε Κάτλος ἀπὸ τῶν Συλλείων καὶ Δέπιδος Αἰμίλιος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐχθιστο τε ἀλλήλων καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρξαμένω διαφέ-ρεσθαί. δὴλον τε ἦν τι κακὸν ἐτερον ἐκ τούδε γενησόμενον.
prevent any future holder of such power from laying it down."

This saying was shortly confirmed to the Romans, for Gaius Caesar never laid down his power, but Sulla seems to me, having shewn himself the same masterful and able man in all respects, to have desired to reach supreme power from private life, and to change back to private life from supreme power, and then to pass his time in rural solitude; for he retired to his own estate at Cumae in Italy and there occupied his leisure in hunting and fishing. He did this not because he was afraid to live a private life in the city, nor because he had not sufficient bodily strength for whatever he might be eager to do, for he was still of virile age and sound constitution, and there were 120,000 men throughout Italy who had recently served under him in war and had received large gifts of money and land from him, and there were the 10,000 Cornelii ready in the city, besides other people of his party devoted to him and still formidable to his opponents, all of whom rested upon Sulla's safety their hopes of impunity for what they had done in co-operation with him. But I think that because he was weary of war, weary of power, weary of Rome, he finally fell in love with rural life.

105. Directly after his retirement the Romans, although delivered from slaughter and tyranny, began gradually to feed the flames of new seditions. Quintus Catulus and Aemilius Lepidus were chosen consuls, the former of the Sullan faction and the latter of the opposite party. They hated each other bitterly and began to quarrel immediately, from which it was plain that fresh troubles were imminent.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XII

Σύλλας δ' ἐν τοῖς ἄγροις ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων ἦδη καλοῦν· καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μεθ’ ἤμεραν τοῖς φίλοις τὸ ὄναρ ἐξειπὼν διαθήκας συνέγραφεν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ αὐτὴς ἤμερας συνετέλευ· σφραγισμένων δ' αὐτὰς περὶ ἐσπέραν πυρετὸς ἐμπύπτει καὶ νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἐν τῇ βιώσας, ἐνυχέστατος δ' ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ καὶ ἐς τάλλα πάντα, ὀστερ καὶ ὄνομάζετο, γενέσθαι δοκόν, εἰ δὴ τις εὐτυχίαν ἤγοιτο τυχέων ὅσων ἂν ἐθέλη. γίνεται δ' εὐθὺς ἐν ἄστει στάσις ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν ἄγειν ἄξιοντων τὸ σώμα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ πομπῆι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν ἄγορα προτιθέναι καὶ ταφῆς δημοσίας ἀξιοῦν, Δεπίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἁμφὶ Δεπίδοιν ἐνισταμένων. ἐξενίκα δ' ὁ Κάτλος καὶ οἱ Σύλλειοι, καὶ ἐφέρετο ὁ νέκυς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς τὸ ἀστυ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσηλάτου καὶ κόσμου βασιλικοῦ, σαλπιγκταί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἵππες καὶ ἄλλος ὡμίλος ἐκ ποδὸς ὠπλίσμενος εὕτετο. οὐ̐ τε ὑποστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν παραπομπὴν ὠπλισμένοι συνέθεον καὶ, ὡς ἕκαστος ἀφικνοίτο, εὐθὺς ἐς κόσμου καθίσταντο· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ πλῆθος, ὅσον ἐπὶ οὐδεὶς ἔργῳ, συνέτρεχεν. ἤγειτο δ' αὐτοῦ σημεία καὶ πελέκεις, ὁσοὶ περιών ἔτι καὶ ἄρχων ἐκοσμεῖτο.

106. Ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὸ ἀστυ ἰχνη, ἐσεφέρετο μετὰ πομπῆς ἐνταῦθα δὴ μάλιστα ὑπερόγκου. στέφανοι τε γὰρ δισχίλιοι πλείους ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴ γενόμενοι παρεφέροντο, δόρα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν στρατευσαμένων τελῶν καὶ καθ' ἕνα τῶν φίλων, ἀλλ' τε τῶν ἐς τὴν ταφῆν πεμφθέντων οὐ δυνατῇ φράσαι πολυτέλειο.
While he was living in the country Sulla had a dream in which he thought he saw his Genius already calling him. Early in the morning he told the dream to his friends and in haste began writing his will, which he finished that day. After sealing it he was taken with a fever towards evening and died the same night. He was sixty years of age and was, I think, as his name suggests, the "most fortunate" of men in life and in death itself; that is, if the fortunate man is he who obtains all that he desires. Immediately a dissension sprang up in the city over his remains, some proposing to bring them in a procession through Italy and exhibit them in the forum and give him a public funeral. Lepidus and his faction opposed this, but Catulus and the Sullan party prevailed. Sulla's body was borne through Italy on a golden litter with royal splendour. Trumpeters and horsemen in great numbers went in advance and a great multitude of armed men followed on foot. His soldiers flocked from all directions under arms to join the procession, and each one was assigned his place in due order as he came, while the crowd of common people that came together was unprecedented, and in front of all were borne the standards and the fasces that he had used while living and ruling.

106. When the remains reached the city then indeed they were borne through the streets with an enormous procession. More than 2000 golden crowns which had been made in haste were carried in it, the gifts of cities and of the legions that he had commanded and of individual friends. It would be impossible to describe all the costly things contributed to this funeral. From fear of the assembled soldiery all the
καὶ τὸ σῶμα δέει τοῦ συνδραμόντος στρατοῦ παρέπεμπον ἱερεῖς τε ἁμα πάντες καὶ ἱερεῖαι, κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτῶν ἐκάτεροι, καὶ ἡ Βουλὴ πᾶσα καὶ αἱ ἁρχαὶ, τὰ σφέτερα σημεῖα ἐπικείμενοι. κόσμῳ δὲ ἀλλῳ τὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων πλῆθος εἶπετο καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν μέρει πᾶς, ὅσος ὑπεστράτευτο αὐτῷ· συνέδραμον γὰρ σπουδῇ, τὸ ἔργον ἀπαντεῖ ἐπευγόμενοι καταλαβένει, σημεῖα τε φέροντες ἐπίχρυσα καὶ ὅπλα ἐπὶ σφίσι περιάργυρα, οἷς ἔτι νῦν ἐς τὰς πομπὰς ἐλάθασι χρῆσθαι. σαλπιγκτῶν τε ἀπειρον ἦν πλῆθος, παρὰ μέρος ὑγρότατα καὶ πένθιμα μελῳδούντων. βοὴ δὲ ἐπευψήμουν ὡς τὴ Βουλὴ πρῶτη καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν μέρει, εἰθ’ ὁ στρατὸς, εἰθ’ ὁ δῆμος, οἱ μὲν τῷ οὕτω τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπιποθοῦντες, οἱ δὲ δειμαίνοντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τότε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὸν νέκυν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ περιόντος· ἐς τε γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν τῶν γιγνόμενων ἀποβλέποντες καὶ ἐς τὴν μυῆμαν δὲν ἐδρασεν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἐξεπλήττοντο καὶ ὦμολόγουν τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐνυχέστατον αὐτὸν ἑκείνοις γενέσθαι καὶ σφίσι καὶ τεθνεώτα φοβερότατον. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος, ἑνθα δημηγοροῦσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, προτέθη, τοὺς μὲν ἐπιταφίοις λόγους ἐιπεν ὁ κράτιστος ἐιπεῖν τῶν τότε, ἐπεὶ Φαύστος ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα νεώτατος ἦν ἐτι, τὸ δὲ λέχος ὑποδύντες ἀπὸ τῆς Βουλῆς ἄνδρες εὐρωστοῦ διεκόμηζον ἐς τὸ πεδίον τὸ Ἀρειον, ἑνθα βασιλεῖς θάπτονται μόνοι· καὶ τὸ πῦρ οἳ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ περιέδραμον.
priests and priestesses escorted the remains, each in proper costume. The entire Senate and the whole body of magistrates attended with their insignia of office. A multitude of knights followed with their peculiar decorations, and, in their turn, all the legions that had fought under him. They came together with eagerness, all hastening to join in the task, carrying gilded standards and silver-plated shields, such as are still used on such occasions. There was a countless number of trumpeters who in turns played the most melting and dirge-like strains. Loud cries of farewell were raised, first by the Senate, then by the knights, then by the soldiers, and finally by the plebeians. For some really longed for Sulla, but others were afraid of his army and his dead body, as they had been of himself when living. As they looked at the present spectacle and remembered what this man had accomplished they were amazed, and agreed with their opponents that he had been most fortunate for his own party and most formidable to themselves even in death. The body was shown in the forum on the rostra, where public speeches are usually made, and the most eloquent of the Romans then living delivered the funeral oration, as Sulla's son, Faustus, was still very young. Then strong men of the senators took up the bier and carried it to Campus Martius, where only kings were buried, and the knights and the army marched past the funeral fire.
107. Καὶ Σύλλα μὲν τούτο τέλος ἦν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς χωροῦντες εὐθὺς οἱ ὑπατοὶ λόγοις βλασφήμοις ἔστη ἀλλήλους διεφέροντο, καὶ τὸ ἀστικὸν ἐς αὐτοὺς διήγητο. Λέπιδος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλικοὺς προσποιούμενος ἐλεγεν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς, ἦν ὁ Σύλλας ἀφήγητο, ἀποδώσει. άμφω μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ δείσασα ὥρκωσε μὴ πολέμῳ διακριθήναι, κληρωσάμενοι δ’ ὁ Λέπιδος τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεις Γαλατίαν, ἔπε τὰ ἀρχαιότερα οὐ κατήει ὡς πολεμήσων τοῖς Συλλείοις τοῦ ἐπιόντως ἐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν ὥρκον ἀδεώς· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐτος ὥρκωσθαι. οὐ λανθάνων δ’, ἐφ’ οἷς ἔβουλευεν, ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀγνοοῦν, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἦμε πετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παυτὸς ὡς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελευσόμενος σὺν αὐτῷ. καλυπόμενος δὲ ἐκήρυξεν ἐς τὰ ὀπλα χωρεῖν, καὶ ἀντεκήρυττε Κάτλος. μικρὸν τε πρὸ τοῦ Ἀρείου πεδίου μάχης αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἠττώμενος ὁ Λέπιδος καὶ οὐκ ἐς πολὺ ἐτὶ ἀντισχῶν ἐς Σαρδῶ διεπλέουσεν, ἐνθα νόσῳ τηκεδόν ἐρμόμενος ἀπέθανε· καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ μικρὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐνοχλήσας διελύθη, ὅπερ δὲ κράτιστον Περπέννας ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἦγαγε Σερτωρίφ.

108. Δοιπότις δ’ ἐστὶ τῶν Συλλείων ἔργων τὸ Σερτωρίου, γενόμενον μὲν ὀκτάτες, οὐκ εὐμαρές δὲ οὐδαμά Ἦρωμαίοις, ἂτε μὴ πρὸς Ἰβηρας αὐτοῦς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸι ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς
107. This was Sulla’s end, but directly after their return from the funeral the consuls fell into a wordy quarrel and the citizens began to take sides with them. Lepidus, in order to curry favour with the Italians, said that he would restore the land which Sulla had taken from them. The Senate was afraid of both factions and made them take an oath that they would not carry their differences to the point of war. To Lepidus the province of transalpine Gaul was assigned by lot, and he did not come back to the comitia because he realised he would be released in the following year from his oath not to make war on the Sullans; for it was considered that the oath was binding only during the term of office. As his designs did not escape observation he was recalled by the Senate, and as he knew why he was recalled he came with his whole army, intending to bring them into the city with him. As he was prevented from doing this, he ordered his men under arms, and Catulus did the same thing on the other side. A battle was fought not far from the Campus Martius. Lepidus was defeated, and, soon giving up the struggle, sailed shortly afterwards to Sardinia, where he died of a wasting disease. His army was frittered away little by little and dissolved; the greater part of it was conducted by Perpenna to Sertorius in Spain.

108. There remained of the Sullan troubles the war with Sertorius, which had been going on for eight years, and was not an easy war to the Romans since it was waged not merely against Spaniards, but against other Romans and Sertorius. He had been
Σερτώριον, δς ἦρητο μὲν Ἰβηρίας ἀρχεῖν, Κάρβωνι δ’ ἐπὶ Σύλλα συμμαχών Σύνεσσαν πόλιν ἐν σπουδώ ταῖς κατέλαβε καὶ φεύγων ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγιάν ὄχετο. καὶ στρατὸν ἔχων ἐκ τε Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς καὶ τινὰ ἄλλον ἐκ Κελτιβήρων ἀγείρας τοὺς τε πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ στρατηγοῦς, οὐ παραδίδοντας οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς χάριν Σύλλα, τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐξέβαλε καὶ πρὸς Μέτελλον ἐπιπεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα ἀπεμάχετο γενναίως. περιώνυμος δὲ ὄν ἐπὶ τόλμη, βουλὴν κατέλεξεν ἐκ τῶν συνόντων οἱ φίλων τριακοσίους καὶ τὴν ἐλεγεν ἐνναὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλὴν καὶ ἐς ὡβριν ἑκείνης σύγκλητον ἐκάλει. Σύλλα δ’ ἀποθανόντος καὶ Λεπίδου μετὰ Σύλλαν, στρατὸν ἔχων ἄλλον Ἰταλῶν, ὃς αὐτῷ Περτέννας ὁ τοῦ Λεπίδου στρατηγὸς ἤγαγεν, ἐπίδοξος ἢν στρατεύσειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ δείσασα ἡ βουλὴ στρατὸν τε ἄλλον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔτερον ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ Πομπήιον ἐπεμψεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, νέον μὲν ἐπὶ ὄντα, περιφανῆ δ’ ἐκ ὀν ἐπὶ Σύλλα περὶ τε Λιβύην καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατείργαστο.

109. Ὁ δὲ ἐς τα Ἀλπεία όρη μετὰ φρονήματος ἀνήει, οὐ κατὰ τὴν Ἀννίβου μεγαλουργίαν, ἐτέραν δ’ ἐχάρασσεν ἀμφὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ τε Ῥοδανοῦ καὶ Ἡριδανοῦ, οἱ ἀνύσχουσι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀλπείων ὅρῶν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ’ ἄλληλῳ, ἤρεὶ δ’ ὁ μὲν διὰ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπείς εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνικήν θάλασσαν, ὁ δὲ ἐνδοθεν τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰόνιων, Πάδος ἀντὶ Ἡριδανοῦ μετουσιμασθεῖς, ἀφικομένου δ’ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αὐτίκα ὁ Σερτώριος τέλος ὅλον, ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν ἐξιόν, αὐτοῖς ὑπο-
chosen governor of Spain while he was co-operating with Carbo against Sulla; and after taking the city of Suessa during the armistice he fled and assumed his governorship. He had an army from Italy itself and he raised another from the Celtiberians, and drove out of Spain the former praetors, who, in order to favour Sulla, refused to surrender the government to him. He had also fought nobly against Metellus, who had been sent against him by Sulla. Having acquired a reputation for bravery he enrolled a council of 300 members from the friends who were with him, and called it the Roman Senate in derision of the real one. After Sulla died, and Lepidus later, he obtained another army of Italians which Perpenna, the lieutenant of Lepidus, brought to him and it was supposed he intended to march against Italy itself, and would have done so had not the Senate become alarmed and sent another army and general into Spain in addition to the former ones. This general was Pompey, who was still a young man, but renowned for his exploits in the time of Sulla, in Africa and in Italy itself.

109. Pompey courageously crossed the Alps, not with the expenditure of labour of Hannibal, but by opening another passage around the sources of the Rhone and the Eridanus. These issue from the Alpine mountains not far from each other. One of them runs through Transalpine Gaul and empties into the Tyrrhenian sea; the other from the interior of the Alps to the Adriatic, its name having been changed from the Eridanus to the Po. Directly Pompey arrived in Spain Sertorius cut in pieces a whole legion of his army, which had been sent out foraging, together with its animals and servants.
CAP. XIII

ζυγίοις καὶ θεράπουσι συνέκοψε καὶ Δαύρωνα πόλιν ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γυνὴ τις ἐνυβρίζοντος αὐτὴ τοῦ λαβώντος παρὰ φύσιν τοὺς δακτύλους ἔξετέμε τὰς ὅψεις· καὶ ὁ Σερτῶριος τοῦ πάθους πυθόμενος τὴν σπείραν ὀλην, ἀγέρωχον ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἶναι νομιζομένην, καίπερ οὖσαν Ῥωμαϊκήν κατέκαψε.

110. Καὶ τότε μὲν χειμῶνος ἐπιώντος διέστησαν, ἀρχομένου δ’ ἤρος ἔπησαν ἀλλῆλοις, Μέτελλος μὲν καὶ Πομπῆιος ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναιῶν ὄρων, ἐνθὰ διεχείμαζον, Σερτῶριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας ἐκ Λυσιτανίας. καὶ συμβάλλουσιν ἀλλῆλοις περὶ πόλιν, ἢ ὅνομα Σούκρων. κτύπου δ’ ἐν αἰθρίᾳ φοβερῷ καὶ ἀστραπῶν παραλόγων γενομένου, τάδε μὲν ὡς ἐμπειροπόλεμοι διέφερον ἀκαταπλήκτως, πολὺν δ’ ἀλλήλων φόνων ἐξειργάζοντο, μέχρι Μέτελλος μὲν Περπένναν ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ διήρπαξεν, ὁ δὲ Σερτῶριος ἐνίκα Πομπῆιον, καὶ ἐτρώθη δόρατι ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπικινδύνως ο Ἰομπῆιος. καὶ τούτῳ τέλος ἐγένετο τῆς τότε μάχης.

"Ἐλαφος δ’ ἦν λευκὴ χειροῆθης τῷ Σερτῶρίῳ καὶ ἄνετος· ἢς ἀφανοὺς γενομένης ὁ Σερτῶριος οὐκ αἰσθῶν ἐαυτῷ τιθέμενος ἐβαρυθύμει τε καὶ ἐπ’ ἀργίας ἦν, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπιτωθαζόμενος ἐς τὴν ἐλαφον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δ’ ὀφθη διὰ δρυμῶν δρόμων φερομένη, ἀνά τε ἐδραμέν ο Σερτῶριος καὶ εὐθὺς, ὦστερ αὐτῇ προκαταρχόμενος, ἱκροβολίσατο ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους.

Οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὑστερον ἀγώνα μέγαν ἡγονίσατο περὶ Σεγοντίαν ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ ἀστρα. καὶ
He also plundered and destroyed the Roman town of Lauro before the very eyes of Pompey. In this siege a woman tore out with her fingers the eyes of a soldier who had insulted her and was trying to commit an outrage upon her. When Sertorius heard of this he put to death the whole cohort that was supposed to be addicted to such brutality, although it was composed of Romans. Then the armies were separated by the advent of winter.

When spring came they resumed hostilities, Metellus and Pompey coming from the Pyrenees, where they had wintered, and Sertorius and Perpenna from Lusitania. They met near the town of Sucro. While the fight was going on flashes of lightning came unexpectedly from a clear sky, but these trained soldiers stood it all without being in the least dismayed. They continued the fight, with heavy slaughter on both sides, until Metellus defeated Perpenna and plundered his camp. On the other hand, Sertorius defeated Pompey, who received a dangerous wound from a spear in the thigh, and this put an end to that battle.

Sertorius had a white fawn that was tame and allowed to move about freely. When this fawn was not in sight Sertorius considered it a bad omen. He became low-spirited and abstained from fighting; nor did he mind the enemy's scoffing at him about the fawn. When she made her appearance running through the woods Sertorius would run to meet her, and, as though he were consecrating the first-fruits of a sacrifice to her, he would at once direct a hail of javelins at the enemy.

Not long afterward Sertorius fought a great battle near Seguntia, lasting from noon till night.
CAP. XIII

αὐτὸς μὲν ἵππομαχῶν ἐκράτει τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ ἔκτεινεν ἐς ἐξακισχιλίους ἀποβαλῶν ἐς ἡμέρας. Μέτελλος δὲ καὶ τότε Περπέννα περὶ πεντακισχιλίους διέφθειρε. καὶ ὁ Σερτώριος μετὰ τὴν μάχην τῆς ἐπιουσίας ἡμέρας πολλοὺς βαρβάρους προσλάβων ἐπέδραμεν ἀδοκίτως τῷ Μετέλλου στρατοπέδῳ περὶ δείλην ἐσπέραν ὡς ἀποταφρεύσων αὐτὸ σὺν τόλμῃ. Πομπηίου δὲ ἐπιδραμόντος ἐπαύσατο τῆς καταφρονήσεως.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦν τούτῳ τοῦ θέρους ἔργα, καὶ πάλιν ἐς χειμασίαν διεκρίθησαν. 111. τοῦ δ’ ἐπιόντος ἔτους, ἐκτῆς ἐβδομηκοστῆς καὶ ἐκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος οὕσης, δύο μὲν ἐκ διαθηκῶν ἔθιν 'Ρωμαίοις προσεγύγνετο, Βιθυνία τε Νικομήδους ἀπολιπόντος καὶ Κυρήνη Πτολεμαίου, τοῦ Δαγίδου Βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπίκλησιν ἦν Ἰπίων, πόλεμοι δ’ ἥκμαζον αὐτὸς τε ὁ Σερτώριον περὶ Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτου περὶ τὴν ἁνατολὴν καὶ ὁ τῶν λρστῶν ἐν ὅλη τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ περὶ Κρήτην πρὸς αὐτοὺς Κρῆτας ἐτερος καὶ ὁ τῶν μονομάχων ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, αἱφνίδιος αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅδε καὶ σφοδρὸς ὦμοι γενόμενος. διαιροῦμενοι δ’ ἐς τοσάιτα, ὦμοι καὶ ὃς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπέμψαν ἄλλα στρατοῦ δύο τέλη, μεθ’ ὧν ἄμα τῷ ἄλλῳ παντὶ Μετέλλος τε καὶ Πομπήιος αὐθίς ἀπὸ τῶν Πυρηναίων ὅρων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰβηρα κατέβαινον. Σερτώριος δὲ καὶ Περπέννας αὐτοῖς ἀπήντων ἀπὸ Λυσιτανίας.

112. Καὶ τότε μάλιστα πολλοὶ Σερτώριον πρὸς τὸν Μετέλλον ὕπομόλουν, ἐφ’ ὃ χαλεπαίνων ὁ Σερτώριος ἀγρίως καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐλυμαίνετο πολλοίς καὶ διὰ μίσους ἐγύγνετο.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK I

fought on horseback and vanquished Pompey, killing nearly 6000 of his men and losing about half that number himself. Metellus at the same time destroyed about 5000 of Perpenna's army. The day after this battle Sertorius, with a large reinforcement of barbarians, attacked the camp of Metellus unexpectedly towards evening with the intention of boldly cutting it off with a trench, but Pompey hastened up and caused Sertorius to desist from his contemptuous enterprise.

In this way they passed the summer, and again they separated to winter quarters. 111. The following year, which was in the 176th Olympiad, two countries were acquired by the Romans by bequest. Bithynia was left to them by Nicomedes, and Cyrene by Ptolemy surnamed Apion, of the house of the Lagidae. There were wars and wars; the Sertorian was raging in Spain, the Mithridatic in the East, that of the pirates on the entire sea, and another around Crete against the Cretans themselves, besides the gladiatorial war in Italy, which started suddenly and became very serious. Although distracted by so many conflicts the Romans sent another army of two legions into Spain. With these and the other forces in their hands Metellus and Pompey again descended from the Pyrenees to the Ebro; and Sertorius and Perpenna advanced from Lusitania to meet them.

112. At this juncture many of the soldiers of Sertorius deserted to Metellus, at which Sertorius was so exasperated that he visited savage and barbarous punishment upon many of his men and became unpopular in consequence. The soldiers blamed him.
CAP. ΞΙII
μάλλον δ' αὐτὸν ὁ στρατὸς ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ δορυφόρους ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐπήγειτο πανταχοῦ Κελτίβηρας καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ σῶματος, 'Ῥωμαίους ἀπελάσας, τούσδε ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἐπέ-
τρεπεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφερον ἐς ἀπιστίαν ὑνειδιζόμενοι, εἴ καὶ πολεμὶ ᾿Ῥωμαίων ἐστρατεύοντο ἄλλ' 
αὐτὸ δὴ τούτο καὶ μάλιστα ὑπέδακνεν αὐτοὺς, τὸ ἀπίστους ἐς τὴν πατρίδα διὰ τὸν Σερτώριον γενο-
μένους ἀπιστεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' ἥξιον 
διὰ τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας οἱ παραμένοντες κατεγ-
νώσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες αὐτοῖς, 
ἀφορμὴς λαβόμενοι, ἐνύβριζον ὡς ἀπιστουμένοις. 
οἱ δ' οὐ τελέως ὠμος τὸν Σερτώριον ἀπεστρέφοντο 
διὰ τὰς χρείας· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τότε τὸν ἀνδρὸς οὔτε 
πολεμικὸτερος ἄλλος οὔτ' ἐπιτυχέστερος. οὗθεν 
αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ Κελτίβηρες διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν 
ἐκάλουν ᾿Ανυίβαν, ὅν θρασύτατον τε καὶ ἀπατη-
λότατον στρατηγὸν παρὰ σφισίν ἐδόκουν γενε-
σθαί. ὁ μὲν δὴ στρατὸς ὡδε εἰχε Σερτωρίῳ, 
πόλεις δ' αὐτοῦ πολλὰς ἐπέτρεξον οἱ περὶ τὸν 
Μέτελλον καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐς τὰ ὑπῆκοα σφίσι 
μετῆγον. Παλαντίαν δὲ Πομπήιον περικαθημένου 
καὶ τὰ τείχη ξύλων κορμοῖς ὑποκρεμάσαντος, ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ Σερτώριος τὴν μὲν πολυρκίαν ἐξέ-
λυσε, τὰ τείχη δ' ἔφθασεν ὑποκαύσας ὁ Πομ-
πήιος καὶ ὁ Μέτελλον ἀνεχόμεν. Σερτώριος δὲ 
καὶ τὰ πεσόντα ήγειρε, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὰ χωρίον 
Καλάγυρον στρατοπεδεύοντοιν ἐπιδραμὼν ἐκτειν 
τρισχιλίους. καὶ τάδε ἦν καὶ τούδε τού ἔτους ἐν 
Ἰβηρία.
particularly because wherever he went he surrounded himself with a body-guard of Celtiberian spearmen instead of Romans, and gave the care of his person to the former in place of the latter. Nor could they bear to be reproached with treachery by him while they were serving under an enemy of the Roman people. That they should be charged with bad faith by Sertorius while they were acting in bad faith to their country on his account was the very thing that vexed them most. Nor did they consider it just that those who remained with the standards should be condemned because others deserted. Moreover, the Celtiberians took this occasion to insult them as men under suspicion. Still they did not wholly break with Sertorius since they derived advantages from his service, for there was no other man of that period more skilled in the art of war or more successful in it. For this reason, and on account of the rapidity of his movements, the Celtiberians gave him the name of Hannibal, whom they considered the boldest and most crafty general ever known in their country. In this way the army stood affected toward Sertorius, and on this account the forces of Metellus overran many of his towns and brought the men belonging to them under subjection. While Pompey was laying siege to Palantia and slinging logs of wood along the foot of the walls Sertorius suddenly appeared on the scene and raised the siege. Pompey hastily set fire to the walls and retreated to Metellus. Sertorius rebuilt the part of the wall which had fallen and then attacked his enemies who were encamped around the castle of Calagurris and killed 3000 of them. And so this year went by in Spain.

1 To these he would have set fire by means of faggots.
113. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος οἱ στρατηγοὶ Ἡρωαῖων μᾶλλον τι θαρρήσαντες ἐπῆσαν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ Σερτωρίῳ συν καταφρονῆσει καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ περίεστην καὶ ἐτέρους ἐπέβαινον, ἐπαιρό-μενοι τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις. οὐ μέντοι μεγάλη γε μάχῃ συνηρέχθησαν, ἀλλ' αὕτης . . . , μέχρι τοῦ ἔξης ἔτους αὐτοῦ μὲν αὕτης ἐπῆσαν σὺν πλέον μᾶλλον καταφρονήσει, ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος βλάπτοντος ἦδη θεοῦ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι πόνον ἐκών μεθίει, τὰ πολλὰ δ' ἤν ἐπὶ τρυφῆς, γυναιξὶ καὶ κόμοις καὶ πότοις σχολάζων. οθεὶν ἦττατο συν- ἐχώς. καὶ γεγένητο ὅργην τε ἀκρος δι' ὑπονοίας ποικίλας καὶ ὁμότατος εἰς κόλασιν καὶ ὑπόπτης εἰς ἄπαντας, ὥστε καὶ Περπένναν, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Αἰμιλίου στάσεως ἐκώντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλθοντα μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ, δεῖσαι περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ προεπιβουλεύσαι μετὰ ἀνδρῶν δέκα. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄνω τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνδειχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἐκολάσθησαν, οἱ δ' ἀπέφυγον, ὁ Περπέννας παρὰ δόξαν λαθὼν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἡπείγετο καὶ οὐδαμοῦ τὸν Σερτώριον μεθίεντα τοὺς δορυ-φόρους ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν ἐκάλει, μεθύσας δ' αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν περιεστῶσαν τὸν ἀνδρόνα φυλακὴν ἐκ- τείνειν ἀπὸ τῆς διαίτης.

114. Καὶ ὁ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Περπένναν ἀνίστατο σὺν θορύβῳ τε πόλλῳ καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐς εὐνοιαν αὐτίκα τοῦ Σερτωρίου μεταβαλόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ μίσους, ὡσπερ ἀπαντεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦ- σι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν μεθύσας, οὐκ ἐμποδῶν ἐτί τοῦ λυποῦντος ὄντος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν μετ' ἐλέου καὶ μνήμης ἐπινίασε. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ
113. In the following year the Roman generals plucked up rather more courage and advanced in an audacious manner against the towns that adhered to Sertorius, drew many away from him, assaulted others, and were much elated by their success. No great battle was fought, but [skirmishes continued] until the following year, when they advanced again even more audaciously. Sertorius was now evidently smitten by some heaven-sent madness, for he relaxed his labours, fell into habits of luxury, and gave himself up to women, carousing and drinking, and as a result was defeated continually. He became hot-tempered, from various suspicions, extremely cruel in punishment, and distrustful of everybody, so much so that Perpenna, who had belonged to the faction of Lepidus and had come to him as a volunteer with a considerable army, began to fear for his own safety and formed a conspiracy with ten other men against him. The conspiracy was betrayed, some of the guilty ones were punished and others fled, but Perpenna escaped detection in some unaccountable manner and applied himself all the more to carry out the design. As Sertorius was never without his guard of spearmen, Perpenna invited him to a banquet, plied him and the guards who surrounded the banqueting room with wine, and assassinated him after the feast.

114. The soldiers straightway rose in tumult and anger against Perpenna, their hatred of Sertorius being suddenly turned to affection for him, as people generally mollify their anger toward the dead, and when he who has injured them is no longer before their eyes recall his virtues with tender memory.

1 There is a gap in the text.
παρόντα σφίσιν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, Περπέννα μὲν ὡς ἵδωτον κατεφθοῦναν, τὴν δ’ ἀρετὴν Σερτώριον μόνην ἀν σφίσιν ἄργομενοι γενέσθαι σωτήριον, χαλεπῶς ἐς τὸν Περπένναν διετίθεντο αὐτῷ τε καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σὺν αὐτοῖς, μάλιστα δὲ τούτων Λυσίτανων, ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς ὁ Σερτώριος ἔχρητο.

'Ως δὲ καὶ τῶν διαθηκὸν ἀνοιχθεῖσών τῶν Σερτώριον ὁ Περπέννας αὐταῖς ἐνεγέγραπτο ἐπὶ τῷ κλήρῳ, μᾶλλον τι πάντας ὅργῃ καὶ μίσος ἐς τὸν Περπένναν ἐσῆι, ὡς οὐκ ἐς ἀρχοῦτα μόνον ἡ στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς φίλον καὶ ἐνυργήτην τοσόυτο μίσος ἐργασάμενον. καὶ οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ χειρῶν ἄπεσχοντο, εἰ μὴ περιθέουν αὐτοὺς ὁ Περπέννας τοὺς μὲν δῷροις ὑπηγάγετο, τοὺς δ’ ὑποσχέσει, τοὺς δ’ ἀπειλαῖς ἐξεφόβησε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διεχρήσατο ἐς κατάπληξιν ἐτέρων. ἐπὶ τε τὰ πλῆθη παραρχόμενοι ἐδημαγώγει καὶ τοὺς δεσμῶτας αὐτῶν ἐξέλυεν, οὕς ὁ Σερτώριος κατέδησεν, καὶ τοῖς Ἰβηροὶ τὰ ὀμηρα ἀπέλυεν. οἷς ὑπαχθέντες ὑπήκουον μὲν ὡς στρατηγῷ (τὸ γὰρ δὴ μετὰ Σερτώριον εἴχεν ἄξιωμα), οὐ μέντοι χωρὶς δυσμενείας οὐδὲ τότε ἐγέννυτο· καὶ γὰρ ὠμοτατος αὐτίκα ἐς κολάσεις θαρρήσας ἐφαίνετο καὶ τῶν ἐκ Ἑρώμες αὐτῶ συμφυγόντων ἐπιφανῶν ἐκείνει τρεῖς καὶ τῶν ἀδελφιδοῦν ἑαυτῶν.

115. 'Ως δὲ ἐφ’ ἐτερα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ὁ Μέτελλος ἄχετο (οὐ γὰρ ἐτὶ δυσχερῆς ἑδόκει Περπένναν ἐπιτρέψαι μόνῳ Πομπηίῳ), ἐπὶ μὲν τινας ἡμέρας ἐγέννυτο ἁγιακὰ καὶ ἀπόστειραι Πομπηίου καὶ Περπέννα, μὴ σαλευόντων ἄθροιν τὸν
Reflecting on their present situation they despised Perpenna too as a private individual, for they considered that the bravery of Sertorius had been their only salvation. They were angry with Perpenna, and the barbarians were no less so; and above all the Lusitanians, of whose services Sertorius had especially availed himself.

When the will of Sertorius was opened a bequest to Perpenna was found in it, and thereupon still greater anger and hatred of him entered into the minds of all, since he had committed such an abominable crime, not merely against his ruler and commanding general, but against his friend and benefactor. And they would not have abstained from violence had not Perpenna bestirred himself, making gifts to some and promises to others. Some he terrified with threats and some he killed in order to strike terror into the rest. He came forward and made a speech to the multitude, and released from confinement some whom Sertorius had imprisoned, and dismissed some of the Spanish hostages. Reduced in this way to submission they obeyed him as general (for he held the next rank to Sertorius), yet they were not without bitterness toward him even then. As he grew bolder he became very cruel in punishments, and put to death three of the nobility who had fled together from Rome to him, and also his own nephew.

115. As Metellus had gone to other parts of Spain—for he considered it no longer a difficult task for Pompey alone to vanquish Perpenna—these two skirmished and made tests of each other for several days, but did not bring their whole strength into the field. On the tenth day, however, a great
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. στρατον, τη δεκάτη δε άγων αυτοίς μέγιστος ἐξερράγη, ενι γὰρ ἔργῳ κρίνοντες διακριθήναι, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς Περσέννα στρατηγίας κατεφρό-νει, Περσέννας δ’ ώς οὐ πιστῷ χρησόμενος ἐς πολὺ τὸ στρατὸ, πάση σχεδὸν τῇ δυνάμει συνεπλέκετο. ταχύ δ’ ὁ Πομπήιος περιηθ’ ώς οὕτε στρατηγοῦ διαφέροντος οὕτε προθύμου στρατοῦ. καὶ τροπῆς πάντων ὦμαλος γενομένης ὁ μὲν Περσέννας ὑπὸ θάμνῳ πόας ἐκρύφθη, δεδιώς τοὺς οἰκείους μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες δ’ αὐτὸν ἑπταες τινες εἶλκον ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον, ἐπιβλασφημοῦμεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱδίων ὡς αὐθέντην Σερτωρίου καὶ βοῶντα πολλὰ μηνύσεων τῷ Πομπήιῳ περὶ τῆς Ῥώμης στάσεως ἔλεγε δὲ εἴτε ἀληθεύων εἴθ’ ἱνα σῶσος ἄχθείῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ προπέμψας ἀπέκετειν αὐτόν, πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, δεῖσας ἀρα, μή τι μηνύσειν ἀδόκητον καὶ ἑτέρων ἀρχή κακῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ γένοιτο. καὶ ἐδοξεν ἐμφρόνως πάνω τούθ’ ὁ Πομπήιος πρᾶξαι καὶ συνετέλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τόδε εἰς δόξαν ἀγαθήν. τέλος δ’ ἤν τοῦτο τῷ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν πολέμω, τὸ καὶ Σερτωρίῳ τοῦ βίου γενομένου δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἐν οὕτε ὦξεως οὕτε εὐμαρώς οὕτως, ἐτι Σερτωρίου περιῶντος, συντελεσθήναι.

XIV

CAP. 116. Τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οινομάχων ἐς θέας ἐν Καπύῃ τρεφομένων, Σπάρτακος Θρᾷς ἀνήρ, ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ 'Ρωμαίος, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονο-
battle was fought between them. They resolved to decide the contest by one engagement—Pompey because he despised the generalship of Perpenna; Perpenna because he did not believe that his army would long remain faithful to him, and he was now engaging with nearly his maximum strength. Pompey, as might have been expected, soon got the better of this inferior general and disaffected army. Perpenna was defeated all along the line and concealed himself in a thicket, more fearful of his own troops than of the enemy’s. He was seized by some horsemen and dragged towards Pompey’s headquarters, loaded with the execrations of his own men, as the murderer of Sertorius, and crying out that he would give Pompey information about the factions in Rome. This he said either because it was true, or in order to be brought safe to Pompey’s presence, but the latter sent orders and put him to death before he came into his presence, fearing, it seemed, lest some startling revelation might be the source of new troubles at Rome. Pompey seems to have behaved very prudently in this matter, and his action added to his high reputation. So ended the war in Spain with the life of Sertorius. I think that if he had lived longer the war would not have ended so soon or so easily.

XIV

116. At the same time Spartacus, a Thracian by birth, who had once served as a soldier with the Romans, but had since been a prisoner and sold for a gladiator, and was in the gladiatorial training-school...
CAP. XIV μάχοις ἠν, ἐπεισεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα ἀνδρας μάλιστα κινδυνεύσαι περὶ ἑλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ θέας ἐπιδείξεως καὶ βιασάμενος σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἐξέδραμε· καὶ τινῶν ὁδοιπόρων ξύλοις καὶ ἕπιφδοις ὀπλισάμενος ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνέφυγεν, ἐνθα πολλοὺς ἀποδιδόσκοντας οἰκέτας καὶ τινὰς ἑλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἁγρῶν ὑπο- δεχόμενος ἑλήστευε τά ἐγγύς, ὑποστρατήγους ἔχων Οἰνώμαον τε καὶ Κρίξον μονομάχοις. μερι- ξομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη κατ' ἱσομοιρίαν ταχύ πλῆθος ἡν ἀνδρῶν· καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεμ- φθεὶς Οὐαρίνιος Γλάβρος, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος, οὐ πολιτικὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσοις ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ παρόδῳ συνέλεξαν (οὐ γὰρ πω Ἡρωιαὶ πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπιδρομὴν τινα καὶ ληστηρίῳ τὸ ἐργον ὁμοιὸν ἡγούντο εἶναι), συμ- βαλόντες ἤττῶντο. Ὀυαρινίοι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱππὸν αὐτὸς Σπάρτακος περιέσπασεν· παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἥλθε κινδύνων Ἡρωιαὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς αἰχ- μάλωτος ὑπὸ μονομάχου γενέσθαι.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ Σπάρτακῳ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον πολλοὶ συνέθεον, καὶ ἐπτὰ μυριάδες ἦσαν ἦδη στρατοῦ, καὶ ὅπλα ἑξάλκευε καὶ παρασκευήν συνέλεγεν, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξεπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελῶν. 117. καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν ὥστεν Κρίξος, ἡγούμενος τρισμυρίων ἀνδρῶν, περὶ τὸ Γάργανον ὄρος ἦττάτο, καὶ δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπώλετο αὐτοῖς. Σπάρ- τακον δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀσπεννίων ὄρων ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀλπεῖα καὶ ἐς Κέλτους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπείων ἐπευγόμενον ὁ ἑτερος ύπατος προλαβὼν ἐκώλυε τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὁ ἑτέρος ἐδώκεν. ὁ δ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν,
at Capua, persuaded about seventy of his comrades to strike for their own freedom rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away, arming themselves with clubs and daggers that they took from people on the roads, and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. There many fugitive slaves and even some freemen from the fields joined Spartacus, and he plundered the neighbouring country, having for subordinate officers two gladiators named Oenomaus and Crixus. As he divided the plunder impartially he soon had plenty of men. Varinius Glaber was first sent against him and afterwards Publius Valerius, not with regular armies, but with forces picked up in haste and at random, for the Romans did not consider this a war as yet, but a raid, something like an outbreak of robbery. They attacked Spartacus and were beaten. Spartacus even captured the horse of Varinius; so narrowly did the very general of the Romans escape being captured by a gladiator.

After this still greater numbers flocked to Spartacus till his army numbered 70,000 men. For these he manufactured weapons and collected equipment, whereas Rome now sent out the consuls with two legions. One of them overcame Crixus with 30,000 men near Mount Garganus, two-thirds of whom perished together with himself. Spartacus endeavoured to make his way through the Apennines to the Alps and the Gallic country, but one of the consuls anticipated him and hindered his flight while the other hung upon his rear. He turned upon them one after the other and beat them in detail. They
έπιστρεφόμενος παρὰ μέρος ἑνίκα. καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν θερύβω τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ὑπεχώρουν, ὡς δὲ 
Σπάρταικος τριακοσίους Ρωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους 
ἐναγίσας Κρίξω, ὑπόδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν ἔσ Ρώμην 
ἡπείγετο, τὰ ἀχρηστά τῶν σκευῶν κατακαύσας 
καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀνελὼν καὶ ἐπι-
σφάξας τὰ ὑποξύγια, ἕνα κούφος εἰς αὐτομόλων 
τε πολλῶν αὐτῷ προσιότων οὐδένα προσήτο. 
καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτὸν αὕθις περὶ τὴν Πικηνίτιδα 
γῆν ὑποστάντων, μέγας ἄγων ἔτερος ὁδὲ γίγνεται 
καὶ μεγάλη καὶ τότε ἦσα Ρωμαίων.

Ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐς Ρώμην ὅδοι μετέγγυο, ὡς οὖν 
γεγονὼς ἀξιόμαχος οὔδὲ τῶν στρατῶν ὅλων ἔχων 
στρατιωτικῶς ὁπλισμένον (οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς 
συνέπραττε πόλις, ἀλλὰ θεράποντες ἦσαν καὶ 
αὐτόμολοι καὶ σύγκλιδες), τὰ δὲ ὅρη τὰ περὶ 
Θουρίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κατέλαβε, καὶ 
χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἀργυρὸν τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐσφέρειν 
ἐκώλυσε καὶ κεκτήθει τοὺς έαυτοῦ, μόνον δὲ 
σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ὀνούντο πολλοὶ καὶ τοὺς 
ἐσφέροντας οὐκ ἡδίκουν. θειν ἄθροις ὕλης 
ἐυπορήσαντες εὐ παρεσκευάσαντο καὶ θαμινὰ ἐπὶ 
λειλασίας ἐξῆσαν. Ὁι Ρωμαίοις τε πάλιν συνενεχ-
θέντες ἐς θείρας ἐκράτουν καὶ τότε καὶ λείας 
πολλής γέμοντες ἐπανήσαν.

118. Τριέτης τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ φοβέρος αὐτοῖς ὁ 
πόλεμος, ἑλώμενος ἐν ἄρχῃ καὶ καταφρονούμενος 
ὡς μονομάχων, προτεθείσης τε στρατηγῶν ἄλ-
λων χειροτονίας ὁκνοὺς ἑπείχεν ἀπαντᾶς καὶ 
παρηγγέλλειν οὔδεις, μέχρι Δικύνους Κράσσου, 
γένει καὶ πλούτῳ Ὁι Ρωμαίων διαφανῆς, ἀνεδέξατο 
στρατηγήσειν καὶ τέλεσιν ἐξ ἄλλοις ἢ λαυνεῖν ἐπὶ
retreated in confusion in different directions. Spartacus sacrificed 300 Roman prisoners to the shade of Crixus, and marched on Rome with 120,000 foot, having burned all his useless material, killed all his prisoners, and butchered his pack-animals in order to expedite his movement. Many deserters offered themselves to him, but he would not accept them. The consuls again met him in the country of Picenum. Here there was fought another great battle and there was, too, another great defeat for the Romans.

Spartacus changed his intention of marching on Rome. He did not consider himself ready as yet for that kind of a fight, as his whole force was not suitably armed, for no city had joined him, but only slaves, deserters, and riff-raff. However, he occupied the mountains around Thurii and took the city itself. He prohibited the bringing in of gold or silver by merchants, and would not allow his own men to acquire any, but he bought largely of iron and brass and did not interfere with those who dealt in these articles. Supplied with abundant material from this source his men provided themselves with plenty of arms and made frequent forays for the time being. When they next came to an engagement with the Romans they were again victorious, and returned laden with spoils.

118. This war, so formidable to the Romans (although ridiculed and despised in the beginning, as being merely the work of gladiators), had now lasted three years. When the election of new praetors came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered himself as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, assumed the praetorship and marched against
CAP. XIV τὸν Σπάρτακον ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων δύο προσέλαβε. καὶ τῶνδε μὲν αὐτίκα διακληρώσας ὡς πολλάκις ἤττημένων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μέρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν. οἱ δ' οὖν οὖτω νομίζοντες, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ συμβαλόντα καὶ τόνδε καὶ ἤττημένων, πάντων διακληρώσατο τὸ δέκατον καὶ ἄνελεῖν ἐς τετρακισχίλιον, οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδοίασαν. ὡσπέρως δ' ἔπραξε, φοβερῶτερος αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἤττης φανεὶς αὐτίκα μυρίων Σπαρτακείων ἐφ' ἕαυτῶν πον στρατοπεδεύοντων ἐκράτει καὶ δύο αὐτῶν μέρη κατακανῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἤλαιυν τὸν Σπάρτακον σὺν καταφρονήσει. νικήσας δὲ καὶ τὸνδε λαμπρῶς ἐδίωκε φεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς διαπλευσούμενον ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀπετάφρευε καὶ ἀπετείχίζε καὶ ἀπεσταύρου.

119. Βιαζομένου δ' ἐς τὴν Σαννύτιδα τοῦ Σπάρτακον διαδραμεῖν, ἐκτεινὲν ὁ Κράσσος ἐς ἕξακισχίλιος ἄλλους περὶ ἑώ καὶ περὶ δεῖλην ἐς τοσοῦσι δὲ ἐτέρους, τριῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ μῶνων ἀποθανόντων καὶ ἐπὶ τρωθέντων τοσίδη ἦν αὐτίκα διὰ τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τὸ τῆς νίκης θάρσος μεταβολή. Σπάρτακος δὲ ἐπιπέας ποθὲν προσώπον τας αὐτῶ περιμένων οὐκέτι μὲν ἐς μάχην ἣν τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ, πολλὰ δ' ἡμῶνχλε τοῖς περικαθημένοις ἀνὰ μέρος, ἀφιγὼ τε καὶ συνεχώς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίπτων, φακέλους τε ἔξυπλων ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβάλλων κατέκαιε καὶ τὸν πόνον αὐτῶς δύσεργον ἐποίει. αἰχμάλωτον τε Ῥωμαίων ἐκρέμασεν ἐν τῷ μεταίχμῳ, δεικνύς τοῖς ἑδίοις τὴν ὀψιν ὁν ἐπισονται, μὴ κρατοῦντες. οἱ δ' ἐν ἀστεὶ Ῥωμαίοι
Spartacus with six new legions. When he arrived at his destination he received also the two legions of the consuls, whom he decimated by lot for their bad conduct in several battles. Some say that Crassus, too, having engaged in battle with his whole army, and having been defeated, decimated the whole army and was not deterred by their numbers, but destroyed about 4000 of them. Whichever way it was, when he had once demonstrated to them that he was more dangerous to them than the enemy, he overcame immediately 10,000 of the Spartacans, who were encamped somewhere in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them. He then marched boldly against Spartacus himself, vanquished him in a brilliant engagement, and pursued his fleeing forces to the sea, where they tried to pass over to Sicily. He overtook them and enclosed them with a line of circumvallation consisting of ditch, wall, and paling.

119. Spartacus tried to break through and make an incursion into the Samnite country, but Crassus slew about 6000 of his men in the morning and as many more towards evening. Only three of the Roman army were killed and seven wounded, so great was the improvement in their moral inspired by the recent punishment. Spartacus, who was expecting a reinforcement of horse from somewhere, no longer went into battle with his whole army, but harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies here and there. He fell upon them unexpectedly and continually, threw bundles of fagots into the ditch and set them on fire and made their labour difficult. He also crucified a Roman prisoner in the space between the two armies to show his own men what fate awaited them if they did not conquer. But when the Romans in
120. Dià dé tòn χειροτονίαν τήνδε καὶ Κράσσος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κλέος τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο Πομπήιον, πάντα τρόπον ἑπευγόμενος ἐπεχείρει τῷ Σπαρτάκῳ, καὶ οὗ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβεῖν ἀξίων, ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προνο-καλεῖτο. ὑπερορόμενος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακινδυ-νεύειν τε ἔγνω καὶ, παρόντων οἱ τῶν ἱππεῶν ἡδή, ὡσατο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ δία τοῦ περιτειχίσματος καὶ ἐφυγεν ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, Κράσσον διώκοντος. ὡς δὲ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἔμαθεν οὗ Σπάρτακος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτη νίκης ἐπαν-ιόντα, εἶναι, πάντων ἀπογιόν ἐς χεῖρας ἤμε τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ τότε πλήθους. γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακρᾶς τε καὶ καρτερᾶς ὡς ἐν ἀπογιώσει τοσοῦτο μυριάδων, τιτρώσκεται ἐς τὸν μυρὸν οὗ Σπάρτακος δορατίω καὶ συγκάμψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπεμάχετο, μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλήθος ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ κυκλωθέντες ἔπεσον. ὥς τοις αὐτοῦ στρατὸς ἀκόσμως ἡδή κατεκόπτοντο κατὰ πλήθος, ὡς φόνον γενέσθαι τῶν μὲν οὐδ' εὐαρίθμητον, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς χιλίους άνδρας, καὶ τὸν Σπαρτάκου νέκυν οὐχ εὑρέθηναι. πολὺ δ' ἐτὶ πλήθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσίν, ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγον· ἐφ' οὐς οὗ Κράσσος ἀνέβαινεν. οἱ δὲ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τέσσαρα μέρη ἀπεμάχοντο, μέχρι
the city heard of the siege they thought it would be disgraceful if this war against gladiators should be prolonged. Believing also that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe they ordered up the army of Pompey, which had just arrived from Spain, as a reinforcement.

120. On account of this vote Crassus tried in every way to come to an engagement with Spartacus so that Pompey might not reap the glory of the war. Spartacus himself, thinking to anticipate Pompey, invited Crassus to come to terms with him. When his proposals were rejected with scorn he resolved to risk a battle, and as his cavalry had arrived he made a dash with his whole army through the lines of the besieging force and pushed on to Brundusium with Crassus in pursuit. When Spartacus learned that Lucullus had just arrived in Brundusium from his victory over Mithridates he despaired of everything and brought his forces, which were even then very numerous, to close quarters with Crassus. The battle was long and bloody, as might have been expected with so many thousands of desperate men. Spartacus was wounded in the thigh with a spear and sank upon his knee, holding his shield in front of him and contending in this way against his assailants until he and the great mass of those with him were surrounded and slain. The remainder of his army was thrown into confusion and butchered in crowds. So great was the slaughter that it was impossible to count them. The Roman loss was about 1000. The body of Spartacus was not found. A large number of his men fled from the battle-field to the mountains and Crassus followed them thither. They divided themselves in four parts, and continued

End of the war
121. Καὶ τάδε Κράσσος ἐξ μησίν ἐργασάμενος ἀμφήριστος ἐκ τούτῳ αὐτίκα μάλα τῇ δόξῃ τῇ Πομπήιον γίνεται. καὶ τὸν στρατὸν οὐ μεθελε, διότι μηδὲ Πομπήιος. ἐσ ἔδε παρῆγγελλον, ὁ μὲν ἑστρατηγηκὼς κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σύλλα, ο ὁ Πομπήιος οὔτε στρατηγήσας οὔτε ταμιεύσας ἔτος τε ἐξων τέταρτον ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα· τοῖς δὲ δημάρχοις ὑπέσχητο πολλὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανάξειν. αἱρεθέντες δὲ ὑπατοὶ οὐδ’ ὡς μεθέλεσαν τὸν στρατὸν, ἔχοντες ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ἐκάτερος πρόφασιν τήνδε ποιούμενος, Πομπήιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν θρίαμβον περιμένειν ἐπαινόντα Μέτελλον, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος, ὡς Πομπήιον δεόν προδιαλύσαι.

Καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ἔτεραν ἀρχὴν στάσεως ὅρων καὶ φοβούμενος δύο στρατοὺς περικαθημένους, ἐδέοντο τῶν ὑπάτων ἐν ἀγορᾷ προκαθημένων συναλλαγήναι πρὸς ἄλλης. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐκάτερος ἀπεκρούετο: ὡς δὲ καὶ θεόληπτοι τινες προύλεγον πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, εἰ μὴ συναλλαγεῖν οἱ ὑπατοὶ, ὁ δῆμος αὖθις αὐτοὺς μετ’ οἰμωγῆς παρεκάλει πάνω ταπεινῶς, ἐτὶ τῶν Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν ἀναφέροντες. καὶ ὁ Κράσσος πρότερος ἐνδοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου κατέβαινε καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἔχωρει, τὴν χεῖρα προτείνων.
to fight until they all perished except 6000, who were captured and crucified along the whole road from Capua to Rome.

121. Crassus accomplished his task within six months, whence arose a contention for honours between himself and Pompey. Crassus did not dismiss his army, for Pompey did not dismiss his. Both were candidates for the consulship. Crassus had been praetor as the law of Sulla required. Pompey had been neither praetor nor quaestor, and was only thirty-four years old, but he had promised the tribunes of the people that much of their former power should be restored. When they were chosen consuls they did not even then dismiss their armies, which were stationed near the city. Each one offered an excuse. Pompey said that he was waiting the return of Metellus for his Spanish triumph; Crassus said that Pompey ought to dismiss his army first.

The people, seeing fresh seditions brewing and fearing two armies encamped round about, besought the consuls, while they were occupying the curule chairs in the forum, to be reconciled to each other; but at first both of them repelled these solicitations. When, however, certain persons, who seemed prophetically inspired, predicted many direful consequences if the consuls did not come to an agreement, the people again implored them with lamentations and the greatest dejection, reminding them of the evils produced by the contentions of Marius and Sulla. Crassus yielded first. He came down from his chair, advanced to Pompey, and offered him his

1 Soothsayers, presumably; a recognized class at Rome, of which an example is given by Shakespeare in Julius Caesar.
CAP. XIV

ἐπὶ διαλλαγαῖς· ὁ δὲ ὑπανύστατο καὶ προσέτρεχε καὶ δεξιωσαμένων ἄλληλους ἐυφημίαι τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτοὺς ποικίλαι, καὶ οὐ πρὶν ὁ δῆμος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ προγράψαι τοὺς ὑπάτους τὰς ἀφέσεις τῶν στρατοπέδων. οὔτω μὲν δὴ δόξασα καὶ ἤδε μεγάλῃ στάσις ἐσεσθαί κατελύετο εὐσταθῶς· καὶ ἔτος ἦν τῶ ὑπὸ τῶ μέρει τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα μάλιστ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως Τιβερίου Γράκχου.
hand in the way of reconciliation. Pompey rose CHAP. XIV and hastened to meet him. They shook hands amid general acclamations and the people did not leave the assembly until the consuls had given orders in writing to disband the armies. Thus was the well-grounded fear of another great dissension happily dispelled. This was about the sixtieth year in the course of the civil convulsions, reckoning from the death of Tiberius Gracchus.
B'

I

ΣΑΡ. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σύλλα μοναρχίαν καὶ ὅσα ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ Σερτώριος τε καὶ Περσέννας περὶ Ἱβηρίαν ἔδρασαν, ἔτερα ἐμφύλια Ῥωμαίοις τοιάδε ἐγίγνετο, μέχρι Γάιος Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἀλλήλοις ἐπολέμησαν καὶ Πομπήιον μὲν καθεῖλεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, Καῖσαρα δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τινὲς ὡς βασιλιζόμενον κατέκανον. ταῦτα δὲ ὅπως ἐγένετο καὶ ὅπως ἀνηρέθησαν ὁ τε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Γάιος, ἥ δευτέρα τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἦδε δηλοῖ.

Ὅ μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ἅρτι τὴν θάλασσαν καθήρας ἀπὸ τῶν ληστηρίων τότε μᾶλιστα πανταχοῦ πλεονασάντων Μιθριδάτην ἐπὶ τοῖς λησταῖς καθηρήκει, Πόντου βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν ἄρχην αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθην προσέλαβεν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἔως, διετάσσετο· ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἦν ἐτί νέος, δεινὸς εἰπείν τε καὶ πράξαι, τολμῆσαι τε ἐς πάντα καὶ ἐπίσαι περὶ ἀπάντων, ἐς δὲ δὴ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφείδης ύπὲρ δύναμιν, ὡς ἀγορανομῶν ἐτί καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶναι κατάχρεως καὶ τῷ πλῆθει δαιμονίως ὑπεραρέσκειν, τῶν δήμων αἰεὶ τοὺς δαφιλείς ἐπαινοῦντον.

2. Γάιος δὲ Κατιλίνας, μεγέθει τε δόξῃς καὶ

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BOOK II

I

1. After the sole rule of Sulla, and the operations, later on, of Sertorius and Perpenna in Spain, other internal commotions of a similar nature took place among the Romans until Gaius Caesar and Pompey the Great waged war against each other, and Caesar made an end of Pompey and was himself killed in the senate-chamber because he was accused of behaving after the fashion of royalty. How these things came about and how both Pompey and Caesar lost their lives, this second book of the Civil Wars will show.

Pompey had lately cleared the sea of pirates, who were then more numerous than ever before, and afterwards had overthrown Mithridates, king of Pontus, and regulated his kingdom and the other nations that he had subdued in the East. Caesar was still a young man, but powerful in speech and action, audacious in every way, sanguine in everything, and profuse beyond his means in the pursuit of honours. While yet aedile and praetor he had incurred great debts and had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditure.

2. Gaius Catiline was a person of note, by reason

1 An error of Appian's. "Lucius" is correct.
CAP. γένους λαμπρότητι περιώνυμος, ἐμπληκτος ἀνήρ, 
δόξας ποτὲ καὶ νῦν ἀνελεῖν δὴ Αὐρηλίας Ὁρεσ-
τίλλης ἐρωτα, οὐχ ὕψωσμένης τῆς Ὁρεστίλλης 
παῖδα ἔχοντι γῆμασθαί, Σύλλα φίλος τε καὶ 
στασιώτης καὶ ξηλωτῆς μάλιστα γεγονός, ἐκ δὲ 
φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὅδε ἕστε πενίαν ὑπενηνεγμένον καὶ 
θεραπευόμενος ἔτι πρὸς δυνατῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ 
γυναικῶν, ἐς ὑπατείαν παρήγγελλεν ὡς τῇδε παρο-
δεύσων ἐς τυραννίδα. πάγχυ δ᾽ ἐλπίσας αἱρεθῆ-
σεθαί διὰ τὴν ὑποψίαν τῇδε ἀπεκρούσθη, καὶ 
Κικέρων μὲν ἦρχεν ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἀνὴρ ἡδίστος εἰπεῖν 
τε καὶ ῥητορεύσαι, Κατιλίνας δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐς ὑβριν 
τῶν ἐλομένων ἐπέσκοπτεν, ἐς μὲν ἄγνωσίαιν γένους 
καὶνὸν ὄνομάζων (καλοῦσι δ᾽ οὗτῳ τοὺς ἀφ᾽ ἐαυτῶν, 
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ τῶν προγόνων γνωρίμους), ἐς δ᾽ ξενίαι 
τῆς πόλεως ἤγκουιλίνου, ὥς ῥήματι καλοῦσι τοὺς 
ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις. αὐτὸς δὲ πολ-
ιτείαν μὲν ὅλος ἐτὶ ἀπεστρέφετο ἐκ τούτε, ὡς 
οὐδὲν μοναρχίαν ταχὺ καὶ μέγα φέρουσαν, ἀλλ᾽ 
ἐριδὸς καὶ φθόνον μεστὴν χρήματα δ᾽ ἅγεί-
ρων πολλὰ παρὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, αὐτοῖς 
ἀνδρας ἦλπιζον ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει διαφθερεῖν, 
συνόμωντο τισιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν καλο-
μένων ἵππεων, συνῆγε δὲ καὶ δημόταις καὶ ξένους 
καὶ θεράποντας. καὶ πάντων ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτῶ 
Κορνήλιος Δέντλος καὶ Κέθηγος, οὔ τότε τῆς 
πόλεως ἐστρατήγουν. ἀνά τε τῆς Ἰταλίαν περιέ-
πεμπεν ἐς τῶν Συλλείων τοὺς τὰ κέρδη τῆς 
τότε βίας ἀναλωκότας καὶ ὀρεγομένους ἔργων ὀμοίων,
of his great celebrity, and high birth, but a madman, for it was believed that he had killed his own son because of his own love for Aurelia Orestilla, who was not willing to marry a man who had a son. He had been a friend and zealous partisan of Sulla. He had reduced himself to poverty in order to gratify his ambition, but still he was courted by the powerful, both men and women, and he became a candidate for the consulship as a step leading to absolute power. He confidently expected to be elected; but the suspicion of his ulterior designs defeated him, and Cicero, the most eloquent orator and rhetorician of the period, was chosen instead. Catiline, by way of raillery and contempt for those who voted for him, called him a "New Man," on account of his obscure birth (for so they call those who achieve distinction by their own merits and not by those of their ancestors); and because he was not born in the city he called him "The Lodger,"¹ by which term they designate those who occupy houses belonging to others. From this time Catiline abstained wholly from politics as not leading quickly and surely to absolute power, but as full of the spirit of contention and malice. He procured much money from many women who hoped that they would get their husbands killed in the rising, and he formed a conspiracy with a number of senators and knights, and collected together a body of plebeians, foreign residents, and slaves. His leading fellow-conspirators were Cornelius Lentulus and Cethegus, who were then the city praetors. He sent emissaries throughout Italy to those of Sulla's soldiers who had squandered the gains of their former life of

¹ Latin Inquilinus, correctly explained by Appian above.
3. Καὶ τάδε πάντα ἐτί ἀγνοούμενα Φουλβία γύναιον οὐκ ἀφανεῖς ἐμὴν τῷ Κικέρωνι· ὡς ἔρων Κόιντος Κούριος, ἀνὴρ δὲ ὀνείδη πολλὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεωσμένος καὶ τήσδε τῆς Κατιλίνας συνθήκης ἥξιωμένος, κούφως μάλα καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐξέφερεν οἷα πρὸς ἐρωμένην, ὡς αὐτίκα δυναστεύσων. ἦδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ γιγαντιαίων λόγοις ἐφοίτα. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τὴν τε πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων φρουράς διελάμβανε καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐξέπεμπε πολλοὺς ἐς πάντα τὰ ὑπόπτα τοῖς γιγαντιαῖς ἐφεδρεύειν. Κατιλίνας δ’, οὐδενὸς μὲν τῶν θαρροῦντος αὐτοῦ λαβέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐτὶ τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς ἀγνωσίαν, δεδιὸς δὲ ὀμος καὶ τὸ χρόνιον ἡγούμενον ὑποπτον, ἐν δὲ τῷ τάχει τὴν ἐλπίδα τιθέμενος, τὰ τε χρήματα προὐπεμπεν ἐς Φαισούλας καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἐντελάμενος κτείναι Κικέρωνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ διαστημάτων πολλῶν νυκτὸς ἑμπρήσας μᾶς ἐξῆλε πρὸς Γάιον Μάλλιον ὡς αὐτίκα στρατον ἅλλον ἀθροίσων καὶ ἐς τὸν ἑμπρησμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδραμούμενος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ράβδους τε καὶ πελέκες ὡς τοῖς ἀνθύπατος κούφως μάλα ἀνέσχε πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸν Μάλλιον ἔχωρει στρατολογῶν· Δέντλω δὲ καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἑδοξεν, ὅτε Κατιλίναν ἐν Φαισούλαις πυθανόντω γεγενήσθαι, Δέντλω μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ Κέθηγον ἐφεδρεύσαι ταῖς Κικέρωνοις θύραις περὶ ἐω μετὰ κεκρυμμένων εἰξίδων, ἐσδεχ-θέντας τε διὰ τὴν ἄξιωσιν καὶ λαλοῦντας ὅτιδὴ
plunder and who longed for similar doings. For this purpose he sent Gaius Mallius to Faesulae in Etruria and others to Picenum and Apulia, who enlisted soldiers for him secretly.

3. All these facts, while they were still secret, were communicated to Cicero by Fulvia, a woman of quality. Her lover, Quintus Curius, who had been expelled from the Senate for many deeds of shame and was thought fit to share in this plot of Catiline's, told his mistress in a vain and boastful way that he would soon be in a position of great power. By now, too, a rumour of what was transpiring in Italy was getting about. Accordingly Cicero stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, and sent many of the nobility to the suspected places to watch what was going on. Catiline, although nobody had ventured to lay hands on him, because the facts were not yet accurately known, was nevertheless timid lest, with delay, suspicion also should increase. Trusting to rapidity of movement he forwarded money to Faesulae and directed his fellow-conspirators to kill Cicero and set the city on fire at a number of different places during the same night. Then he departed to join Gaius Mallius, intending to collect additional forces and invade the city while burning. So extremely vain was he that he had the rods and axes borne before him as though he were a proconsul, and he proceeded on his journey to Mallius, enlisting soldiers as he went. Lentulus and his fellow-conspirators decided that when they should learn that Catiline had arrived at Faesulae, Lentulus and Cethegus should present themselves at Cicero's door early in the morning with concealed daggers, and when their rank gained them admission, enter into
μηδένα τὴν ὀμιλίαν ἐν περιπάτῳ καὶ κτείναι περισσώςαντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Λεύκιου δὲ Βηστίαν τὸν δήμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγει καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ὡς ἀεὶ δειλὸν καὶ πολεμοποιοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐν σύνει τεινω διαταράσσοντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Βηστίου δημηγορίᾳ, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα τῆς ἐπιούσης, ἐτέρους ἐν δυνάμει τόποις ἐμπιπτράναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ διαρπάζειν καὶ κατακτεῖναι τῶν ἄριστοις.

4. Ὡδὲ μὲν Δέντλω καὶ Κεθήγῳ καὶ Στατιλῖῳ καὶ Κασσίῳ, τοῖς ἀρχουσι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως, ἐξεδοκτῷ, καὶ τὸν καίρον ἐπετήρουν Ἀλλοβρίγων δὲ πρέσβεις, αἰτιώμενοι τοὺς ἤγουμένους αὐτῶν,

. . . ἐς τὴν Δέντλου συνωμοσίαν ἐπῄρησαν ὡς ἀναστήσοντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους τὴν Γαλατίαν. καὶ Δέντλως μὲν αὐτοῖς συνέπεμπεν ἐς Κατιλίναν Βουλτούρκιον, ἄνδρα Κροτωνίαν, γρἀμματὰ χωρὶς ὀνομάτων γεγραμμένα φέροντα· οἱ δὲ Ἀλλοβρίγες ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκοινωσάντος Φαβίῳ Σάγγαι, ὡς ἦν τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων προστάτης, ὡστερ ἀπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔστι τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ προστάτης. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Σάγγα μαθῶν ὁ Κικέρων συνέλαβεν ἀπίόντας τοὺς Ἀλλοβρίγας τε καὶ Βουλτούρκιον καὶ ἐς τὴν βουλήν εὐθέως ἐπήγαγεν· οἱ δὲ ὁμολόγουν, ὡς τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δέντλον συνῆδεσαν, ἀχθέντες τε ἡλεγχοῦν, ὡς ὁ Κορνήλιος Δέντλος εἶποι πολλάκις εἰμάρθαι τρεῖς Κορνηλίους γενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων μονάρχους, ὡς ἦδη Κίνναν καὶ Σύλλαν γεγονέναι.
conversation with him in the vestibule on some subject, no matter what; draw him away from his own people, and kill him; that Lucius Bestia, the tribune, should at once call an assembly of the people by heralds and accuse Cicero as always timorous, a stirrer up of war and ready to disturb the city without cause; and that on the night following Bestia’s speech the city should be set on fire by others in twelve places and looted, and the leading citizens killed.

4. Such were the designs of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, the chiefs of the conspiracy, and they waited for their time. Meanwhile ambassadors of the Allobroges, who were making complaint against their magistrates, were solicited to join the conspiracy of Lentulus in order to cause an uprising against the Romans in Gaul. Lentulus sent in company with them, to Catiline, a man of Croton named Vulturcius, who carried letters without signatures. The Allobroges being in doubt communicated the matter to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state; for it was the custom of all the subject states to have patrons at Rome. Sanga communicated the facts to Cicero, who arrested the Allobroges and Vulturcius on their journey and brought them straightway before the Senate. They confessed to their understanding with Lentulus’ agents, and when confronted with them testified that Cornelius Lentulus had often said that it was written in the book of fate that three Cornelii should be monarchs of Rome, two of whom, Cinna and Sulla, had already been such.

1 Probably there is a gap in the text: e.g. “were in Rome, and . . .”
CAP. I

5. Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἢ μὲν βουλὴ Λέντλου παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὁ δὲ Κικέρων ἐκαστον ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν στρατηγῶν διαθέσει ἐπανήλθεν αὐτίκα καὶ ψήφου περὶ αὐτῶν ἐδίδου. θόρυβος δ’ ἦν ἄμφι τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀγνοούμενον ἐτι τοῦ ἀκριβούς, καὶ δέος τῶν συνεγχώκοτων. αὐτοῦ δὲ Λέντλου καὶ Κεθήγου θεράποντές τε καὶ ἔξελεύθεροι, χειροτέχνας πολλοὺς προσλαβόντες, κατ’ ὀπισθίας ὁδοὺς περιήσαν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν οἰκίας ὡς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐξαρπασόμενοι. διὸ ὁ Κικέρων πυθόμενος ἐξέδραμεν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτήριον καὶ διαθεὶς ἐς τὰ ἐπίκαιρα φύλακας ἐπανήλθε καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐπετάχυνε. Σιλανὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ἔλεγεν, ὅς ἦς τὸ μέλλον ἦρητο ὑπατεύειν· ὅδε γὰρ Ὀρμάιοις ὁ μέλλων ὑπατεύσει πρῶτος ἐσφέρει γνώμην, ὡς αὐτός, οἶμαι, πολλὰ τῶν κυρουμένων ἐργασόμενοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐυβουλότερον τε καὶ ἐὐλαβέστερον ἐνθυμησόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου. ἀξιούμεθα δὲ τῷ Σιλανῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐσχάτη κολάσει μετεῖναι πολλοὶ συνετίθεντο, ἕως, ἐπὶ Νέρωνα τῆς γνώμης περιούσης, ὁ Νέρων ἐδικαίων φυλάττειν αὐτούς, μέχρι Κατιλίναν ἐξέλωσι πολέμῳ καὶ τὰ ἀκριβεστάτα μάθωσι.

6. Γαίως τε Καίσαρ οὐ καθαρεύων μὲν ὑπονοιάς μὴ συνεγχώκεναι τοῖς ἄνδρασι, Κικέρωνος δ’ οὐ θαρροῦντος καὶ τόνδε, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα προβαλέσθαι, προσετίθει διαθέσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας Κικέρωνα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν πόλεσιν αἰς ἀν αὐτὸς δοκιμάσῃ, μέχρι Κατιλίνα

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5. When they had so testified the Senate deprived Lentulus of his office. Cicero put each of the conspirators under arrest at the houses of the praetors, and returned directly to take the vote of the Senate concerning them. In the meantime there was a great tumult around the senator-house, the affair being as yet little understood, and a good deal of alarm among the conspirators. The slaves and freedmen of Lentulus and Cethegus, reinforced by numerous artisans, made a circuit by back streets and assaulted the houses of the praetors in order to rescue their masters. When Cicero heard of this he hurried out of the senator-house and stationed the necessary guards and then came back and hastened the taking of the vote. Silanus, the consul-elect, spoke first, as it was the custom among the Romans for the man who was about to assume that office to deliver his opinion first, because, as I think, he would have most to do with the execution of the decrees, and hence would give more careful consideration and use more circumspection in each case. It was the opinion of Silanus that the culprits should suffer the extreme penalty, and many senators agreed with him until it came to Nero’s turn to deliver his opinion. Nero judged that it would be best to keep them under guard until Catiline should be beaten in the field and they could obtain the most accurate knowledge of the facts.

6. Gaius Caesar was not free from the suspicion of complicity with these men, but Cicero did not venture to bring into the controversy one so popular with the masses. Caesar proposed that Cicero should distribute the culprits among the towns of Italy, according to his own discretion, to be kept until
καταπολεμηθέντος ἐς δικαστήριον ὑπαχθώσι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἕς ἀνδρᾶς ἐπιφανεῖς ἤ πρὸ λόγου καὶ δίκης ἐξειργασμένος. δικαίου δὲ τῆς γνώμης φανείς καὶ δεχθείς, ἀκρατῶς οἱ πολλοὶ μετετίθεντο, μέχρι Κάτων ἤδη σαφῶς ἀνακαλύπτων τὴν ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑποψίαν καὶ ὁ Κικέρων δεδίως ἀμφὶ τῇ νυκτὶ προσιούσῃ, μὴ τὸ συνεγνωκὸς τοῖς ἀνδράσι πλήθος αἰωρούμενον ἔτι κατ’ ἀγορὰν καὶ δεδίδοσ περὶ τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἐργάσηταί τι ἀτοποῦν, ἐπεισαν ὡς αὐτοφόρων ἄνευ κρίσεως καταγινᾶν. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων, ἔτι τῆς βουλῆς συνεστώσης, ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ὁ Κικέρων ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεταγαγὼν, τοῦ πλήθους ἀγνοοῦντος, ἐπείδειν ἀποθυσκοῦντας καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀγορᾷ παροδεύων ἐσήμηνεν, ὅτι τεθνάσων. οἱ δὲ διελύοντο πεφρικότες τε καὶ περὶ σφῶν ἀγαπώντες ὡς διαλαθόντες.

Οὔτω μὲν ἡ πόλις ἀνέπνευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους πολλοῦ σφίσιν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιστάντος. 7. Κατιλίναν δὲ ἐς δισμυρίους τε ἀγείραντα καὶ τούτων τεταρτημώριον ὀπλίσαντα ἤδη καὶ ἐς Γαλατίαν ἐπὶ ἀλλήν παρασκευὴν ἀπίόντα Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἐτέρος ὑπάτος ὑπ’ Ἀλπείοις καταλαβὼν, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς ἐμπλήκτως ἀλλόκοτον ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν λαβόντος τε καὶ ἐς πείραν ἐπὶ ἐμπληκτότερον ἀπαρασκεύως προαγα-
Catiline should be beaten in fight, and that then they should be regularly tried, instead of inflicting an irremediable punishment upon members of the nobility without argument and trial. As this opinion appeared to be just and acceptable, most of the senators changed completely, until Cato openly manifested his suspicion of Caesar; and Cicero, who had apprehensions concerning the coming night (lest the crowd who were concerned with the conspiracy and were still in the forum in a state of suspense, fearful for themselves and the conspirators, might do something desperate), persuaded the Senate to give judgment against them without trial as persons caught in the act. Cicero immediately, while the Senate was still in session, conducted each of the conspirators from the houses where they were in custody to the prison, without the knowledge of the crowd, and saw them put to death. Then he went back to the forum and signified that they were dead. The crowd dispersed in alarm, congratulating themselves that they had not been found out.

Thus the city breathed freely once more after the great fear that had weighed upon it that day, but Catiline had assembled about 20,000 troops, of whom one-fourth part were already armed, and was moving toward Gaul in order to complete his preparations, when Antonius, the other consul, overtook him at the foot of the Alps and easily defeated the madly-conceived adventure of the man, which was still more madly put to the test without

1 The battle was fought at Pistoria, at the southern base of the Apennines. The Roman army was commanded, not by the consul Antonius, but by his lieutenant Petreius.
CAP. γάντος. οὐ μὴν ὁ γε Κατιλίνας οὐδ' ἄλλος οὔδεὶς τῶν συνόντων ἐπιφανῶν φυγεῖν ἥξισεν, ἀλλὰ ἐσδραμόντες ἐσ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπώλοντο.

'Ωδὲ μὲν ἡ Κατιλίνα ἑπανάστασις, παρ' ὁλίγον ἐς ἔσχατον ἐλθοῦσα κινδύνου τῇ πόλει, διελύσετο. καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, ἀπασιν ἐπὶ λόγου δυνάμει μόνη γνώριμος ὦν, τότε καὶ ἐπὶ έργῳ διὰ στόματος ἴναι σωτήρ ἐδόκει περιφανῶς ὑπολλυμένῃ τῇ πατρίδι γενέσθαι, χάριτές τε ἦσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εὐφημίαν ποικίλαι. Κάτωνος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαγορεύσαντος ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δήμος. καὶ δοκεῖ τισιν ἦδε ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξαμένη περιελθείν ἐς τῶν νῦν αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς φαινομένους ἀξίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούσδε, καίπερ οὕσι βασιλεύσιν, εὐθὺς ἀτ' ἄρχῃς ἀμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπωνυμίαις, ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ μόλις ἦδε, ὡς ἐντελῆς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ μαρτυρία, ἕσεθεν.

II

CAP. 8. Ὅ δ' Καῖσαρ στρατηγὸς ἐς Ἰβηρίαν αἴρεθε ἐπὶ μὲν τι πρὸς τῶν χρήστων διεκρατεῖτο ἐν Ρώμῃ, πολὺ πλέονα τῆς περιουσίας ὁφλῶν διὰ τὰς φιλοτιμίας· ὅτε φασίν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δέοιτο δισχίλιων καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων, ἵνα ἔχοι μηδέν· διαθέμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας, ὡς ἐδύνατο, καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐπιβὰς χρηματίζειν μὲν

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preparation. Neither Catiline nor any of the nobility who were associated with him deigned to fly, but all flung themselves upon their enemies and perished.

Such was the end of the rising of Catiline, which almost brought the city to the extreme of peril. Cicero, who had been hitherto distinguished only for eloquence, was now in everybody's mouth as a man of action, and was considered unquestionably the saviour of his country on the eve of its destruction, for which reason the thanks of the assembly were bestowed upon him, amid general acclamations. At the instance of Cato the people saluted him as the Father of his country. Some think that this honourable appellation, which is now bestowed upon those emperors who are deemed worthy of it, had its beginning with Cicero, for although they are in fact kings, it is not given even to them with their other titles immediately upon their accession, but is decreed to them in the progress of time, not as a matter of course, but as a final testimonial of the greatest services.

II

8. Caesar, who had been chosen praetor for Spain, was detained in the city by his creditors, as he owed much more than he could pay, by reason of his political expenses. He was reported as saying that he needed 25,000,000 sesterces in order to have nothing at all. However, he arranged with those who were detaining him as best he could and proceeded to Spain. Here he neglected the transaction

1 About £250,000.
CAP. II ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ διαίταιν δίκας ἡ ὅσα ὧμοιότροπὰ τούτας, ἀπαντα ὑπερεῖδεν ὡς οὐδὲν οἷς ἐπενόει χρήσιμα, στρατιάν δὲ ἀγείρας ἐπετίθετο τοῖς ἔτι λαυτοῖς Ὀμήρου ἀνὰ μέρος, μέχρι τὴν Ὀμῆριαν ἐς τὸ ὀλόκληρον ἀπέφηνε Ὀμῆρους ὑποτελῆ, καὶ χρῆμα τα πολλὰ ἐς Ὀμῆρου ἐπέμψεν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ταμεῖον. ἔφ' οίς ἡ μὲν θυλή θριαμβεύει παρέ- χειν αὐτῷ, ὦ ἐς τῆς πομπῆς τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐς τὸ λαμπρότατον ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ὀμῆρου προστείοις διεκόσμει, ἐν αἰσ ἡμέραις ὕπατείας ἦσαν παραγγελ- ιαί, καὶ ἔδει τὸν παραγγέλλοντα παρέιναι, ἐσελθόντι ἐς ὄν ἢν ἔτι ἔπε τὸν θριάμβου ἐπανελθεῖν. ὦ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐς πολλὰ τυχεῖν ἐπενογένεσας καὶ τῆς πομπῆς ὦν ἐτοιμόν ἐχον ἐσεπεμπὲ τῇ θυλῇ δεόμενος ἐπιτρέψαι οἱ τῆς παραγγελίαν ἀπόντι ποιήσασθαι διὰ τῶν φίλων, εἰδὼς μὲν παράκομοι, γεγονὸς δὲ ἡδη καὶ ἐτέροις. Κάτωνος δ' ἀντιλέγοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἡμέραν τελευταίαν ὄνσαν τῶν παραγγελιῶν ἀναλύντως ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐσέδραμεν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπεριδῶν τοῦ θριάμβου καὶ παραγγελίας ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνέ- μενε τὴν χειρότονίας.

9. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Πομπήιος, ἐκ τῶν Μιθριδατείων ἔργον ἔπει μέγα δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐλθὼν, ἦσιν πολλὰ, ὅσα βασιλέως καὶ δυνάστας καὶ πόλεων ἐδεδώκει, τὴν θυλὴν βεβαιώθαι. φθόνῳ δ' αὐτῶν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα Λεύκολλος, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ Πομπῆιον στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν Μιθριδατην, ὃς ἀσθενέστατον αὐτῶν ἀπολιπὼν τῷ Πομπῆιῷ, διεκόλυμεν, ἐδιον ἔργον ἀποφαίνων τῷ Μιθριδατείῳ. καὶ Λευκόλλῳ συνελάμβανε Κράσσος. ἀγανακ- τῶν οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος προσεταμίζεται Καῖσαρα.
of public business, the administration of justice, and all matters of that kind because he considered them of no use to his purposes, but he raised an army and attacked the independent Spanish tribes one by one until he made the whole country tributary to the Romans. He also sent much money to the public treasury at Rome. For these reasons the Senate awarded him a triumph. He was making preparations outside the walls for a most splendid procession, during the days when candidates for the consulship were required to present themselves. It was not lawful for one who was going to have a triumph to enter the city and then go back again for the triumph. As Caesar was very anxious to secure the office, and his procession was not yet ready, he sent to the Senate and asked permission to go through the forms of standing for the consulship while absent, through the instrumentalities of friends, for although he knew it was against the law it had been done by others. Cato opposed his proposition and used up the last day for the presentation of candidates, in speech-making. Thereupon Caesar abandoned his triumph, entered the city, offered himself as a candidate, and waited for the comitia.

9. In the meantime Pompey, who had acquired great glory and power by his Mithridatic war, was asking the Senate to ratify numerous concessions that he had granted to kings, princes, and cities. Most Senators, however, moved by envy, made opposition, and especially Lucullus, who had held the command against Mithridates before Pompey, and who considered that the victory was his, since he had left the king for Pompey in a state of extreme weakness. Crassus co-operated with Lucullus in this matter.
CAP. II. συμπράξειν ἕς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπομόσας. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς αὐτῷ Κράσσον διήλλασσε. καὶ τρεῖς οἶδε τὸ μέγιστον ἐπὶ πᾶσι κράτος ἔχουσε τὰς χρεῖας ἀλλήλοις συνηράνυσεν. καὶ τις αὐτῶν τήνδε τὴν συμφροσύνην συγγραφεύς, Οὐάρρων, ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ περιλαβῶν ἐπέγραψε Τρικάρανον.

Τορωμένη δ' αὐτοὺς ἡ Βουλὴ Δεύκιου Βύβλον ἕς ἐναντίωσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτῷ συνάρχειν. 10. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἐρίδες τε καὶ ὁπλῶν ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἵδια παρασκευά. δεινὸς δ' ὁ Καίσαρ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, λόγους ἐν τῇ Βουλῇ περὶ ὁμονοίας διέθετο πρὸς Βύβλον, ὡς τὰ κοινὰ λυπήσοντες, εἰ διαφέροιτο. πιστευθεὶς δ' οὔτω φρονεῖν, ἀπερίσκεπτον ἰδὴ καὶ ἀπαράσκευον καὶ οὔδὲν ἔτι τῶν γιγνομένων ὑπονοοῦντα τὸν Βύβλον ἐχὼν, χειρὰ τε πολλὴν ἀφανῶς ἠτοιμαζέτο τοι καὶ νόμους ὑπὲρ τῶν πενήτων ἐς τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἐσέφερε καὶ γῆν αὐτοὺς διένεμε, καὶ τὴν ἀριστεύουσαν αὐτῆς μάλιστα περὶ Καπύην, ἢ ἐς τὰ κοινὰ διεμισθοῦτο, τοῖς οὕσι πατράσι παῖδων τριῶν, ἔμμισθον ἑαυτῷ τῆς τῆς χάριτος πλήθος τοσόνδε ποιοῦμενός· δισμύριοι γὰρ ἄθροισ ἐφάνησαν οἱ οἱ τὰ τρία τρέφοντες μόνοι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ πολλὰν, ὑποκρίναμεν δυσχεραίνειν, ὡς οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντων, ἐξέδραμε καὶ Βουλὴν μὲν οὐκέτι συνήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτος ὠλον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἐδημηγόρει. Πομπηίων τε ἐν μέσῳ καὶ Κράσσον ἦρωτα περὶ τῶν νόμων· οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς 246
Pompey was indignant and made friends with Caesar and promised under oath to support him for the consulship. The latter thereupon brought Crassus into friendly relations with Pompey. So these three most powerful men pooled their interests. This coalition the Roman writer Varro treated of in a book entitled *Tricaranus* (the three-headed monster).

The Senate had its suspicions of them and elected Lucius Bibulus as Caesar’s colleague to hold him in check; and strife sprang up between them immediately and they proceeded to arm themselves secretly against each other. Caesar, who was a master of dissimulation, made speeches in the Senate in the interest of concord to Bibulus, insinuating that any differences between them might have serious results for the state. As he was believed to be sincere, Bibulus was thrown off his guard, and while he was unprepared and unsuspecting Caesar secretly got a large band of soldiers in readiness and brought before the Senate measures for the relief of the poor by the distribution of the public land to them. The best part of this land especially round Capua, which was leased for the public benefit, he proposed to bestow upon those who were the fathers of at least three children, by which means he bought for himself the favour of a multitude of men, for twenty thousand, being those only who had three children each, came forward at once. As many senators opposed his motion he pretended to be indignant at their injustice, and rushed out of the Senate and did not convene it again for the remainder of the year, but harangued the people from the rostra. In a public assembly he asked Pompey and Crassus what they thought about his proposed laws.
CAP. II ἐπίημουν, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τὴν χειροτονίαν ἦει σὺν κεκρυμμένοις ξιφιδίοις.

11. 'Ἡ Βουλή δὲ (οὐ γάρ τις αὐτὴν συνήγεεν, οὐδ' ἔξην τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ὑπάτων συναγαγεῖν αὐτὴν) ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Βύζμου συνελθόντες οὖν οἷς ἀντάξιον τῆς Καίσαρος ἱσχύος τε καὶ παρασκευὴς ἐπότουν, ἐπενόουν δ' ὅμως Βύζμου ἐνίστασθαι τοῖς νόμοις καὶ μὴ δόξαν ἀμελεῖας, ἀλλὰ ἥσσης ἐνέγκασθαι. πεισθεὶς οὖν ὁ Βύζμος ἐνέβαλεν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν δημηγοροῦντος ἐτί τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἔριδος δὲ καὶ ἀταξίας γενομένης πληγαί τε ἦσαν ἡδῆ, καὶ οἱ μετὰ τῶν ξιφιδίων τὰς ράβδους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ Βύζμου περιέκλων καὶ τῶν δημάρχων ἔστιν οὐς περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντας ἐτρωσαν. Βύζμος δ' οὐ καταπλαγεὶς ἀπεγύμνων τὴν σφαγήν καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ἕκαλε τοὺς Καίσαρος φίλους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον: "εἰ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι πείσαι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν," ἐφη, "Καίσαρα, τὸ γε ἁγος αὐτῷ καὶ μύσος οὕτως ἀποθανὼν ἐπιβαλὼν." ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἀκοντα ὑπεξήγαγον οἱ φίλοι ἐς τὸ πλησίον ἱερὸν τοῦ Στηθίου Διός, Κάτων δ' ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ὤσατο μὲν ὡς νέος ἐς μέσους καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἤρχετο, μετέωρος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀρθεὶς ἐξεφέρετο. καὶ λαθῶν κατ' ἀλλας οἴδος αὐθίς ἀνέδραμεν ἐς τῷ βῆμα καὶ λέγειν μὲν ἐτί οὖνεν ἀκούοντος ἀπεγύνοικε, τοῦ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀγρούκως κατεβοῶ, μέχρι καὶ τότε μετέωρος ἔξερρίφη καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκύρωσε.

12. Καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸν τε δῆμον ὁρκωσεν ἐς ἅει κυρίους νομεῖν καὶ τὴν Βουλὴν ἐκέλευεν ὁμνύαι. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ Κάτωνος,
Both gave their approval, and the people came to the voting-place carrying concealed daggers.

11. The Senate (since no one called it together and it was not lawful for one consul to do so without the consent of the other) assembled at the house of Bibulus, but did nothing to counteract the force and preparation of Caesar. They planned, however, that Bibulus should oppose Caesar’s laws, so that they should seem to be overcome by force rather than to suffer by their own negligence. Accordingly, Bibulus burst into the forum while Caesar was still speaking. Strife and tumult arose, blows were given, and those who had daggers broke the fasces and insignia of Bibulus and wounded some of the tribunes who stood around him. Bibulus was in no wise terrified, but bared his neck to Caesar’s partisans and loudly called on them to strike. "If I cannot persuade Caesar to do right," he said, "I will affix upon him the guilt and stigma of my death." His friends, however, led him, against his will, out of the crowd and into the neighbouring temple of Jupiter Stator. Then Cato was summoned to the spot, and being a young man, forced his way to the midst of the crowd and began to make a speech, but was lifted up and carried out by Caesar’s partisans. Then he went around secretly by another street and again mounted the rostra; but as he despaired of making a speech, since nobody would listen to him, he abused Caesar roundly until he was again lifted up and ejected by the Caesarians, and Caesar secured the enactment of his laws.

12. The plebeians swore to observe these laws for ever, and Caesar directed the Senate to do the same. Many of them, including Cato, refused, and Caesar
епηγεῖτο μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ θάνατον τῷ μῇ ὀμόσαντι, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπεκύρου· ὠμμυνὸν δὲ αὐτίκα δεῖσαντες ἵνα τῇ ἁλλοι καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος· οὐ γὰρ ἐτι χρῆσιμον ἀντιλέγειν ἥν κυρουμένου διὰ τοὺς ἁλλοὺς τοῦ νόμου. Οὐέττιος δὲ ἀνὴρ δημότης, ἐς τὸ μέσον ἑσδραμὼν μετὰ ξιφιδίου γυμνοῦ, ἐπιτεμφήναι ἐφὲ πρὸς τε Βύβλου καὶ Κικέρωνος καὶ Κάτωνος ἐς ἁναίρεσιν Καῖσαρος τε καὶ Πομηνίου καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιον αὐτῷ Βύβλου βαρδούχον ἐπιδοῦναι Ποστούμιον. ὑπόπτου δ᾽ οὖνος ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα τοῦ πράγματος ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ἐξετράχυνε τὸ πλῆθος, τὴν δὲ ἐπιούσαν ἐξετάσεις τὸν Οὐέττιον ἀνεβάλ- λοντο. καὶ ὁ Οὐέττιος φυλασσόμενος ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ νυκτὸς ἀνηρέθη, εἰκαζομένου δὲ ἐς ποικίλα τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἀνέι καὶ τοῦτο δράσαι λέγων τοὺς δεδίτας, ἐὼς ὁ δήμος αὐτῷ συνεχόρθησεν ἀμύνειν τοῖς ἐπιβεβου- λευμένοις. καὶ Βύβλος μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν ἅπαντα μεθείς οἰα τῆς ἰδιότης οὐ προῆι τῆς οἰκίας ἐπὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅπαν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐτι ἐξήτει περὶ τοῦ Οὐέττιον, μόνος ἔχον τὸ κράτος ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

13. Νόμους δὲ ἐσέφερεν, ἐκθέραπευόν τὸ πλῆ- θος, ἐτέρους καὶ τὰ Πομηνίῳ πεπραγμένα ἅπαντα ἐκύρου, καθάπερ ὑπέσχητο αὐτῷ. οἱ δ᾽ ἰππεῖς λεγόμενοι, τὴν μὲν ἀξίωσιν τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς βουλῆς ὄντες ἐν μέσῳ, δυνατῶτατοι δὲ ἐς ἅπαντα περιουσίας τε οὐνεκά καὶ μισθώσεως τελῶν καὶ
proposed and the people enacted the death penalty to the recusants. Then they became alarmed and took the oath, including the tribunes, for it was no longer of any use to speak against it after the law had been confirmed by the others. And now Vettius, a plebeian, ran into the forum with a drawn dagger and said that he had been sent by Bibulus, Cicero, and Cato to kill Caesar and Pompey, and that the dagger had been given to him by Postumius, the lictor of Bibulus. Although this affair was open to suspicion from either point of view, Caesar made use of it to inflame the multitude and postponed till the morrow the examination of the assailant. Vettius was thrown into prison and killed the same night. As this transaction was variously commented on, Caesar did not let it pass unnoticed, but said that it had been done by the opposite party, who were afraid of exposure. Finally, the people furnished him a guard to protect him against conspirators, and Bibulus abstained from public business altogether, as though he were a private citizen, and did not go out of his house for the remainder of his official term, while Caesar, having now sole administration of public affairs, did not make any further inquiry concerning Vettius.

13. He brought forward new laws to win the favour of the multitude, and caused all of Pompey's acts to be ratified, as he had promised him. The knights, who held the middle place in rank between the Senate and the plebeians, and were extremely powerful in all ways by reason of their wealth, and of

1 τῶν δεδιώτας, "those who were afraid." Mendelssohn suggests the addition of ἀντιστασίωτας, "the opposite party," to complete the sense.
CAP. II. φόρων, οὐς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑθῶν τελουμένους ἐξεμισθόυντο, καὶ πλήθους βεβαιοτάτων ἐς ταύτα θεραπόντων, ἐκ πολλῶν τὴν βουλὴν ἦτον ἀφεσιν τινα μέρους τῶν φόρων αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι. καὶ ἀποδιέτριβεν ἡ βουλὴ. οὗ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς οὐδὲν τότε τῆς βουλῆς δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ δήμῳ χρώμενος τὰ τρίτα τῶν μισθώσεων αὐτοῖς παρῆκεν. οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν σφετέραν ἀξίωσιν ἀδοκικήτων τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῖς γενομένης, ἐξεθείαζον αὐτόν, καὶ στίφος ἀλλο καρπερώτερον τοῦ δήμου τόδε τῷ Καίσαρι προσγεγένητο δε ἐνὸς πολιτεύματος. οὐ δὲ καὶ θέας ἐπεδίδου καὶ κυνηγέσια θηρίων ὑπὲρ ὑψιμμίν, δανειζόμενος ἐς ἀπαντα καὶ τὰ πρότερα πάνθ᾽ ὑπερβάλλων παρασκευὴ καὶ χορηγία καὶ δόσει λαμπραίς· ἐφ᾽ οἷς αὐτὸν ἐξήλοντο Γαλατίας τῆς τε ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεις ἐπὶ πενταετὲς ἄρχειν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐδοσαν τέλη στρατοῦ τέσσαρα.

14. Ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν οἱ χρόνιοι ὄρων ἐσομένην καὶ τὸν φθόνον ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δή τοῖς δεδομένοις μείζων, Πομπηίω καὶ ἐξεύγυν τὴν θυγατέρα, καίπερ ἐννιαγενεύσιν Καπίωνι, εδιώς, μὴ καὶ φίλος ὅπος ἐπιφθονᾶσε εἰς μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, τοὺς δὲ θρασυτάτους τῶν στασιωτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐτούς παρῆγε. καὶ ὑπατοῦ μὲν ἀπέφηνεν Αὐλον Γαβίνιον, φίλου ἐαυτοῦ. Δευκίου δὲ Πείσσωνος τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ μέλλοντος ὑπατεύσεωι τὴν θυγατέρα Καλπουρνίαν αὐτὸς ἦγετο, βοῶντος Κάτωνος διαμαστροπεύ-
the farming of the provincial revenues which they contracted for, and who kept for this purpose multitudes of very trusty servants, had been asking the Senate for a long time to release them from a part of what they owed to the treasury. The Senate regularly shelved the question. As Caesar did not want anything of the Senate then, but was employing the people only, he released the publicans from the third part of their obligations. For this unexpected favour, which was far beyond their deserts, the knights extolled Caesar to the skies. Thus a more powerful body of defenders than that of the plebeians was added to Caesar's support through one political act. He gave spectacles and combats of wild beasts beyond his means, borrowing money on all sides, and surpassing all former exhibitions in lavish display and splendid gifts, in consequence of which he was appointed governor of both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul for five years, with the command of four legions.

14. As Caesar saw that he would be away from home a long time, and that envy would be greater in proportion to the greatness of the benefits conferred, he gave his daughter in marriage to Pompey, although she was betrothed to Caepio, because he feared that even a friend might become envious of his great success. He also promoted the boldest of his partisans to the principal offices for the ensuing year. He designated his friend Aulus Gabinius as consul, with Lucius Piso as his colleague, whose daughter, Calpurnia, Caesar married, although Cato cried out that the empire

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1 Appian apparently means not that envy would increase with Caesar's honours, but that his royal bounties themselves would be a danger to him.
CAP. II  εσθαί γάμοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. δημάρχους δὲ ἤρεῖτο Οὐατίνιόν τε καὶ Κλώδιον τὸν Καλὸν ἐπίκλην, ὥν τινα αἰσχρὰν ἐν ἱερουργίᾳ γυναικῶν ποτε λαβόντα ὑπόνοιαν ἐπὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ Καϊσαρος αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ ὡς ἐκρινεν, ὑπεραρέσκοντα τῷ δήμῳ, καίπερ ἀποπεμφάμενος τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐτεροὶ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐς ἄσεβειαν ἔδιωκον, καὶ συνηγόρευε τοῖς διόκουσι Κικέρων. καὶ κληθεὶς ἐς μαρτυρίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐ κατείπεν, ἀλλὰ τότε καὶ δήμαρχον ὡς ἐπιβουλήν τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἀπέφηνε, διαβάλλοντος ἣδη τὴν συμφροσύνη τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς μοναρχίαν. οὖτω καὶ λύπης ἐκράτουν ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν εὐηργήτων ἐς ἁμυναν ἐτέρου. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀμείψασθαι πρότερος τῶν Καῖσαρα καὶ συλλαβεῖν ἐς τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν.

III

CAP. III  15. Τοσάδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ὑπατεύων ἐπηράξε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν εὐθὺς ἐξῆνεν. Κικέρωνα δὲ γράφεται Κλώδιος παρανόμων, ὅτι πρὸ δικαστηρίου τοὺς ἄμφι Δέντλου καὶ Κέθηγον ἀνέλοι. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐκείνο γενναίοτάτω λήματι κεχρημένος ἀσθενεστάτος ἐς τὴν δίκην ἐγήγαγε, καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐσθήτα ἐπικείμενος γέμων τε αὐχμοῦ καὶ ρύπου προσέπιπτεν οἷς ἐντύχοι κατὰ τοὺς στενώποις, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἁγμώσιν ἐνοχλεῖν αἰδούμενος, ὡστε αὐτῷ τὸ ἔργον διὰ τὴν
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK II

was become a mere matrimonial agency. For CHAP. II
tribunes he chose Vatinius and Clodius Pulcher, although the latter had been suspected of an intrigue with the wife of Caesar himself during a religious ceremony of women. Caesar, however, did not bring him to trial owing to his popularity with the masses, but divorced his wife. Others prosecuted Clodius for impiety at the sacred rites, and Cicero was the counsel for the prosecution. When Caesar was called as a witness he refused to testify against Clodius, but even raised him to the tribuneship as a foil to Cicero, who was already decrying the triumvirate as tending toward monarchy. Thus Caesar turned a private grievance to useful account and benefited one enemy in order to revenge himself on another. It appears, however, that Clodius had previously requited Caesar by helping him to secure the governorship of Gaul.

III

15. Such were the acts of Caesar's consulship. CHAP. III
He then laid down his magistracy and proceeded directly to his new government. Clodius now brought an accusation against Cicero for putting Lentulus and Cethegus and their followers to death without trial. Cicero, who had exhibited the highest courage in that transaction, became utterly unnerved at his trial. He put on humble raiment and, defiled with squalor and dirt, supplicated those whom he met in the streets, not being ashamed to annoy people who knew nothing about the business, so that his doings

1 Pompeia.
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ΧΑΡ. ιιπρέπειαν ἀπὸ οἴκτου μεταπίπτειν ἐς γέλωτα. ἦς τοσοῦτο δειλίας περὶ μίαν οἰκείαν δίκην κατέπεσεν, ὅς τὸν ὅλον βίον ἐν ἄλλοτρίας ἐξήταστο λαμπρῶς, οἴον τι καὶ Δημοσθένη φασὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίαν οὐδ’ ὑποστήναι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δίκην, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγώνος φυγεῖν. Κλωδίου δὲ καὶ τὰς παρακλήσεις αὐτοῦ σύν ὑβρεὶ διακόπτοντος ἐν τοῖς στενώποις, ἀπέγνυ πάνθ’ ὁ Κικέρων καὶ ἐφευγεν ἐκούσιον καὶ ὁδὲ φυγήν, καὶ φίλων αὐτοῦ πλήθος συνεξῆ, καὶ ἡ βουλή συνίστη τὸν ἀνδρὰ πόλεσι τε καὶ βασιλεύσι καὶ δυνάσταις. Κλωδίος δ’ αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπικατέσκαπτεν ἐπαιρόμενος τε καὶ τῷ ἀντιπαρεβάλλετο ἢδη καὶ Πομπηίῳ τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει κράτος ἔχοντι.

16. Ὅ δὲ Μίλωνα, τὸν σὺν τῷ Κλωδίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδεδεγμένον, θρασύτερον ὡντα τοῦ Κλωδίου, ἦς ὑπατείαν ἐπήλπιζε καὶ ἤλειφεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κλωδίου καὶ ψηφίσασθαι τῷ Κικέρωνι καθ’ οἴον ἐκέλευν, ἐλπίσας τὸν Κικέρωνα ἔλθοντα περὶ μὲν τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας οὐκέτι φθέγξεσθαι μεμημένον, οἷα ἔπαθε, δίκας δὲ καὶ πράγματα ἐποίειν τῷ Κλωδίῳ.

Κικέρων μὲν δὴ διὰ Πομπηίου ἐκπεσὼν διὰ Πομπηίου κατήμει, ἐκκαθατοῦ μᾶλλον μηνὶ τῆς ἐξελάσεως καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἀνύστη τέλεσι κοινοῖς. λαμπρῶς δ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑποδεχομένων πάντων, φασὶ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις τῆς ἠμέραν ὀλίγῃ, οἴον τι καὶ Δημοσθένει συνέβη κατιόντε, ἀναλώσαι.

17. Ὅ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐν τε Κελτοῖς καὶ Βρεττανοῖς
excited laughter rather than pity by reason of his unseemly aspect. Into such trepidation did he fall at this single trial of his own, although he had been managing other people's causes successfully all his life. In like manner they say that Demosthenes the Athenian did not stand his ground when himself accused, but fled before the trial. When Clodius interrupted Cicero's supplications on the streets with contumely, he gave way to despair and, like Demosthenes, went into voluntary exile. A multitude of his friends went out of the city with him, and the Senate gave him introductions to cities, kings, and princes. Clodius demolished his house and his villas, and was so much elated by this affair that he compared himself with Pompey, who was then the most powerful man in Rome.

16. Accordingly, Pompey held out to Milo, who was Clodius' colleague in office and a bolder spirit than himself, the hope of the consulship, and incited him against Clodius, and directed him to procure a vote for the recall of Cicero. He hoped that when Cicero should come back he would no longer speak against the existing status (the triumvirate), remembering what he had suffered, but would make trouble for Clodius and bring punishment upon him.

Thus Cicero, who had been exiled by means of Pompey, was recalled by means of Pompey about sixteen months after his banishment, and the Senate rebuilt his house and his villas at the public expense. He was received magnificently at the city gates, and it is said that a whole day was consumed by the greetings extended to him, as was the case with Demosthenes when he returned.

17. In the meantime Caesar, who had performed
πολλα και λαμπρα ειργασμένος, όσα μοι περι

Κελτών λέγοντι εϊρηται, πλουτον γέμων ες την

όμορον τη Ἰταλία Γαλατίαν, την ἀμφι τὸν Ἡρω-

dανον ποταμόν, ἤκεν, εκ συνεχοὺς πολέμου τὸν

στρατον ἀναπαύσων ἐπ’ ὀλίγον. ὦθεν αὐτῷ

περιπέμποντι ἐς Ἡρωμήν πολλὰ πολλοῖς χρήματα

α’ τε ἐτήσιοι ἀρχαὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀπήντων καὶ οἱ

ἅλλως ἐπιφανεῖς ὅσοι τε ἐς ἤγεμονίας ἐθνῶν ἢ

στρατοπέδων ἔζησαν, ἡς ἐκατόν μὲν ποτε καὶ

εἰκοσι ράβδους ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, βουλευτὰς

de πλείους διακοσίων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμειβομένους

ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡδῆ γεγονότων, τοὺς δὲ χρηματιού-

μένους, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτοτροπον αὐτοῖς

ἔξεργασομένους. πάντα γὰρ ἡδη διὰ τούτου

ἐπράσσετο στρατιάς τε πολλῆς οὔνεκα καὶ δυνά-

μεως χρημάτων καὶ σπουδῆς ἐς ἀπαντας φιλαν-

θρώπου. ἀφίκοντο δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ

Κράσσος, οἱ κοινωνοὶ τῆς δυναστείας. καὶ αὐτοῖς

βουλευομένους ἐδοξε Πομπήιον μὲν καὶ Κράσσον

αὕτης ὑπατεύσαι, Καίσαρι δ’ ἐς τὴν ἤγεμονίαν ὅν

εἰχεν ἐθνῶν, ἄλλην ἐπιψυχισθῆναι πενταετίαν.

Ὡδε μὲν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων διεκρίθησαν, Πομπηίω

d’ ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀντιπαρηγγελλε Δομῖτιος

Ἀινόβαρβος· καὶ τῆς κυρίας ἑμέρας ἀμφω κατ-

ήσαν ἑτὶ νυκτὸς ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐς τὴν χειροτονίαν.

τῶν δ’ ἀμφ’ αὐτοὺς ἐριδες ἦσαν καὶ συνεπέλεικοντο,

méχρι τις τὸν Δομῖτιον δαδοῦχον ἐπάταξε ἐξει.

καὶ φυγῇ μετὰ τούτο ἡν, Δομῖτιος τε αὐτὸς ἐς
the many brilliant exploits in Gaul and Britain which have been described in my Celtic history, had returned with vast riches to Cisalpine Gaul on the river Po to give his army a short respite from continuous fighting. From this district he sent large sums of money to many persons in Rome, to those who were holding the yearly offices and to persons otherwise distinguished as governors and generals, and they went thither by turns to meet him. So many of them came that 120 lictors could be seen around him at one time, and more than 200 senators, some returning thanks for what they had already received, others asking for money or seeking some other advantage for themselves from the same quarter. All things were now possible to Caesar by reason of his large army, his great riches, and his readiness to oblige everybody. Pompey and Crassus, his partners in the triumvirate, came also. In their conference it was decided that Pompey and Crassus should be elected consuls again and that Caesar’s governorship over his provinces should be extended for five years more.

Thereupon they separated and Domitius Ahenobarbus offered himself as a candidate for the consulship against Pompey. When the appointed day came, both went down to the Campus Martius before daylight to attend the comitia. Their followers got into an altercation and came to blows, and finally somebody assaulted the torchbearer of Domitius with a sword. There was a scattering after this, and Domitius escaped with difficulty to his own

1 There are textual difficulties; the Greek as it stands means “and those who were going out to governorships . . . also went to meet him.”
18. Αἴρεθέντες δ' οὖν ὑπατοὶ Κράσσος τε καὶ Πομπήιος Καίσαρι μὲν, ἄσπερ ὑπέστησαν, τὴν ἕτεραν πευταείαν προσεψηφίσαντο, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη διακληρούμενοι καὶ στρατιῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, ὃ μὲν Πομπήιος εἶλετο Ἰβηρίαν τε καὶ Διβύην καὶ ἕστασε τὸν φίλους περιπέμπτων αὐτῶς ὑπέμεινεν ἐν Ῥώμη, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος Συρίαν τε καὶ τὰ Συρίας πλησίον ἐπιθυμίᾳ πολέμου πρὸς Παρθιαίους ὡς εὑχέρους δὴ καὶ ἐνδόξου καὶ ἐπικερδοὺς. ἀλλὰ τῶδε μὲν ἐξιόντι τῆς πόλεως πολλά τε ἀλλὰ ἀπαίσια ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι προηγόρευον μὴ πολεμεῖν Παρθιαίους οὐδὲν ἄδικος, οὐ πειθομένου δὲ δημοσίας ἁρᾶς ἐπηρώτω, δὲν ὁ Κράσσος οὐ φροντίσας ἀπόλετο ἐν τῇ Παρθικῇ σύν τε παιδὶ ὁμωνύμῳ καὶ αὐτῷ στρατῷ μύριοι γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐντελείς ἐκ δέκα μυριάδων ἐς Συρίαν διέφυγον. ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Κράσσου συμφόραν ἡ Παρθικὴ δηλώσει γραφῆ, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λυμῷ πιεζόμενοι Πομπήιον εὐλογοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς αὐτοκράτορα εἶναι καὶ οἱ καθαπέρ ἐπὶ τῶν ληστηρίων ἐξόσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὑπηρέτας ἐδωκαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶς ὁμοίως ἐς τὰ ἔθνη διαθείς ἐπέτρεχε καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτίκα ἐνέπλησεν ἀγορᾶς δαψιλοῦς, ὃθεν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐς μέγα δόξης ἐπήρτο καὶ δυνάμεως.

19. Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἡ Καίσαρος
Even Pompey’s clothing was carried home stained with blood, so great was the danger incurred by both candidates.

18. Accordingly, Pompey and Crassus were chosen consuls and Caesar’s governorship was extended for five years according to the agreement. The provinces were allotted with an army to each consul in the following manner: Pompey chose Spain and Africa, but sent friends to take charge of them, he himself remaining in Rome. Crassus took Syria and the adjacent country because he wanted a war with the Parthians, which he thought would be easy as well as glorious and profitable. But when he took his departure from the city there were many unfavourable omens, and the tribunes forbade the war against the Parthians, who had done no wrong to the Romans. As he would not obey, they invoked public imprecations on him, which Crassus disregarded; wherefore he perished in Parthia, together with his son of the same name and his army, not quite 10,000 of whom, out of 100,000, escaped to Syria. The disaster to Crassus will be described in my Parthian history. As the Romans were suffering from scarcity, they appointed Pompey the sole manager of the grain supply and gave him, as in his operations against the pirates, twenty assistants from the Senate. These he distributed in like manner among the provinces while he superintended the whole, and thus Rome was very soon provided with abundant supplies, by which means Pompey again gained great reputation and power.

19. About this time the daughter of Caesar, who

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1 This apparently meaningless incident is borrowed from another context. See Plutarch, *Pompeius*, 52, 53.
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θυγάτηρ κύουσα τῷ Πομπηίῳ θνήσκει. καὶ δέος ἀπασιν ἐνέπιπτεν ἀνηρμένης τῆς ἐπιγραμίας, ὡς αὐτίκα μεγάλοις στρατοῖς Καίσαρός τε καὶ Πομπηίον διοισομένων ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἀσυντάκτου μάλιστα καὶ χαλεπῆς ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγενημένης τῆς πολιτείας· αἳ τε γὰρ ἄρχαὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἢ δωροδοκίαν σπουδὴ τε ἀδίκω καὶ λίθως ἢ ἐξέφεσι καθίσταντο, καὶ τὸ δεκάζειν ἢ δωροδοκεῖν ἀναίσχυντως τότε μάλιστα ἐπλεόνασεν, ὥς τε δήμος αὐτὸς ἐμμυθος ἐπὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ἦν. ὥφθη δὲ πον καὶ μεσεγγύμα ταλάντων ὁκτακοσίων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπωνύμου γενόμενον ἄρχης. οἳ τε ἄνα ἔτος ἐκαστον ὑπατοι στρατεύειν μὲν πον καὶ πολέμειν ἀπεγένωσκον, διακλειόμενοι τῇ δυναστείᾳ τῶν τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡς οἱ ἦσαν αὐτῶν ἀτοπώτεροι, κέρδος ἀντὶ τῶν στρατευόντων ἐτίθεντο τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰδίων διαδόχων χειροτονίας. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ δὶα ταύτα καὶ πάμπαν ἐξέλιπον τῷ ἄρχειν, ὥστε ποτὲ καὶ μῆναι ὅκτω την πόλιν ἀναρχον ἐκ τῆς τοιάδει ἀσυνταξίας γενέσθαι, Πομπηίου πάνθε ὑπερορδότος ἐπίτηδες, ἵνα ἐν χρεία γένοιντο δικτάτορος.

20. Καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο ἐς ἀλλήλους διελάλουν, ὅτι μόνον ἄν γένοιτο φάρμακον ἐπὶ τοῖς παρῴσι κακοῖς ἢ μόναρχος ἐξουσία, χρῆναι δὲ ἐλέεσθαι δυνατὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἦπιον, ἐνσημαινόμενοι τὸν Πομπηίου, στρατιῶς τῷ ἄρχοντα ἰκανῆς καὶ φιλοδήμον ἐναὶ δοκοῦντα καὶ τῆν Βουλῆν ἄγοντα διὰ τιμῆς, καὶ τὸν βίον ἐγκρατῆ καὶ σώφρονα, περὶ τε τὰς ἐντεύξεις εὐπρόσιτον ἢ ὄντα ἢ νομιζόμενον

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was married to Pompey, died in childbirth, and fear fell upon all lest, with the termination of this marriage connection Caesar and Pompey with their great armies should come into conflict with each other, especially as the commonwealth had been for a long time disorderly and unmanageable. The magistrates were chosen by means of money, and faction fights, with dishonest zeal, with the aid of stones and even swords. Bribery and corruption prevailed in the most scandalous manner. The people themselves went already bought to the elections. A case was found where a deposit of 800 talents had been made to obtain the consulship. The consuls holding office yearly could not hope to lead armies or to command in war because they were shut out by the power of the triumvirate. The baser among them strove for gain, instead of military commands, at the expense of the public treasury or from the election of their own successors. For these reasons good men abstained from office altogether, and the disorder was such that at one time the republic was without consuls for eight months, Pompey conniving at the state of affairs in order that there might be need of a dictator.

20. Many citizens began to talk to each other about this, saying that the only remedy for existing evils was the authority of a single ruler, but that there was need of a man who combined strength of character and mildness of temper, thereby indicating Pompey, who had a sufficient army under his command and who appeared to be both a friend of the people and a leader of the Senate by virtue of his rank, a man of temperance and self-control and easy of access, or at all events so considered.
CAP. εἴναι. ο δὲ την προσδοκίαν τήνδε λόγῳ μὲν ἐνυσχέραινεν, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐσ αὐτὴν πάντα ἐπραττεν ἀφανὸς καὶ τὴν ἀσυνταξίαν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσυνταξίᾳ ἐκῶν ὑπερεώρα. Μίλωνος τε τὰ ἐς Κλώδιον ὑπηρετήσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρεσκομένου τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὴν Κικέρωνος κάθοδον, ὑπατεῖαν ὡς ἐν καὶ ὑπ' ἀρχὴ τῆς τὴν ἀναρχίαν μετίοντος ἀποδέιτριβε τὰς χειροτονίας, μέχρι βαρυθυμῶν ὁ Μίλων, ὡς καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπίστου γιγνομένου τοῦ Πομπηίου, ἐς τὴν πατρίδα Λαινοῦβιον ἐξῆλε, ἢν Διομήδης φασὶν ἀλώμενον ἐξ Ἰλίου πρώτην ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ εἰςὶν ἀπὸ Ρώμης ἐς αὐτὴν στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν.

21. Κλώδιον δ' ἐξ ἱδίων χωρίων ἐπανιόντος ἐπὶ ἱππου καὶ περὶ Βοῦλλας ἀπαντήσαντος αὐτῷ, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἔχθραν ὑπείδοντο μονὸν ἀλλήλους καὶ παρώδεσαν, θεράπων δὲ τοῦ Μίλωνος ἐπιδραμὼν τῷ Κλώδιῷ, εἴτε κεκελευσμένος εἴθ' ὡς ἔχθρον δεσπότου κτείνων, ἐπάταξεν ἐς τὸ μετάφιον εἰφιδίῳ. καὶ τὸν μὲν αἴματι ῥεόμενον ἐς τὸ πλησίον παρδοκείον ὁ ἰπποκόμος ἐσέφερεν, ὁ δὲ Μίλων μετὰ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐπιστᾶσε ἐτι ἐμπνεοῦν ἢ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐπανέλθειν, ὑποκρινόμενος μὲν οὐ βουλεύσατο τὸν φόνον οὔδε προστάξαι ὡς δὲ ἱνδυνεύσων εἴξ ἀπαντος, ἡξίου τὸ ἔργῳ οὐκ ἀτελεῖς καταλιπεῖν. περιαγγελθέντος δ' ἐς Ῥώμην τοῦ πάθους ὁ μὲν δήμος ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ διενυκτέρευεν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τινες τῶν Κλωδίου μεθ' ἢμέραν προύθεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων.
The expectation of a dictatorship Pompey dis- countenanced in words, but in fact he did everything secretly to promote it, and went out of his way to overlook the prevailing disorder and the anarchy consequent upon the disorder. Milo, who had assisted him in his controversy with Clodius, and had acquired great popularity by the recall of Cicero, now sought the consulship, as he considered it a favourable time in view of the present anarchy; but Pompey kept postponing the comitia until Milo, believing that Pompey was false to him, became disgusted, and withdrew to his native town of Lanuvium, which they say was the first city founded in Italy by Diomedes on his return from Troy, and which is situated about 150 stades from Rome.

21. Clodius happened to be coming from his own country-seat on horseback and he met Milo at Bovillae. They merely exchanged hostile scowls and passed along; but one of Milo's servants attacked Clodius, either because he was ordered to do so or because he wanted to kill his master's enemy, and stabbed him through the back with a dagger. Clodius' groom carried him bleeding into a neighbouring inn. Milo followed with his servants and finished him,—whether he was still alive, or already dead, is not known—for, although he claimed that he had neither advised nor ordered the murder, he was not willing to leave the deed unfinished because he knew that he would be accused in any event. When the news of this affair was circulated in Rome, the people were thunderstruck, and they passed the night in the forum. When daylight came, the corpse of Clodius was displayed on the
CAP. ἀρπάσαντες δ' αὐτὸ τῶν τε δημάρχων ἐνιοί καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κλώδιου καὶ πλήθος ἄλλο σὺν ἐκεῖνοις, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκόμισαν, εἶτε ἐπὶ τιμῆ, βουλευτικοῦ γένους ธนาคาร, εἶτε ἐς οὐειδος τὴς βουλῆς τοιάδε περιορώσης. καὶ τῶν παρόντων οἱ προπετέστεροι τὰ βάθρα καὶ τοὺς θρόνους τῶν βουλευτῶν συμφορήσαντες ἦσαν αὐτῷ πυρᾶν, ψ' ἦς τὸ τε βουλευτήριον καὶ πολλαὶ τῶν πλησίον οἰκία τῇ Κλώδῳ συγκατεφλέγησαν.

22. Μίλωνι δὲ θράσος τοσόνδε περιῆγ, ὡς οὐ δεδιέναι περὶ τὸ φῶνο μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ Κλώδίου περὶ τὴν ταφῆ τιμῆ. θεραπόντων οὐν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀγροίκων πλῆθος ἀδροίσας καὶ ἐς τὸν δήμον περιπέμψας χρῆματα τῶν τε δημάρχων Μάρκου Καίλιον πριάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατήει θρασύτατα. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Καίλιος εὐθὺς ἐσίόντα εἶλκεν ἐς τὴν ἄγοραν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ δεδωροδοκηκότας ὅσπερ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίαν, ὑποκρίνομενος μὲν ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ οὐ δίδοι τῆς δίκης ἀναβολήν, ἐπιπίζων δὲ, εἰ αὐτὸν οἱ παρόντες μεθειεν, ἐκλύσειν τὴν δίκην τὴν ἀληθεστέραν. καὶ Μίλων μὲν οὐ βουλεύσαι τὸ ἔργον εἰπὼν (οὐ γὰρ ἃν μετὰ σκευῆς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ ταύτα ὀρμῆσαι), τὸν λοιπὸν λόγον κατὰ τοῦ Κλώδιου διετίθετο ὡς θρασυτάτου δὴ καὶ φίλου θρασυτάτων, οἱ καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπικατέπρησαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὃς τε λοιποὶ δήμαρχοι καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἀδιάφθορον ὁπλισάμενοι ἐνέβαλον ἐς τὴν ἄγοράν. Καίλιος μὲν δὴ καὶ Μίλων 266
rostra. Some of the tribunes and the friends of Clodius and a great crowd with them seized it and carried it to the senate-house, either to confer honour upon it, as he was of senatorial birth, or as an act of contumely to the Senate for conniving at such deeds. There the more reckless ones collected the benches and chairs of the senators and made a funeral pyre for him, which they lighted and from which the senate-house and many buildings in the neighbourhood caught fire and were consumed along with the corpse of Clodius.

22. Such was the superabundant hardihood of Milo that he was moved less by fear of punishment for the murder than by indignation at the honour bestowed upon Clodius at his funeral. He collected a crowd of slaves and rustics, and, after sending some money to be distributed among the people and buying Marcus Caelius, one of the tribunes, he came back to the city with the greatest boldness. Directly he entered, Caelius dragged him to the forum to be tried by those whom he had bribed, as though by an assembly of the people, pretending to be very indignant and not willing to grant any delay, but really hoping that if those present should acquit him he would escape a more regular trial. Milo said that the deed was not premeditated, since nobody would set out with such intentions encumbered with his luggage and his wife. The remainder of his speech was directed against Clodius as a desperado and a friend of desperadoes, who had set fire to the senate-house and burned it to ashes over his body. While he was still speaking the other tribunes, with the unbribed portion of the people, burst into the forum armed. Caelius and Milo escaped disguised as
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doúλων ἐσθήτας ὑποδύντες ἀπέδρασαν, πολὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ τοὺς Μίλωνος ἐτι φίλους ἐρευνώτων, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐνυγχάνοντα ἀναιροῦντων, ἀστόν ὁμοῦ καὶ ξένου καὶ μάλιστα ὁσοὶ ταῖς ἐσθήσιν ή σφραγίσιν ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ διέφερον. ὥσ γὰρ ἐν ἀσυντάκτῳ πολιτείᾳ σὺν ὅργῃ καὶ προφάσει τούδε τοῦ θυρύβου προσπεσόντος θεράποντές τε ὄντες οἱ πλείους καὶ ὀπλισμένοι κατὰ ἀνόπλων ἐς ἀρπαγὰς ἑτράποντο· ἔργον τε οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ οἰκίας ἐφέροντο καὶ περιόντες ἥρευνον ἔργον μὲν τὰ εὐληπτὰ σφίσιν ἀπαντα, λόγῳ δὲ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Μίλωνος· πρόφασίς τε ἡν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἠμέρας καὶ πυρὸς καὶ λίθων καὶ παντὸς ἔργον Μίλων.

23. Ἡ βουλὴ δὲ συνήηε μετὰ δέους καὶ ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφεώρων ὡς αὐτίκα σφῶν ἐσόμενον δικτάτορα· χρήσειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο τὰ παρόντα τοιάσδε θεραπείας. Κάτωνος δ’ αὐτοῖς μεταδιδάξαντος ὑπατον εἴλοντο χωρίς συνάρχου ὡς ἄν ἔχοι τὴν μὲν ἐξουσίαν δικτάτορος, ἄρχων μόνος, τὴν δ’ εὐθυναν ὑπάτου, καὶ πρῶτος ὑπάτων ὅδε ἐθην τε δύο μέγιστα καὶ στρατιάν ἔχων καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως μοναρχίαν διὰ τὸ μόνος ὑπατος εἶναι Κάτωνα μὲν ἐγνήφισατο, ἵνα μὴ παρὼν ἐνοχλοῖ, Κύπρον ἀφελέσθαι Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως, νευμοδεθημένου ἣδη τοῦτο ὑπὸ Κλωδίου, ὅτι οὐ ποτε ἀλόντι ὑπὸ ληστῶν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐς λύτρα ὑπὸ σμικρολογίας δύο τάλαντα ἐπεσόμηθε. Κάτων μὲν δὴ καθίστατο Κύπρον Πτολεμαίου τὰ χρήματα ρύψαντος ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐξαγαγόντος, ἐπεὶ τῶν
slaves, but there was a great slaughter of the others. Search was not made for the friends of Milo, but all who were met with, whether citizens or strangers, were killed, and especially those who wore fine clothes and gold rings. As the government was without order, these ruffians, who were for the most part slaves and were armed men against unarmed, indulged their rage and, making an excuse of the tumult that had broken out, they turned to pillage. They abstained from no crime, but broke into houses, looking for any kind of portable property, while pretending to be searching for the friends of Milo. For several days Milo was their excuse for burning, stoning, and every sort of outrage.

23. The Senate assembled in consternation and looked to Pompey, intending to make him dictator at once, for they considered this necessary as a remedy for the present evils; but at the suggestion of Cato they appointed him consul without a colleague, so that by ruling alone he might have the power of a dictator with the responsibility of a consul. He was the first of consuls who had two of the greatest provinces, and an army, and the public money, and autocratic power in the city, by virtue of being sole consul. In order that Cato might not cause obstruction by his presence, he framed a decree that he should go to Cyprus and take the island away from King Ptolemy—a law to that effect having been enacted by Clodius because once, when he was captured by pirates, the avaricious Ptolemy had contributed only two talents for his ransom. When Ptolemy heard of the decree he threw his money into the sea and killed himself, and Cato settled the government of Cyprus.

1 An error of date. Cato went in 58 and returned in 56.
CAP. ἔπυθετο· ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος δίκας προστίθει τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ μάλιστα δωροδοκίας καὶ δεκασμοῦ (ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν αὐτῷ νοσεῖν τὰ κοινὰ ἁρξάμενα ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἱσιν ἔξειν ταχεῖαν), νόμῳ τε ὅριζεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπατείας ἐς τὸ παρὸν εὐθύνειν τὸν ἔθελοντα. καὶ ἤν ὁ χρόνος ὀλίγῳ μείων ἐτῶν ἐϊκοσιν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ γεγένητο ὑπατος. τῶν ὅτι φίλων τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπονοούντων ἐς ὑβριν ἢ ἐς ἐπὶ ήρειαν αὐτῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥδε πολὺ τοῦ χρόνου προλαβεῖν καὶ παρανοούντων τὸ παρὸν διορθοῦσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρελθὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπὶ ἀνδράσι τοσοῦτον ἀξιολόγοις, ἐπονομαζόντων δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα, ὁ Πομπήιος ἀμφὶ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡγανάκτει, ὡς ἀμείνονος ὄντος ὑποψίας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δευτέραν ὑπατείαν τῷ χρόνῳ περιλαμβάνεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐλεγεν ἐς ἀκριβῇ διόρθωσιν ἐπιτετριμμένης ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας.

IV

CAP. 24. Τοιαῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἑκύρου τοῦ νόμου, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν αὐτίκα δικῶν ποικίλων. ἦνα τε μὴ δείσειαν οἱ δικασταί, αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπώπτευε στρατιὰν περιστησάμενος. καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ἄποντες ἐξάλωσαν Μίλων τε ἐπὶ τῷ Κλωδίου φόνῳ καὶ Γαβίνος παρανομίας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἁσεβείας, ὅτι χωρὶς ψηφίσματος ἐς Λυγυπτίου μετὰ στρατιῶς ἐσέβαλεν 270
Pompey then proposed the prosecution of offenders and especially of those guilty of bribery and corruption, for he thought that the seat of the public disorder was there, and that by beginning there he should effect a speedy cure. He brought forward a law, that any citizen who chose to do so might call for an account from anybody who had held office from the time of his own first consulship to the present. This embraced a period of a little less than twenty years, during which Caesar also had been consul; wherefore Caesar's friends suspected that he included so long a time in order to cast reproach and contumely on Caesar, and urged him to straighten out the present situation rather than stir up the past to the annoyance of so many distinguished men, among whom they named Caesar. Pompey pretended to be indignant at the mention of Caesar's name, as though he were above suspicion, and said that his own second consulship was embraced in the period, and that he had gone back a considerable time in order to effect a complete cure of the evils from which the republic had been so long wasting away.

IV

24. After making this answer he passed his law, and straightway there ensued a great number and variety of prosecutions. In order that the jurors might act without fear Pompey superintended them in person, and stationed soldiers around them. The first defendants convicted were absentee's: Milo for the murder of Clodius; Gabinius both for violation of law and for impiety, because he had invaded
ΚΑΠ. ΙV. ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν Σιβυλλεῖων, Ὑψαῖος δὲ καὶ Μέμμιος καὶ Σέξιστος καὶ ἔτεροι πλείονες ἐπὶ δωροδοκίαις ὑ πλήθους δεκασμῶ. Σκαύρον δὲ τοῦ πλήθους παραιτουμένου ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Πομπήιος ὑπακούσαι τῇ δίκῃ· καὶ πάλιν τοῦ δήμου τοῦς κατηγόρους ἐνοχλοῦντος, σφαγή τις ἐκ τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐπιδραμόντων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ μὲν δήμος κατεσιώπησεν, ὁ δὲ Σκαύρος ἐάλω. καὶ πάντων φυγῇ κατέγυμνστο, Γαβινιόν δὲ καὶ δήμευσις ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ φυγῇ. καὶ τάδε ἡ Βουλή λαμπρῶς ἑπαινοῦσα δύο τε ἄλλα τέλη καὶ χρόνον ἐς τὴν ἄρχην τῶν ἑθὼν ἔτερον τῷ Πομπηίῳ προσεγγίσαντο. Μέμμιος δὲ ἄλοιπος ἐπὶ δεκασμῷ, τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Πομπηίου διδόντος αὐτῷ φίλον ἔτερον ἀφείσθαι τῆς καταδίκης, τὸν πενθερὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου Δεύκιον Σκιπίωνα προεκαλέσατο ἐς ὁμοίαν δεκασμοῦ δίκην. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου τῆς τῶν κρισμένων ἔσθήτα μεταλαβόντος πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν δίκαιην μετελάμβανον. ὀλοφυρμένος οὖν ὁ Μέμμιος τὴν πολιτείαν διέλυσε τὴν δίκην.

25. Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος ὡς ἦδη τὰ χρήζοντα τῆς μοναρχίας διωρθωμένος τὸν Σκιπίωνα σύναρχον ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἐς τὴν ἄρχην καθισταμένων οὐδὲν ἤτοι ἐφεώρα καὶ ἐδύναστευε, καὶ πάντ' ἦν ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ τότε Πομπήιος· ἡ γὰρ εὔνοια τῆς Βουλῆς μάλιστα ἐς αὐτὸν ἐποίει, ξῖλῳ τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ὑπατείαν κεχρημένου καὶ ὃτι νοσοῦσαν ὁ Πομπήιος τὴν πολιτείαν ὡξέως ἀναλάβοι καὶ οὐδενὶ σφῶν παρὰ τὴν ἄρχην φορτικὸς ἐπαχθής γένοιτο.
Egypt without a decree of the Senate and contrary to the Sibylline books; Hypsaeus, Memmius, Sextius, and many others for taking bribes and for corrupting the populace. The people interceded for Scaurus, but Pompey made proclamation that they should submit to the decision of the court. When the crowd again interrupted the accusers, Pompey's soldiers made a charge and killed several. Then the people held their tongues and Scaurus was convicted. All the accused were banished, and Gabinius was fined in addition. The Senate praised Pompey highly for these proceedings, voted him two more legions, and extended the term of his provincial government. As Pompey's law offered impunity to any one who should turn state evidence, Memmius, who had been convicted of bribery, called Lucius Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey himself, to trial for like participation in bribery. Thereupon Pompey put on mourning and many of the jurors did the same. Memmius took pity on the republic and withdrew the accusation.

25. Pompey, as though he had completed the reforms that made autocratic power necessary, now made Scipio his colleague in the consulship for the remainder of the year. At the expiration of his term, however, although others were invested with the consulship, he was none the less the supervisor, and ruler, and all-in-all in Rome. He enjoyed the good-will of the Senate, particularly because they were jealous of Caesar, who did not consult the Senate during his consulship, and because Pompey had so speedily restored the sick commonwealth, and had not made himself offensive or troublesome to any of them during his term of office.
Τῶν δὲ φυγάδων ἐς τὸν Καῖσαρα ἱόντων ἀθρόων καὶ παραινούντων φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Πομπῆιον ὡς τὸν νόμον τοῦ δεκασμοῦ μάλιστα θέμενον ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ, τούσδε μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ παρηγόρει καὶ τὸν Πομπῆιον εὐφήμει, τοὺς δὲ δημάρχους ἔπεισεν εἰσηγήσασθαι νόμον ἔξειναί Καῖσαρι δευτέραν ὑπατείαν ἀπόντι μετιέναι. καὶ τοῦ Πομπῆιόν καὶ οὕδεν ἀντειπότος ἐκεκύρωτο. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀντιπράξειν τὴν βουλὴν ὑπονοοῦν ἐδεδοίκει μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς ἑχθροῖς ιδιώτης γενέσθαι, ἑτέχναξε δὲ ἐπὶ δυνάμεως εἶναι, μέχρι ὑπατος ἀποδειχθείη, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἤτει χρόνον ἀλλον ὀλγον ἐς τὴν παροῦσαν οἱ τῆς Γαλατίας ἡγεμονίαν ἢ ἐς μέρος αὐτῆς ἐπιλαβεῖν. διακαθολύσαντος δὲ Μαρκέλλου, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ Πομπῆιῳ ὑπατος ἦν, φασὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα τῷ μηνύντι ἀποκρίνασθαι, κόπτοντα τὴν λαβὴν τοῦ ξίφους. "ἡδε μοι δώσει." 26. Πόλιν δὲ Νεόκωμον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς Δατίου δίκαιον ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἠκίκει, διὸν ὅσιοι κατ’ ἐτος ἠρχον, ἐγίγνοντο καὶ λαὶ ἱσχύει τὸ Δάτιον. τῶν οὖν Νεοκώμων τινά, ἀρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο Ἐρμαίων εἶναι νομίζομεν καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐφ’ ὑβρεῖ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐξῆνε βάβδοις ἐφ’ ὁπλίῃ, οὐ πασχόντων τοῦτο Ἐρμαίων καὶ τοὺς νοῦν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ἀνεκάλυπτε, τὰς πληγὰς εἶναι ξενίας σύμβολον. καὶ φέρειν αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ δεικνύει τῷ Καῖσαρι. οὕτω μὲν ὑβριστικῶς οἱ Μάρκελλος, εἰσηγεῖτο δὲ ἠδὴ καὶ διαδόχους αὐτῷ πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐθνη, προαφαιρῶν τοῦ χρόνου ἀλλὰ διεκόλυ-
All who were banished went to Caesar in crowds and advised him to beware of Pompey, saying that his law about bribery was especially directed against himself. Caesar cheered them up and spoke well of Pompey. He also induced the tribunes to bring in a law to enable himself to stand for the consulship a second time while absent, and this was enacted while Pompey was still consul and without opposition from him. Caesar suspected that the Senate would resist this project and feared lest he should be reduced to the condition of a private citizen and exposed to his enemies. So he tried to retain his power until he should be elected consul, and asked the Senate to grant him a little more time in his present command of Gaul, or of a part of it. Marcellus, who succeeded Pompey as consul, forbade it. They say that when this was announced to Caesar, he clapped his hand on his sword-hilt and exclaimed, "This shall give it to me."

26. Caesar built the town of Novum Comum at the foot of the Alps and gave it the Latin rights, which included a provision that those who had exercised year by year the chief magistracy should become Roman citizens. One of these men, who had been in office and was consequently considered a Roman citizen, was beaten with rods for some reason by order of Marcellus in defiance of Caesar—a punishment that was never inflicted on Roman citizens. Marcellus in his passion revealed his real intention that the blows should be the brand of the alien, and he told the man to carry his scars and show them to Caesar. So insulting was Marcellus. Moreover, he proposed to send successors to take command of Caesar's provinces before his time had expired;
CAP. IV. σεν ὁ Πομπῆιος εὐπρεπεία τε λόγου καὶ εὐνοίας ὑποκρίσει, μὴ δέιν ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐς πολλὰ χρήσιμον τῇ πατρίδι γενόμενον ὑβρίζειν βραχεί διαστήματι χρόνου, καὶ δὴλον ἐποίησεν, ὅτι χρῆ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραλύειν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρα.

Καὶ ἐπὶ τόδε οἱ μάλιστα ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τούτῳ ἤρέθησαν ὑπατοὶ, Αἰμίλιος τε Πάυλος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος, ἁνεψιὸς τοῦ προτέρου Μαρκέλλου, δήμαρχος τε Κουρίων, ἐχθρὸς ὅν καὶ ὁδὲ τῷ Καίσαρι καρπερὸς καὶ ἐς τὸν δῆμον εὐχαριστότατος καὶ εἰσέφερεν ἰκανώτατος. τοῦτων ὁ Καίσαρ Κλαύδιον μὲν ὑπκ' ἐσχύσεν ὑπαγαγόνθαι χρῆμασι, Πάυλον δὲ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων ἑπρίατο μηδὲν αὐτῶ μῆτε συμπράττειν μῆτε ἐνοχλεῖν, Κουρίωνα δὲ καὶ συμπράττειν ἐτὶ πλεῖονον, εἰδὼς ἐνοχλούμενον ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολλῶν.

Παύλος μὲν δὴ τὴν Παύλου λεγομένην βασιλικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέθηκε Ρωμαίοις, οἰκοδόμημα περικαλλὲς. 27. ὁ δὲ Κουρίων, ἵνα μὴ ἄφων μετατιθέμενος γίγνοιτο κατάφωρος, εἰσήγειτο βαρυτάτας ὁδῶν πολλῶν ἐπισκευάς τε καὶ κατασκευὰς καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστατὴν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πεντατέστες εἶναι, εἰδὼς μὲν οὖντ' ὑπάκουον ἐσόμενον, ἐλπίζων δὲ τοὺς Πομπηίους φίλους ἀντιλέξειν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὸν Πομπηίον ἐξείν τῷ τούτῳ πρόσκρουμα καὶ γενομένων τῶν ὑπὸ προσεδόκησεν, ὁ μὲν εἴχε τὴν προφασὶν τῆς διαφορᾶς, Κλαύδιος δὲ εἰσήγειτο τέμπειν Καίσαρι διαδόχους ἐπὶ τὰ ἐθνῆ καὶ γὰρ ἐλημένον ὁ χρόνος καὶ Πάυλος ἐσιώτα. Κουρίων δὲ νομίζομεν ἄμφοτέροις διαφέρεσθαι, ἐπῄρη τὴν τοῦ Κλαύδιου γνώμην, ὡς δὲ ἐνδεόν αὐτὴ
but Pompey interfered, making a pretence of fairness and good-will, saying that they ought not to put an indignity on a distinguished man who had been so extremely useful to his country, merely on account of a short interval of time; but he made it plain that Caesar's command must come to an end immediately on its expiration.

For this reason the bitterest enemies of Caesar were chosen consuls for the ensuing year: Aemilius Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, cousin of the Marcellus before mentioned. Curio, who was also a bitter enemy of Caesar, but extremely popular with the masses and a most accomplished speaker, was chosen tribune. Caesar was not able to influence Claudius with money, but he bought the neutrality of Paulus for 1500 talents and the assistance of Curio with a still larger sum, because he knew that the latter was heavily burdened with debt.

With the money thus obtained Paulus built and dedicated to the Roman people the Basilica that bears his name, a very beautiful structure, 27. while Curio, in order that he might not be detected changing sides too suddenly, brought forward vast plans for repairing and building roads, of which he was to be superintendent for five years. He knew that he could not carry any such measure, but he hoped that Pompey's friends would oppose him, so that he might have that as a grievance against Pompey. Things turned out as he had anticipated, so that he had a pretext for disagreement. Claudius proposed the sending of successors to take command of Caesar's provinces, as his term was now expiring. Paulus was silent. Curio, who was thought to differ from both, seconded the motion of Claudius, but

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प्रοσετίθει τὸ καὶ Πομπήιον ὡμοίως Καίσαρι ἀποθεσθαί τὰ ἐθνη καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ὡδὲ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει καθαρὰν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀδεὴ τὴν πολιτείαν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν ὃς οὐκ ἦσον διὰ τὸ μῆπο τὸν χρόνον ἐξῆκεν τῷ Πομπηίῳ, σαφέστερον ὁ Κουρίων ἦδη καὶ τραχύτερον ἀπεγύμνου μὴ χρῆναι μηδὲ Καίσαρι πέμπειν διαδόχους, εἰ μὴ καὶ Πομπηίῳ δοῦειν ὄντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπόπτων οὕτω τῇ πόλει τὴν εἰρήνην ἐσεσθαι βεβαιαν, εἰ μὴ πάντες ἰδιωτεύσειαν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταύτ' εἶδος οὐ μεθῆσοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Πομπηίου καὶ τὸν δήμου ὅρων ἦδη τι προσκοπτομενον αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς τοῦ δεκάσμοι δίκας. εὑπρεποῦς δὲ τῆς γνώμης οὕσης ὁ δήμος ἐπήνει τὸν Κουρίωνα ὡς μόνον ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως τὴν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αἱρόμενον ἔχθραν, καὶ ποτε καὶ παρέπεμψαν αὐτὸν ἀνθοβολοῦντες ὡσπερ ἀθλητὴν μεγάλου καὶ δυσχεροῦς ἀγώνος· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐθόκει τότε εἶναι φοβερώτερον τῆς Πομπηίου διαφορᾶς.

28. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος νοσηλευόμενος περὶ τῆν Ἰταλίαν ἑπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ σὺν τέχνῃ, τὰ τὲ ἔργα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἑπαυνών καὶ τὰ ἱδιὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλέγων ὅτι τε τῆς τρίτης ὑπατείας καὶ ἔθνων τῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῇ καὶ στρατοῦ δοθέντος οὐ μετιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐς θεραπείαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπικληθεῖς ἄξιω θείῃ· ἀ δὲ ἄκων ἐφη λαβεῖν, "ἐκὼν ἀποθήσομαι τοῖς ἀπολαβεῖν θέλουσιν, οὐκ ἀναμένων τοὺς.
added that Pompey ought to resign his provinces and army just like Caesar, for in this way he said the commonwealth would be made free and be relieved from fear in all directions. Many opposed this as unjust, because Pompey's term had not yet expired. Then Curio came out more openly and harshly against sending successors to Caesar unless Pompey also should lay down his command; for since they were both suspicious of each other, he contended that there could be no lasting peace to the commonwealth unless they should all be reduced to the character of private citizens. He said this because he knew that Pompey would not give up his command and because he saw that the people were incensed against Pompey on account of his prosecutions for bribery. As Curio's position was plausible, the plebeians praised him as the only one who was willing to incur the enmity of both Pompey and Caesar in order to fulfil worthily his duties as a citizen; and once they escorted him home, scattering flowers, as though he were an athlete and had won the prize in some great and difficult contest; for nothing was considered more perilous then than to have a difference with Pompey.

28. Pompey, while lying sick in Italy, wrote an artful letter to the Senate, praising Caesar's exploits and also recounting his own from the beginning, saying that he had been invested with a third consulship, and with provinces and an army afterward; these he had not solicited, but he had received them on being called upon to serve the state. As for the powers which he had accepted unwillingly, "I will gladly yield them," said he, "to those who wish to take them back, and will not wait the
χρόνους τούς ὄρισμένους." ἦ μὲν δὴ τέχνη τῶν γεγραμμένων εἶχεν εὐπρέπειαν τε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐρέθισμα κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐκ ἀποδιδόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδ' ἐν τῷ νεομομισμένῳ χρόνῳ, ἀφικό- μενος δ' ἀλλα τε τούτοις ὁμοια ἔλεγε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τότε ὑπισχυέτο ἀποθήσεσθαι. ὡς δὲ δὴ φίλος καὶ κηδεστὴς γενόμενος Καίσαρι, κἀκεῖ- νον ἔλεγε μάλα χαίροντα ἀποθήσεσθαι: χρόνιον τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ ἐπίσημον κατὰ ἐθνῶν μαχιμωτάτων γεγονέναι καὶ πολλὰ τῇ πατρίδι προσλαβόντα ἐπὶ τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας ἤξειν καὶ ἀναπαύσεις. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦθ' ὡς Καίσαρι μὲν αὐτίκα δοθησομένων διαδόχων, αὐτὸς δ' ἐσόμενος ἐν ὑποσχέσει μόνη. Κουρίων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ σό- φισμα διελέγχων οὐχ ὑπισχυέσθαι δεῖν ἐφη μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτίκα ἀποθήσθαι οὐδ' ἐξοπλίζειν Καίσαρα τῆς στρατίας, πρὶν καὶ αὐτὸν ἰδιωτεύ- σαι οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἱδίαν ἐχθραν ἐκείνῳ λυσιτελεῖν οὔτε Ἄρωμαίοις, ὡς ἐν ἡλικιαύθην ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἔτερον αὐτῶν ἐχεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐτερον, εἰ τι τῇ πόλιν καταβιάζωτο. οὐδέν τε ἐπικρύπτων ἐτι ἅφειδώς ἐς τὸν Πομ- πήιον ἐβλασφήμη ὡς τυραννίδος ἐφέμεμον καὶ, εἰ μὴ γὰρ σὺν φόβῳ τῷ Καίσαρος ἀποθοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν, οὔποτε μεθήσοντα. ἦξίον δ', ἃν ἀπει- θώσων, ἀμφω ψηφίζεσθαι πολεμίους καὶ στρατῶν 280
time fixed for their expiration." The artfulness of this communication consisted in showing the fairness of Pompey and in exciting prejudice against Caesar, who did not seem likely to give up his command even at the appointed time. When Pompey came back to the city, he spoke to the senators in the same way and then, also, promised to lay down his command. In virtue, of course, of his friendship and marriage connection with Caesar he said that the latter would very cheerfully do the same, for his had been a long and laborious contest against very warlike peoples; he had added much to the Roman power, and now he would come back to his honours, his sacrificial duties, and his relaxations. He said these things in order that successors to Caesar might be sent at once, while he himself should merely rest content with his promise. Curio exposed his artifice, saying that promises were not sufficient, and insisting that Pompey should lay down his command now and that Caesar should not be disarmed until Pompey himself had returned to private life. On account of private enmity, he said, it would not be advisable either for Caesar or for the Romans that such great authority should be held by one man. Rather should each of them have power against the other, in case one should attempt violence against the commonwealth. Now at last throwing off all disguise, he denounced Pompey unsparingly as one aiming at supreme power, and said that unless he would lay down his command now, when he had the fear of Caesar before his eyes, he would never lay it down at all. He moved that, unless they both obeyed, both should be voted public enemies and military forces be levied against them.
CAP. IV. ἄγείρειν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς· δὴ καὶ μάλιστα ἔλαθεν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐωςιμένος.

29. Πομπήιος δ᾽ αὐτῷ χαλεψάμενός τε καὶ ἀπειλήσας εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ προάστεια ἀγανακτῶν ὑπέξης. καὶ ἡ βουλή ὑπόπτως μὲν εἶχεν ἡδη πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους, δημοτικώτερον δ᾽ ὁμως ἥγουτο Πομπήιον καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐδυσχέραινον τὴς παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ὑπεροψίας σφῶν· οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ ὀντὶ ὀυκ ἄσφαλες ἥγουτο διαλύειν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Πομπήιῳ δύναμιν, μέχρι πρότερον ἐκεῖνων ἀποθέσθαι, ἐξω τῇς πόλεως ὁντα καὶ μεγαλοπραγμονέστερον. τὸ δ᾽ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ Κουρίων ἀνέστρεφεν, ός δέον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον Καίσαρα, ἡ ὁμοῦ πάντας καταλύειν. οὐ πείθων δὲ διέλυν τὴν βουλήν ἐπὶ ἀτελέσι πᾶσι· δύναται δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ δήμαρχος· ὅτε δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Πομπήιῳ μετεμέλησε τὴν δημαρχίαν, ἐς ἀσθενέστατον ὑπὸ Σύλλα καθηρημένην, ἀναγόντι αὐθα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαίον. διαλυόμενοι δὲ ὁμῶς τοσόνδε μόνον ἐγηψίαντο, Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον τέλος ἐν στρατιωτῶν ἐς Συρίαν ἐκέτερον πέμψαν φυλακῆς σύνεκα διὰ τὴν Κράσσου συμφορὰν. καὶ τεχνάζον ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπῆτε τὸ τέλος, ὁ ἐναγχος ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ στρατηγῶν δυὸ Καίσαρος, Τιτυρίου τε καὶ Κόττα, Καίσαρι κεχρῆκεν. ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸ, τιμήσας ἐκαστὸν ἄνδρα δραχμαῖς πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίαις, ἀπέσεμπεν ἐς Ἐρώμην καὶ συνέσεμπεν ἄλλο παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ.

30. Οὐδὲνος δὲ δεινοῦ περὶ Συρίαν φανέντος τάδε μὲν ἐχείμαζεν ἐν Καπύῃ· οἱ δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰ
In this way he concealed the fact that he had been bought by Caesar.

29. Pompey was angry with him and threatened him and at once withdrew indignantly to the environs. The Senate now had suspicions of both, but it considered Pompey the better republican of the two, and it hated Caesar because he had not shown it proper respect during his consulship. Some of the senators really thought that it would not be safe to the commonwealth to deprive Pompey of his power until after Caesar should lay down his, since the latter was outside of the city and was the man of more magnificent designs. Curio held the contrary opinion, that they had need of Caesar against the power of Pompey, or otherwise that both armies should be disbanded at the same time. As the Senate would not agree with him he dismissed it, leaving the whole business still unfinished, having the power to do so as tribune. Thus Pompey had occasion to regret that he had restored the tribunician power to its pristine vigour after it had been reduced to a mere shadow by Sulla. Nevertheless, one decree was voted before the session was ended, and that was that Caesar and Pompey should each send one legion of soldiers to Syria to defend the province on account of the disaster to Crassus. Pompey artfully recalled the legion that he had lately lent to Caesar on account of the disaster to Caesar’s two generals, Titurius and Cotta. Caesar awarded to each soldier 250 drachmas and sent the legion to Rome together with another of his own.

30. As the expected danger did not show itself in Syria, these legions were sent into winter quarters at Capua. The persons who had been sent by
CAP. IV. πεμφθέντες υπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου πρὸς Καίσαρα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δυσχερὴ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος διεθρόνου καὶ ἱσχυρίζοντο τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν στρατιάν Καίσαρος, τετρυμένην τε πόνῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ οίκου ποθοῦσαν, μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτε τὰ Ἀλπεῖα διέλθοιεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐτος ἔλεγον, εἴθ' υπὸ ἀγνοίας εἴτε διεθαρμένοι, Καίσαρι δ' ἔρρωτο πάς ἀνὴρ εἰς προθυμίαν καὶ πόνους υπὸ τὸ ἔθους τῶν στρατευῶν καὶ υπὸ κερδῶν, ὅσα πόλεμος τοῖς νικῶσι ἐργάζεται καὶ ὅσα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἄλλα ἐλάμβανον' εἶδίδον γὰρ ἀφειδῶς, θεραπεύον εἰς ὃ ἔβουλευεν' οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνιέντες αὐτῶν ὁμοῖς ὑπέμενον. ὁ δὲ Πομπηῖος τοῖς ἡγελμένοις πίσυνος οὔτε στρατιάν οὔτε παρασκευῇ ὡς ἐς τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἤγερεν. ἡ βουλὴ δὲ γνώµην ἐκαστὸν ἦτεν· καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος πανούργως διήρει καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτῶν παρὰ μέρος, εἰ δοκεῖ Καίσαρι πέμπτευν διαδόχους καὶ εἰ Πομπηίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαίρεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνένευον οἱ πλεῖοις, Καίσαρι δ' ἐπεφη- φίζον τοὺς διαδόχους. ἐπανερομένου δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος, εἰ ἀμφότεροι δοκεῖ τὰ ἐν χεραῖν ἀποθέσθαι, δύο μὲν καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἀνδρᾶσιν ἀπήρευσε, τριακόσιοι δὲ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐς τὸ συμφέρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔριδος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Κουρίωνος γνώµην ἀπέκλινον, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος τὴν βουλὴν διέλυσε βοῶν· "νικᾶτε δεσπότην ἔχειν Καίσαρα."

31. Λόγου δ' ἀφινῶ ψευδοὺς ἐμπεσόντος, ὅτι τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ὁ Καίσαρ υπερελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνοι, θόρυβὸς τε πολὺς ἦν καὶ φόβος ἀπάντων, καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος εἰςηγείτο τὴν ἐν Κατύῃ στρατιὰν.
Pompey to Caesar to bring these legions spread many reports derogatory to Caesar and repeated them to Pompey. They affirmed that Caesar's army was wasted by protracted service, that the soldiers longed for their homes and would change to the side of Pompey as soon as they should cross the Alps. They spoke in this way either from ignorance or because they were corrupted. In fact, every soldier was strongly attached to Caesar and laboured zealously for him, under the force of discipline and the influence of the gain which war usually brings to victors and which they received from Caesar also; for he gave with a lavish hand in order to mould them to his designs. They knew what his designs were, but they stood by him nevertheless. Pompey, however, believed what was reported to him and collected neither soldiers nor apparatus suitable for so great a contest. In the Senate the opinion of each member was asked and Claudius craftily divided the question and took the votes separately, thus: "Shall successors be sent to Caesar?" and again, "Shall Pompey be deprived of his command?" The majority voted against the latter proposition, and it was decreed that successors to Caesar should be sent. Then Curio put the question whether both should lay down their commands, and 22 senators voted in the negative while 370 went back to the opinion of Curio in order to avoid civil discord. Then Claudius dismissed the Senate, exclaiming, "Enjoy your victory and have Caesar for a master."

31. Suddenly a false rumour came that Caesar had crossed the Alps and was marching on the city, whereupon there was a great tumult and consternation on all sides. Claudius moved that the army at
CAP. IV ἀπαντῶν ως πολεμῶς Καῖσαρι. ἐνισταμένου δὲ ως ἐπὶ ψευδέσι τοῦ Κουρίωνος εἶπεν: "εἰ κωλύ-ομαι ψήφῳ κοινῷ τὰ συμφέροντα διοικεῖν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ὡς ὑπατὸς διοικήσω." καὶ τάδε εἶπὼν ἐξέδραμε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὰ προάστεια μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχου ἔξοδος τὰ ὀρέγων τῷ Πομπηίῳ "κελευό σοι," ἔφη, "κἀγὼ καὶ ὁδὲ χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Καῖσαρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· καὶ στρατιὰν ἐς τούτο σοι δίδομεν, ἢ τε νῦν ἀμφὶ Κατόπῃ ἢ τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὀσὴν αὐτὸς ἑθέλοις ἄλλην καταλέγειν." ο οὐ τούτῳ μὲν ὡς κελευόμενος πρὸς ὑπάτων, ἐπε-τίθει δ' ὁμώς: "εἰ μὴ τι κρεῖσσον," ἀπατῶν ἢ τεχνάζων καὶ τότε ἐς εὐπρέπειαν. Κουρίωνι δ' οὐκ ἦν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἐξουσία τις (οὐδὲ γὰρ προϊέναι τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς δημάρχοις ἐφίεται), ὥλοφύρετο δ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἥξιον κηρύσσειν μηδένα πως καταλέγοντι πείθεσθαι Πομπηίῳ. οὐδὲν δὲ ἄνυσιν, ἐπεὶ οἱ καὶ ὁ τῆς δημαρχίας χρόνος ἔληγε, δείσας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀπογυνοῦ ἑτὶ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν τῷ Καῖσαρι, κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐχώρει πρὸς αὐτὸν.

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CAP. 32. 'Ο δ' ἀρτί τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐκ Βρεττανῶν διε-πεπλεύκει καὶ ἀπὸ Κελτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐρύμον τὰ ὀρη τὰ Ἀλπεῖα διελθῶν σὺν πεντακισχιλίοις 286
Capua be turned against Caesar as a public enemy. When Curio opposed him on the ground that the rumour was false he exclaimed, "If I am prevented by the vote of the Senate from taking steps for the public safety, I will take such steps on my own responsibility as consul." After saying this he darted out of the Senate and proceeded to the environs with his colleague, where he presented a sword to Pompey, and said, "I and my colleague command you to march against Caesar in behalf of your country, and we give you for this purpose the army now at Capua, or in any other part of Italy, and whatever additional forces you yourself choose to levy." Pompey promised to obey the orders of the consuls, but he added, "unless we can do better," thus dealing in trickery and still making a pretence of fairness. Curio had no power outside the city (for it was not permitted to the tribunes to go beyond the walls), but he publicly deplored the state of affairs and demanded that the consuls should make proclamation that nobody need obey the conscription ordered by Pompey. As he could accomplish nothing, and as his term of office as tribune was about expiring, and he feared for his safety and despaired of being able to render any further assistance to Caesar, he hastily departed to join him.

32. Caesar had lately recrossed the straits from Britain and, after traversing the Gallic country along the Rhine, had passed the Alps with 5000 foot and
CAP. πέροις καὶ ἵππεύσι τριακοσίοις κατέβαινεν ἔπὶ Ραβέννης, ἡ συναφής τε ἦν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχής τελευταία. Φιλοφρονήσαμενος δὲ τὸν Κουρίωνα καὶ χάριν ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγονότων ὁμολογήσας ἐσκόπει περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Κουρίωνοι μὲν δὴ συγκαλεῖν ἐδόκει τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαντᾷ ἡδη καὶ ἄγειν ὑπὶ Ἱρώμης, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐτι πειράσθαι διαλύσεων τοὺς οὖν φίλους ἐκέλευεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ συμβηνα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἔθυν καὶ στρατόπεδα ἀποθήκεσθαι, μόνα δὲ ἐξειν δύο τέλη καὶ τὴν Ἰλυρίδα μετὰ τῆς ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίας, ἐως ὑπατος ἀποδειχθείη. καὶ Πομπηίῳ μὲν ἄρκειν ἐδόκει, κατακωλυόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπέστελλε τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Κουρίων, τρισίν ἡμέραις τριακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίοις σταδίους διαδραμὼν, ἐπέδωκε τοῖς νέοις ὑπάτοις ἐσιούσιν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον τῇ νομιμίᾳ τοῦ ἔτους. περιείχε δὴ ἡ γραφὴ κατάλογον τε σεμνὸν δων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεπράχει, καὶ πρόκλησιν, ὅτι θέλοι Πομπηίῳ συναποθέσθαι, ἀρχοντος δὲ ἐτὶ ἐκεῖνον οὔτε ἀποθήκεσθαι καὶ τιμωρὸς αὐτίκα τῇ τε πατρίδι καὶ ἐιντὸ κατὰ τάχους ἀφίξεσθαι. ἐφ' ὡς δὴ σφόδρα πάντες ἀνέκραγον, ὡς ἐτὶ πολέμου καταγγελία, διάδοχον εἶναι Δεύκιον Δομίτιον. καὶ ὁ Δομίτιος εὐθὺς ἐξῆι μετὰ τετρακισχιλίων ἐκ καταλόγου.

33. Ἀντωνίου δὲ καὶ Κασιδίου δημαρχοῦντοι μετὰ Κουρίωνα καὶ τὴν Κουρίωνος γρόμην ἐπαινοῦντος, ἡ βουλὴ φιλονικότερον ἐτὶ τὴν Πομπηίου στρατίαν φύλακα σφῶν ἤγουντο εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Καίσαρος πολεμίαν. καὶ οἱ ὑπατοὶ,
300 horse and arrived at Ravenna, which was contiguous to Italy and the last town in his government. After embracing Curio and returning thanks for what he had done for him, he reviewed the situation. Curio advised him to bring his whole army together now and lead it to Rome, but Caesar thought it best still to try to come to terms. So he directed his friends to make an agreement in his behalf, that he should deliver up all his provinces and soldiers, except that he should retain two legions and Illyria with Cisalpine Gaul until he should be elected consul. This was satisfactory to Pompey, but the consuls refused. Caesar then wrote a letter to the Senate, which Curio carried a distance of 1300 stades in three days and delivered to the newly-elected consuls as they entered the senate-house on the first of January. The letter embraced a calm recital of all that Caesar had done from the beginning of his career and a proposal that he would lay down his command at the same time with Pompey, but that if Pompey should retain his command he would not lay down his own, but would come quickly and avenge his country’s wrongs and his own. When this letter was read, as it was considered a declaration of war, a vehement shout was raised on all sides that Lucius Domitius be Caesar’s successor. Domitius took the field immediately with 4000 men from the active list.

33. Since Antony and Cassius, who succeeded Curio as tribunes, agreed with him in opinion, the Senate became more bitter than ever and declared Pompey’s army the protector of Rome, and that of Caesar a public enemy. The consuls, Marcellus and

1 Literally: “On the day of the new moon of the year.”
Μάρκελλος τε καὶ Δέντλος, ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιον ἐκστὴναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μὴ τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὀμως πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον. ἔσθα δὴ μεγά βοήσας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἀνὰ τε ἐδραμε τῆς ἔδρας σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπεθείαζεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἱερὰ καὶ ἀσύλος οὐσα ύβρίζοιτο, καὶ περὶ σφῶν, ὅτι γνώμην ἐσφέροντες, ἤν δοκοῦσι συνοίσειν, ἐξαλαύνοντο σὺν ύβρει, μῆτε τινὰ σφαγὴν μῆτε μῦσος ἐργασάμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξέτρεχεν ὡσπερ ἐνθος, πολέμους καὶ σφαγὰς καὶ προγράφας καὶ φυγὰς καὶ δημεύσεις καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα αὐτοῖς ἐμελλέν ἔσεσθαι, προθεσπίζων ἄρας τε βαρείας τοῖς τούτων αὐτίοις ἐπαρώμενος. συνεξέθεον δὲ αὐτὸφ Κουρίων τε καὶ Κάσσιος· καὶ γάρ τις Ἡδη στρατὸς ἐωράτο ἐκ Πομπηίου περιωστάμενος τὸ βουλευτήριον. οὐδὲ μὲν δὴ τὰχει πολλῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα, νυκτὸς αὐτίκα, λαθόντες ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ ὁχήματος μισθωτοῦ, θεραπόντων ἐσθήτας ἐνδύντες. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐτι οὐδὲ ἔχοντας ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ ἥρεθίζε λέγων, ὅτι καὶ σφᾶς τοσάδε ἐργασάμενος ἤγουνται πολεμίους καὶ τουούσδε ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιθεγεζαμένους σύτως ἐξελαύνουσιν αἰσχρῶς.

34. Ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος ἐκατέρωθεν ἀνέφκτο καὶ κεκήρυκτο ἢδη σαφῶς, ἥ δὲ βουλὴ νομίζουσα Καίσαρι τὸν στρατὸν ἀπὸ Κελτῶν σὺν χρώμιν παρέσεσθαί καὶ οὐποτε αὐτῶν ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον σὺν ὀλύνους προσέτασσε Πομπηίῳ τρισκάϊδεκα μυριάδας Ἰταλῶν ἅγεύειν, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους ὡς ἐμπειροπολέμους, ἤνευλογεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων ἑθνῶν ὅσα ἄλκιμα. χρήματα δὲ ἐσ τῶν
Lentulus, ordered Antony and his friends out of the Senate lest they should suffer some harm, tribunes though they were. Then Antony sprang from his chair in anger and with a loud voice called gods and men to witness the indignity put upon the sacred and inviolable office of tribune, saying that while they were expressing the opinion which they deemed best for the public interest, they were driven out with contumely though they had wrought no murder or outrage. Having spoken thus he rushed out like one possessed, predicting war, slaughter, proscription, banishment, confiscation, and various other impending evils, and invoking direful curses on the authors of them. Curio and Cassius rushed out with him, for a detachment of Pompey’s army was already observed standing around the senate-house. The tribunes made their way to Caesar the next night with the utmost speed, concealing themselves in a hired carriage, and disguised as slaves. Caesar showed them in this condition to his army, whom he excited by saying that his soldiers, after all their great deeds, had been stigmatized as public enemies and that distinguished men like these, who had dared to say a word for them, had been thus driven out with ignominy.

34. The war had now been begun on both sides and was already openly declared; but the Senate, thinking that Caesar’s army would be slow in arriving from Gaul and that he would not rush into so great an adventure with a small force, directed Pompey to assemble 130,000 Italian soldiers, chiefly veterans who had had experience in war, and to recruit as many able-bodied men as possible from the neighbouring provinces. They voted him for the war all
ΟΡΝ. πόλεμον αυτῷ τά τε κοινά πάντα αυτίκα ἐψηφι-ζοντο καὶ τά ἱδιωτικά σφῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς, εἰ δεήσειν, εἶναι στρατιωτικά· ἕς τε τάς πόλεις ἐφ ἔτερα περίπεμπτον σύν τε ὅργῃ καὶ φιλονικίᾳ, σπουδῆς οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες ὁξυτάτης. ο ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν έαυτοῦ στρατὸν περιπε-πόμφει, χαίρων δ' ἀεὶ ταχυεργίας τε ἐκπλήξει καὶ φόβῳ τόλμης μᾶλλον ἡ παρασκευὴς δυνάμει, μετὰ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἐγνω προεπιχειρεῖν τοσόδε πολέμῳ καὶ φθάσαι τὰ εὐκαιρὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

35. Τούς οὖν λοχαγοὺς αὐτῶν σὺν ὀλγοῖς τοῖς μάλιστα εὐτολμοτάτοις, εἰρημικῶς ἐσταλμένοις, προὔπεμπτεν ἐσελθεῖν ἐς 'Αρίμυνον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀφών καταλαβέειν· ἡ δ' ἐστὶν Ἰταλίας πρώτη μετὰ τὴν Γαλατίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ ἐσπέραν, ὡς δὴ τὸ σώμα ἐνοχλούμενος, ὑπεχώρησε τοῦ συμ-ποσίου, τοὺς φίλους ἀπολιπὼν ἐτι ἐστιάσθαι καὶ ζεύγους ἐπιβὰς ἤλαυνεν ἐς τὸ 'Αρίμυνον, ἐπομένων οἱ τῶν ἰππέων ἐκ διαστήματος. δρόμῳ δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ρουβίκωνα ποταμόν, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐστὶ τοῦ δρόμου καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱεῦμα ἀφορῶν περιεφέρετο τῇ γυνώμη, λογιζόμενος ἐκαστὰ τῶν ἐσομένων κακῶν, εἰ τόνδε τὸν ποτα-μὸν σὺν ὀπλοῖς περάσειε. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πα-ρόντας ἐπιπέν ἀνενεγκών· "ἡ μὲν ἐπίσχεσις, ὃς φίλοι, τής τῆς διαβάσεως ἐμοὶ κακῶν ἀρξεί, ἡ δὲ διάβασις πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις."
καὶ εἰπὼν οἰα τις ἔνθους ἐπέρα σὺν ὀρμῇ, τὸ κοινὸν τόδε ἐπειπῶν· "ὁ κύβος ἀνερρίφθω." δρόμῳ δ' ἐντεῦ-θεν ἐπιπών 'Αρίμυνον τε αἱρεῖ περὶ ἐν καὶ ἐς τὸ

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the money in the public treasury at once, and their own private fortunes in addition if they should be needed for the pay of the soldiers. With the fury of party rage they levied additional contributions on the allied cities, which they collected with the greatest possible haste. Caesar had sent messengers to bring his own army, but as he was accustomed to rely upon the terror caused by the celerity and audacity of his movements, rather than on the magnitude of his preparations, he decided to take the aggressive in this great war with his 5000 men and to anticipate the enemy by seizing the advantageous positions in Italy.

35. Accordingly, he sent forward the centurions with a few of their bravest troops in peaceful garb to go inside the walls of Ariminum and take it by surprise. This was the first town in Italy after leaving Cisalpine Gaul. Toward evening Caesar himself rose from a banquet on a plea of indisposition, leaving his friends who were still feasting. He mounted his chariot and drove toward Ariminum, his cavalry following at a short distance. When his course brought him to the river Rubicon, which forms the boundary line of Italy, he stopped and, while gazing at the stream, revolved in his mind the evils that would result, should he cross the river in arms. Recovering himself, he said to those who were present, “My friends, to leave this stream uncleared will breed manifold distress for me; to cross it, for all mankind.” Thereupon, he crossed with a rush like one inspired, uttering the familiar phrase, “The die is cast: so let it be!” Then he resumed his hasty journey and took possession of Ariminum about daybreak, advanced beyond it, stationed guards
CAP. πρόσθεν ἐχώρει, φρούρια τοῖς ἐπικαίροις ἐφιστὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἦ βία χειρούμενος ἡ φιλανθρωπία. φυγαί τε καὶ μεταναστάσεις ἦσαν ἐκ πάντων χωρίων ὡς ἐν ἐκπλήξει καὶ δρόμος ἀσύντακτος μετ' οἰμωγῆς, τὸ τε ἀκριβὲς οὐκ εἰδότες καὶ τὸν Καῖσαρα νομίζοντες μετ' ἀπείρου στρατοῦ κατὰ κράτος ἔλαυνεν.

36. Ὡν οἱ ὑπατοὶ πυνθανόμενοι τὸν Πομπήιον οὐκ εἰὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ γνώμης ἐμπειροπολέμως εὐσταθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξωτρυνοῦ ἐκπῆδὰν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ στρατολογεῖν ὡς τῆς πόλεως καταληφθησομένης αὐτίκα. ἢ τε ἀλλὴ βουλή, παρὰ δόξαν αὐτῶν ὤξεις τῆς ἐσβολῆς τοῦ Καῖσαρος γενομένης, ἐδεδοίκεσαν ἐτὶ ὄντες ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ σὺν ἐκπλήξει μετενόουν οὐ δεξάμενοι τὰς Καῖ-
σαρος προκλήσεις, τότε νομίζοντες εἶναι δικαίας, ὅτε σφάς ο ὕβος ἢ τὸ εὐβουλὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ φιλο-
νίκου μετέφερε. τερατά τε αὐτῶς ἐπέπιπτε
tollα καὶ σημεῖα οὐράνια. αἷμα τε γὰρ ἔδοξεν ὁ θεὸς ὑσαι καὶ ξόανα ἱδρώσαι καὶ κεραυνοὶ πεσεῖν ἐπὶ νεὼς πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμέρους τεκεῖν.
ἀλλά τε πολλαὶ δυσχερὴ προεσήμαινε τὴν ἐς ἀεὶ τῆς πολειτείας ἀναίρεσιν τε καὶ μεταβολῆν. εὐχαὶ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ φοβεροῖς προογράφοντο, καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐν μνήμῃ τῶν Μαρίου καὶ Σύλλα κακῶν 
gnynómenos ἐκεκράγει Καῖσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον ἀποθέσθαι τὰς δυναστείας ὡς ἐν τόδε μόνῳ τοῦ 
polέμου λυθησομένου, Κικέρων δὲ καὶ πέμπειν ἐς Καῖσαρα διαλλακτάς.

37. Ἀντιπραττόντων δ' ἐς ἀπαντα τῶν ὑπάτων, 
Φαώνιος μὲν Πομπήιον ἐπισκόπτων τοῦ ποτὲ 
λεχθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, παρεκάλει τὴν γῆν πατάξαι

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at the commanding positions, and, either by force or by kindness, mastered all whom he fell in with. As is usual in cases of panic, there was flight and migration from all the country-side in disorder and tears, the people having no exact knowledge, but thinking that Caesar was pushing on with all his might and with an immense army.

36. When the consuls learned the facts they did not allow Pompey to act according to his own judgment, experienced as he was in military affairs, but urged him to traverse Italy and raise troops, as though the city were on the point of being captured. The Senate also was alarmed at Caesar's unexpectedly swift advance, for which it was still unprepared, and in its panic repented that it had not accepted Caesar's proposals, which it at last considered fair, after fear had turned it from the rage of party to the counsels of prudence. Many portents and signs in the sky took place. It rained blood. Sweat issued from the statues of the gods. Lightning struck several temples. A mule foaled. There were many other prodigies which betokened the overturn and change for all time in the form of government. Prayers were offered up in public as was customary in times of danger, and the people who remembered the evil times of Marius and Sulla, clamoured that both Caesar and Pompey ought to lay down their commands as the only means of averting war. Cicero proposed to send messengers to Caesar in order to come to an arrangement.

37. As the consuls opposed all accommodation, Favonius, in ridicule of Pompey for something he had said a little before, advised him to stamp on the
CAP. τῷ ποδὶ καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐξ αὐτής ἀναγαγεὶν·

ὁ δὲ "ἐξετε," εἶπεν, "ἀν ἐπακολουθήτε μοι καὶ

μὴ δεινὸν ἡγῆσθε τὴν 'Ῥώμην ἀπολιπεῖν, καὶ
ei tēn Ἰταλίαν ἐπὶ τῇ 'Ῥώμη δεῖσθεν." οὐ γὰρ
tὰ χωρία καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα τὴν δύναμιν ἢ τὴν
ἐλευθερίαν εἰναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνδρας,
ὃτι ποτ' ἀν ὁμιλῇ, ἐχειν ταῦτα σὺν εαυτοῖς ἀμυ-

νομένους δ' ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα. ὁ

μὲν δὴ τοσάδε εἰπὼν καὶ ἀπειλήσας τοὺς ἐπι-
μένουσιν, εἰ φειδοὶ χωρίων ἡ κατασκευὴ ἀπο-
λειψθον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγώνων,
ἐξεῖε τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν
ev Καπύη στρατιάν, καὶ οἱ ὑπατοι συνείποντο
αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄλλους δ' ἀπορία τε ἐς πολὺ κατείχε,
καὶ διευκτέρευσων ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ μετ' ἄλλη-

λων. ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα τὸ πλέον ὀμος ἐξήιε καὶ

ἐδίωκε τὸν Πομπήιον.

VI

CAP. VI 38. Ὅ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐν Κορφινίῳ Δεύκιοι Δο-

μῖτιον τὸν ἐπιτεμφεβέντα οἱ τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰναι διά-

δοχον καταλαβῶν, οὐ πάντας ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντα
tous τετρακισχίλεους, ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ οἱ τὸ
Κορφινίον οἰκοῦντες φεύγοντα τὸν Δομίτιον ἀμφὶ
tὰς πύλας καταλαβόντες τῷ Καίσαρι προσ-

ήγαγον. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν στρατιάν αὐτοῦ προσ-

τιθέμενην οἱ προθύμως ἐδέχετο ἐς ἐρείδισμα τῶν

ἄλλων, Δομίτιον δ' αὐτὸν ἀπαθῆ μετὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ
χρημάτων μεθήκειν ὅποι βούλιοτο ἀπιέναι, ἐξ-

πίσας μὲν ἰσως διὰ τὴν εὐποίιαν παραμενείν, οὐ

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ground with his foot and raise up from it the promised armies. "You can have them," replied Pompey, "if you will follow me and not be horrified at the thought of leaving Rome, and Italy also if need be. Places and houses are not strength and freedom to men; but men, wherever they may be, have these qualities within themselves, and by defending themselves will recover their homes also." After saying this and threatening those who should remain behind and desert their country's cause in order to save their fields and their goods, he left the Senate and the city immediately to take command of the army at Capua, and the consuls followed him. The other senators remained undecided a long time and passed the night together in the senate-house. At daybreak, however, most of them departed and hastened after Pompey.

VI

38. At Corfinium Caesar came up with and besieged Lucius Domitius, who had been sent to be his successor in the command of Gaul, but who did not have all of his 4000 men with him. The inhabitants of Corfinium captured him at the gates, as he was trying to escape, and brought him to Caesar. The latter received the soldiers of Domitius, who offered themselves to him, with kindness, in order to encourage others to join him, and he allowed Domitius to go unharmed wherever he liked, and to take his own money with him. He hoped perhaps that Domitius would stay with him on account of this beneficence,
καλύσας δ' ἐς Πομπήιον ἴνητα. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων οὗτως ὄξεως, ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς Νουκερίαν ἐκ Καπύς καὶ ἐκ Νουκερίας ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἦπείγετο, ὡς τὸν Ἰόνιον διαβαλόν ἐς Ἡπειρον καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν παρασκευὴν συστήσων ἐν αὐτῇ. ἐθνείς τε πάσι καὶ βασιλεύσι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ δυνάσταις ἐγραφε κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὡς τὸν πόλεμον συμφέρειν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀθρόως ἐγίνετο, ὁ δ' ὅτι οὗτος αὐτοῦ Πομπήιου στρατὸς ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρία καὶ παρασκευὴς εἶχεν ὡς ὀρμήσων, ὅτι τὸτ' ἀν αἱ χρεῖαι καλῶσιν.

39. Αὐτός δ' ὁ Πομπήιος τῶν ἁμφ' αὐτοῦ ἡδη τελῶν τὰ μὲν ἐδωκε τοὺς ὑπάτους προαπάγειν ἐς Ἡπειρον ἐκ Βρεντέσιου, καὶ διέπλευσαν οὓς αὐτίκα ἁσφαλῶς ἐς Δυρράχιον ἢν Ἐπίδαμμον τίνα ἦν νυμίζουσι διὰ τούτου ἀγνοιαν. βασιλεὺς τῶν τῆς βαρβάρων, Ἐπίδαμμος, πόλιν ώσις εἶπε θαλάσσης καὶ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ προσέπειεν Ἐπίδαμμον. τούτου θυγατριδοὺς Δύρραχος, νομιζόμενοι εἶναι Ποσειδώνος, ἐπίνειοι ώσις τὴν πόλει καὶ Δυρράχιον ὄνομασε. πολεμουμένος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῆς τῶν Δυρράχων συνεμάχησεν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς γῆς, ἐξ Ἐρυθείας ἐπιανών ὥθεν οἱ Δυρράχιοι τῶν Ἡρακλέα, ὡς μερίτην τῆς γῆς, οἰκιστὴν σφῶν τίθενται, οὐκ ἀρνοῦμενοι μὲν οὖδὲ τῶν Δύρραχων, φιλοτιμοῦμενοι δ' ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἐς τῶν Ἡρακλέα μᾶλλον ὡς ἐς θεον. φασι δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῆς Δυρράχου παῖδα Ἰόνιου ύφ' Ἡρακλέους εξ ἀγνοιας ἀποθανείν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸ σῶμα θάψαντα ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἵνα ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ γένοιτο. χρόνῳ δὲ
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but he did not prevent him from joining Pompey. CHAP. VI
While these transactions were taking place thus swiftly, Pompey hastened from Capua to Nuceria and thence to Brundusium in order to cross the Adriatic to Epirus and complete his preparations for war there. He wrote letters to all the provinces and the commanders thereof, to princes, kings, and cities to send aid for carrying on the war with the greatest possible speed, and this they did zealously. Pompey's own army was in Spain ready to move wherever it might be needed.

39. Pompey gave some of the legions he already had in Italy to the consuls to be moved from Brundusium to Epirus, and the consuls crossed safely to Dyrrachium, which some persons, by reason of the following error, consider the same as Epidamnus. A barbarian king of the region, Epidamnus by name, built a city on the sea-coast and named it after himself. Dyrrachus, the son of his daughter and of Neptune (as is supposed), added a dockyard to it which he named Dyrrachium. When the brothers of this Dyrrachus made war against him, Hercules, who was returning from Erythea, formed an alliance with him for a part of his territory; wherefore the men of Dyrrachium claim Hercules as their founder because he had a share of their land, not that they repudiate Dyrrachus, but because they pride themselves on Hercules even more as a god. In the battle which took place it is said that Hercules killed Ionius, the son of Dyrrachus, by mistake, and that after raising a barrow he threw the body into the sea in order that it might bear his name. At a later
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CAP. VI τής τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως κατασχεῖν Βρίγας ἐκ Φρυγῶν ἐπανελθόντας καὶ Ταυλαντίους ἐπ’ ἐκείνους, Ἰλλυρίκον ἔθνους, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Ταυλαντίους ἔτερον γένος Ἰλλυρικὸν Δισυννοῦς, οὗ τὰ περίοικα νυσὶ ταχείας ἐλήξοντο· καὶ Δισυννίδας ἐντεῦθεν ἥγονται Ἡρωμαῖοι τὰς ναῦς τὰς ταχείας, ὧν ἀρα πρῶτον ἐς πείραν ἤλθον. οἳ δ’ ἐκ τῶν Δισυννῶν ἐξελαθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Δυρράχιον Κερκυραίου ἐπαγόμενοι θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Δισυννοῦς· καὶ αὐτοῖς οἳ Κερκυραῖοι σφετέρους ἐγκατέμειξαν οἰκήτορας, οὗ Ἔλληνικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ ἐπίνειον. τῇν δ’ ἐπίκλησιν ὡς οὐκ αἰσθον ἐναλλάξαντες οἳ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ τήνδε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνω πόλεως 'Επίδαμμον ἐκάλουν, καὶ Ἡθουδίδης οὕτως ὠνόμαζεν· ἐκνικᾶ δ’ ὅμοιο τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ Δυρράχιον κληζεται.

40. Οἳ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τῶν ὑπότων διεπεπλεύκεσαν ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὁ δ’ Πομπήιος τῶν ὑπόλοιπον στρατὸν ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀγαγὼν τὰς τὲ ναῦς ἀνέμενεν ἐπανελθεῖν, αἱ τοὺς ὑπότους διέφερον, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπελθόντα ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἡμύνετο τὴν τὲ πόλιν διετάφρενε, μέχρι καταπλεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου περὶ δεῖλην ἐσπέραν ἀπέπλευσε, τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὕπολιπὼν οἳ καὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ἐρχομένης ἐξέπλευσεν οὐρίῳ πνεύματι.

Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν ὡδὲ μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Ἡπείρον ἐκπέμβοι γὰρ Ἡπείρον ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Ἡπείρον ἐκπέμβοι γὰρ Ἡπείρον ἐκπέμβοι γὰρ Ἡπείρον ἐκπέμβοι γὰρ Ἡπείρον ἐκπέμβοι γὰρ Ἡπείρον ἐκπέμβοι τὴν Ἡταλίαν ἤπερει μὲν, ὅτε τραπείη καὶ ὅθεν ἠρξαίτο τὸν πολέμου, τὴν τὴν τὴν τὴν τὴν τὴν
period the Briges, returning from Phrygia, took possession of the city and the surrounding country. They were supplanted by the Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, who were displaced in their turn by the Liburnians, another Illyrian tribe, who were in the habit of making piratical expeditions against their neighbours with very swift ships. Hence the Romans call swift ships Liburnians because these were the first ones they came in conflict with. The people who had been expelled from Dyrrachium by the Liburnians procured the aid of the Corcyreans, who then ruled the sea, and drove out the Liburnians. The Corcyreans mingled their own colonists with them and thus it came to be considered a Greek port; but the Corcyreans changed its name, because they considered it unpropitious, and called it Epidamnus from the town just above it, and Thucydides gives it that name also. Nevertheless, the former name prevailed finally and it is now called Dyrrachium.

40. A portion of Pompey's forces had crossed to Dyrrachium with the consuls. Pompey led the remainder to Brundusium, where he awaited the return of the ships that had carried the others over. Here Caesar advanced against him, and he defended himself from behind the walls and dug trenches to cut off the city until his fleet came back. Then he took his departure in the early evening, leaving the bravest of his troops on the walls. These also sailed away after nightfall, with a favourable wind.

Thus Pompey and his whole army abandoned Italy and passed over to Epirus. Caesar, seeing the general drift of public opinion toward Pompey, was at a loss which way to turn or from what point to
CAP. 6. ἡμὴν πανταχόθεν οὕσαν ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον ὅρων, δείσας δὲ τοῦ Πομπήιου τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ στρατόν, πολὺν τε ὄντα καὶ χρόνῳ γεγυμνασμένον, μή οἱ διώκοντι τὸν Πομπήιον κατόπιν ἐπιγένοιτο, τόνδε μὲν αὐτὸς ἔγνω προκαθελείν ἐς Ἰβηρίαιν ἐλάσσας, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἐς πέντε ἐπιδιήρει. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ Βρέντεσίῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Τάραντι, φύλακας εἶναι τῆς Ἰταλίας. ἐτέρους δὲ ἐπεμπεν ἀμα Κοίντῳ Οὐαλερίῳ, Σαρδῷ τὴν νήσου καταλαβεῖν πυροφοροῦσαν καὶ κατέλαβον. Ἀσίνιος τε Πολλίων ἐς Σικελίαιν πεμφθείς, ἦς ἤγειτο Κάτων, πυνθανομένῳ τῷ Κάτωνι, πότερα τῆς βουλῆς ἢ τοῦ δήμου δόγμα φέρων ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμβάλλοι, ὅδε ἀπεκρίνατο: "ὁ τῆς Ἰταλίας κρατῶν ἐπὶ ταύτα με ἐπεμψε.

Καὶ Κάτων μὲν τοσόνδε ἀποκρινάμενος, ὅτι φειδοῖ τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐκ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν ἁμώνεται, διέπλευσεν ἐς Κέρκυραν καὶ ἐκ Κέρκυρας ἐς Πομπήιον. 41. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐς Ρώμην ἐπειχθεῖς τὸν τε δήμου, ἐκ μνήμης τῶν ἐπὶ Σύλλα καὶ Μαρίου κακῶν πεφρικότα, ἐπισί καὶ ὑποσχέσει πολλαῖς ἀνελάμβανε καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνσημαινόμενος φιλανθρωπίαν ἔπευ, ὅτι καὶ Δεύκιοι Θομίτιον ἔλων ἀπαθὴ μεθεὶς μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων. τὰ δὲ κλειθρα τῶν δημοσίων ταμιείων ἐξέκοπτε καὶ τῶν δημαρχῶν ἐνὶ Μετέλλῳ κωλύοντι θάνατον ἦπείλει. τῶν τε ἀφαντῶν ἐκίνει χρημάτων, ἀ φασιν ἐπὶ Κελτοῖς πάλαι σὺν ἅρα δημοσία τεθήναι, μὴ σαλεύειν ἐς μηδέν, εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίσοι.
begin the war. As he had apprehensions of Pompey's army in Spain, which was large and well disciplined by long service (lest while he was pursuing Pompey it should fall upon his rear), he decided to march to Spain and destroy that army first. He now divided his forces into five parts, one of which he left at Brundusium, another at Hydrus, and another at Tarentum to guard Italy. Another he sent under command of Quintus Valerius to take possession of the grain-producing island of Sardinia, which was done. He sent Asinius Pollio to Sicily, which was then under the command of Cato. When Cato asked him whether he had brought the order of the Senate, or that of the people, to take possession of a government that had been assigned to another, Pollio replied, "The master of Italy has sent me on this business."

Cato answered that in order to spare the lives of those under his command he would not make resistance there. He then sailed away to Corcyra and from Corcyra to Pompey. Caesar meanwhile hastened to Rome. He found the people shuddering with recollection of the horrors of Marius and Sulla, and he cheered them with the prospect and promise of clemency. In proof of his kindness to his enemies, he said that he had taken Lucius Domitius prisoner and allowed him to go away unharmed with his money. Nevertheless, he hewed down the bars of the public treasury, and when Metellus, one of the tribunes, tried to prevent him from entering threatened him with death. He took away money hitherto untouched, which, they say, had been deposited there long ago, at the time of the Gallic invasion, with a public curse upon anybody who should take it out except in case of a war with the
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CAP. ὁ δὲ ἔφη Κελτοὺς αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ἔλθων λειλυκεῖνα τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀράν. Λέπιδον δὲ Ἀιμύλιον ἐφίστη τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν δῆμαρχον Μάρκον Ἀντώνιον τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν στρατῷ. ἐς τε τὰ ἔξω Κουρίων μὲν ἀντὶ Κάτων ἤρεστο ἡγεῖσθαι Σικελίας, Κόιντον δὲ Σαρδοῦς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα Γαίον Ἀντώνιον ἐπεμπε καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἐπέτρεπε Δικινίῳ Κράσσῳ. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ νεὸν στόλους δύο γίγνεσθαι κατὰ σπουδὴν, ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ περὶ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ ναυάρχους αὐτοῖς ἔτι γεγομένους ἐπέστησεν Ὄρτησιον τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν.

42. Οὔτω κρατυνάμενος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄβατον Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἔθε, ἔνθα Πετρήῳ καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ τοῖς Πομπηίοισι στρατηγοῖς συμβαλὼν ἠπτοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφέρετο τὰ γε πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ ἀγχωμάλως ἁλλήλοις ἐπολέμου ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἰλέρτην. καὶ στρατοπεδεύων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ κρημνῶν ἐστιολόγει διὰ γεφύρας τοῦ Σικόριος ποταμοῦ. χειμάρρου δ’ ἀφνω τὴν γέφυραν καταβάλοντος, ἀνδρῶν τε πλῆθος ἀποληφθέν ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ διέφθειραν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πετρήιον, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐμόχθει μετὰ τοῦ ἀλλοι στρατοῦ πάνω καρτερῶς ὑπὸ τε δυσχωρίας καὶ ὑπὸ λυμοῦ καὶ χειμώνοις ἤδη καὶ πολεμιῶν οὐδὲν τε ἀλλ’ ἐπολυρκίας ἔργον ἢ, μέχρι θέρους ἐπελθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἀφρανίῳ καὶ ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰβηρίαν ἔχωρον ἐτερον στρατον ἀθροίσοντες. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀεὶ προλαμβάνων διεσά-φρευς τὰς παρόδους καὶ ἐκώλυνεν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔναι καὶ τι καὶ μέρος αὐτῶν, προπεμπόμενον ἐς
Gauls. Caesar said that he had subjugated the Gauls completely and thus released the commonwealth from the curse. He then placed Aemilius Lepidus in charge of the city, and the tribune, Marcus Antonius, in charge of Italy and of the army guarding it. Outside of Italy he chose Curio to take command of Sicily in place of Cato, and Quintus Valerius for Sardinia. He sent Gaius Antonius to Illyria and entrusted Cisalpine Gaul to Licinius Crassus. He ordered the building of two fleets with all speed, one in the Adriatic and the other in the Tyrrhenian sea, and appointed Hortensius and Dolabella their admirals while they were still under construction.

42. Having prevailed so far as to make Italy inaccessible to Pompey, Caesar went to Spain, where he encountered Petreius and Afranius, Pompey’s lieutenants, and was worsted by them at first and afterward had an indecisive engagement with them near the town of Ilerta. He pitched his camp on some high ground and obtained his supplies by means of a bridge across the river Sicoris. Suddenly a spate carried way his bridge and cut off a great number of his men on the opposite side, who were destroyed by the forces of Petreius. Caesar himself, with the rest of his army, suffered very severely from the difficulty of the site, from hunger, from the weather, and from the enemy, his situation being in no wise different from that of a siege. Finally, on the approach of summer, Afranius and Petreius withdrew to the interior of Spain to recruit more soldiers, but Caesar continually anticipated them, blocked their passage, and prevented their advance. He also surrounded one of their divisions...
CAP. 43. Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ἀφρανίῳ μὲν καὶ ἑτέρους ἐδόκει τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐκστήναι Καῖσαρι καὶ ἀπαθεῖς ἐς Πομπῆίον ἀπίεναι, Πετρήιος δὲ ἀντέλεγε καὶ περιθέων ἄνα τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκτεινεν, ὅσους εὐρίσκοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμελίαν τῶν Καῖσαρος, τῶν τε ἰδίων ἡγεμόνων ἐνιστάμενον τίνα αὐτοχειρὶ διεχρήσατο: ἐξ ὧν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἀχθόμενοι τῷ σκυθρωπῷ τοῦ Πετρήιου, ἐς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐτρέποντο ταῖς γνώμαις. ἔτει δὲ που καὶ τὴν ὑδρείαν αὐτῶν προῦλαβεν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐν ἀμηχάνῳ γενόμενος ὁ Πετρήιος ἐς λόγους τῶν Καῖσαρι συνήη ἴματα Ἀφρανίῳ, ἥφαιστον αὐτῶν τῶν στράτων ἐκατέρωθεν. καὶ συνεβήσαν ὁ μὲν ἐκστήναι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῷ Καῖσαρι, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ αὐτῶς ἀπαθεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν Οὐάρου ποταμῶν διαγαγείν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε χωρούντας ἐς Πομπῆίον ἔαν. γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ συνήγαγεν αὐτῶν ἐς ἑπίκουν, ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας, καὶ ἐθημνώρησεν ὡδὲ· "ἄμων, ὁ πολέμιοι (τόδε γὰρ ἔτι τῷ ῶμιᾷ χρώμενοι ἐναργεστέραν ὡμῖν τὴν ἐμαυτῶν γνώμην τοιήσω), οὐτε τοὺς προσεμφίθεντας ἐς τὴν κατάληψιν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, οὐ σφάς ἐμοὶ παρέδοσαν,
that had been sent forward to capture his camp. They raised their shields over their heads in token of surrender, but Caesar neither captured nor slaughtered them, but allowed them to go back to Afranius unharmed, after his usual manner of winning the favour of his enemies. Hence it came to pass that there was continual intercourse between the camps and talk of reconciliation among the rank and file.

43. To Afranius and some of the other officers it now seemed best to abandon Spain to Caesar, provided they could go unharmed to Pompey. Petreius opposed this and ran through the camp killing those of Caesar's men whom he found holding communication with his own. He even slew with his own hand one of his officers who tried to restrain him. Moved by these acts of severity on the part of Petreius, the minds of the soldiers were still more attracted to the clemency of Caesar. Soon afterward Caesar managed to cut off the enemy's access to water, and Petreius was compelled by necessity to come with Afranius to a conference with Caesar between the two armies. Here it was agreed that they should abandon Spain to Caesar, and that he should conduct them unharmed to the other side of the river Varus and allow them to proceed thence to Pompey. Arrived at this stream, Caesar called a meeting of all those who were from Rome or Italy and addressed them as follows: "My enemies (for by still using this term I shall make my meaning clearer to you), I did not destroy those of you who surrendered to me when you had been
VI

καὶ τάδε μὲν ἡν ἀμφὶ τὸν Καίσαρα. 44. Δι-
βύης δὲ Οὐάρος Ἀττιος ἐστρατήγηε τῷ Πομ-
πηῖῳ, καὶ Ἰοβας ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων Νομάδων
βασιλεὺς τῷ Οὐάρῳ συνεμάχει, Κουρίων δ' ὑπὲρ
Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς ἐκ Σικέλιας ἐπέπλευ δύο τέλεσι
στρατοῦ καὶ ναυσὶ δυσδεκα μακραῖς καὶ ὀλκάσι
πολλαῖς. Ἰτύκη δὲ προσσχὼν ἐν μὲν τινὶ βραχέια
περὶ αὐτὴν ἰππομαχία τρέπεται τινὰς τῶν Νο-
μάδων ἰππέας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τοῖς
ὀπλοῖς ἔτι οὔσῃς αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπέστη προσάγο-
ρευθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ τιμῇ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τόδε τὸ
προσαγόρευμα παρὰ τῶν στρατῶν, καθάπερ αὐ-
τοῖς ἐπιμαρτυροῦντων ἀξίως σφῶν αὐτοκράτορας
εἶναι: καὶ τήνδε τὴν τιμὴν οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάλαι
μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μεγίστοις ἔργοις προσέπετο, ὑνῦ
δ' ὄροι εἶναι τῇδε τῇ εὐφημίᾳ πυνθάνομαι τὸ
μυρίους πεσεῖν. ἠτὶ δὲ τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ πλέον-
τος ἐκ Σικέλιας, οἱ ἐν τῇ Διβύη. νομίσαντες αὐτὸν
dιὰ δοξοκοπίαν ἀμφὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Σκυτίωνος
κατὰ δόξαν τῆς ἐκείνου μεγαλουργίας στρατο-

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sent to seize my camp, nor the rest of your army when I had cut you off from water, although Petreius had previously slaughtered those of my men who were intercepted on the other side of the river Sicoris. If there is any gratitude among you for these favours tell them to all of Pompey's soldiers." After speaking thus he dismissed them uninjured, and he appointed Quintus Cassius governor of Spain.

VII

These were the operations of Caesar. Meanwhile in Africa Attius Varus commanded the Pompeian forces, and Juba, king of the Numidians, was in alliance with him. Curio sailed from Sicily against them in behalf of Caesar with two legions, twelve war vessels, and a number of ships of burden. He landed at Utica and put to flight a body of Numidian horse in a small cavalry engagement near that place, and allowed himself to be saluted as Imperator by the soldiers with their arms still in their hands. This title is an honour conferred upon generals by their soldiers, who thus testify that they consider them worthy to be their commanders. In the olden times the generals accepted this honour only for the greatest exploits. At present I understand that the distinction is limited to cases where at least 10,000 of the enemy have been killed. While Curio was crossing from Sicily the inhabitants of Africa, thinking that, in emulation of the glory of Scipio, he would establish his quarters near the camp of the latter,
CAP. VII πεδεύσειν, τὸ ύδωρ ἐφάρμαξαν. καὶ ἐλπίδος οὐ
dιήμαρτον· ὦ τε γὰρ Κουρίων ἐστάθμευσεν ἐν-
tαῦθα, καὶ οἱ στρατὸς εὐθὺς ἐνόσει, πιοῦσί τε τὸ
βλέμμα ἀμαυρῶν ἡν ὡσπερ ἐν ὁμίχλῃ, καὶ ὑπνοῦ
ἐπεγέγυντο σὺν κάρῳ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἔμετοι τροφῆς
ποιάλοι καὶ σπασμὸς ὅλου τοῦ σώματος. ὃν δὴ
χάριν ὁ Κουρίων παρ' αὐτὴν Ἰτύκην μετεστρατο-
pέδευε, δὴ ἔλους ἵσχυροι τε καὶ μακροὶ τοῦ
στρατοῦ, ἀσθενῆ διὰ τὴν ἀρρωστίαν γεγονότα,
ἀγων. ὡς δὲ σφισιν ἡ νίκη Καίσαρος ἡ περὶ τὴν
'Ιβηρίαν ἀπηγγέλθη, ἀνεθάρρησάν τε καὶ παρετά-
ξαντο παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν βραχεῖ χωρίῳ.
μάχης δὲ κατερᾶς γενομένης Κουρίωνος μὲν εἰς
ἀνήρ ἐπέσεν. Ὡμάρου δὲ ἐξακόσιοι, καὶ κατετρώ-
θησαν ἐτὶ πλείονες.

45. Ἰόβα ὁ ἐπίοντος δόξα ψευδής προεπη-
dησεν, ἀμβί τοῦ Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν οὐ πολὺ
dιεστῶτα ὑπεστροφέναι τὸν Ἰόβαν, πορθομένης
αὐτῶ τῇς ἄρχῆς υπὸ τῶν γειτῶν, Σαβουύρραν
στρατηγών σὺν ὀλίγους ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταλι-
pόντα. καὶ τόδε τῷ λόγῳ πίσυνος ὁ Κουρίων
θέρους θερμοῦ περὶ τρίτην ὄραν ἡμέρας ἤγε τὸ
κράτιστον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαβουύρραν, ὄδὸν
ψαμμώδη καὶ ἄνυδρον· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ νάμα
χειμέριον ἦν, ἐξήραντο υπὸ τῆς φλογὸς τοῦ ἡλίου,
καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς υπὸ τοὺ Σαβουύρρα καὶ υπ’ αὐτοῦ
παρόντος κατείχετο τοῦ βασιλέως. σφαλείς οὖν
tῆς ἐλπίδος ὁ Κουρίων ἐς λόφους ἀνέδραμεν υπὸ
tε καμάτου καὶ πυγοὺς καὶ δίψης ἐνοχλούμενος.
ὡς δὲ αὐτὸν κατείδουν οὔτως ἔχοντα οἱ πολέμοι,
tὸν ποταμὸν ἐπέραν ἐς μάχην ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ ὁ
Κουρίων κατέβαινεν ἀφρόνως μάλα καὶ κατα-
poisoned the water in the neighbourhood. Their expectation was fulfilled. Curio encamped there and his army immediately fell sick. When they drank the water their eyesight became dim as in a mist, and sleep with torpor ensued, and after that frequent vomiting and spasms of the whole body. For this reason Curio changed his camp to the neighbourhood of Utica itself, leading his enfeebled army through an extensive marshy region. But when they received the news of Caesar's victory in Spain they took courage and put themselves in order of battle in a narrow space along the seashore. Here a severe battle was fought in which Curio lost only one man, while Varus lost 600 killed, besides a still larger number wounded.

45. Meantime, while Juba was advancing, a false report preceded him, that he had turned back at the river Bagradas, which was not far distant, because his kingdom had been invaded by his neighbours, and that he had left Saburra, his general, with a small force at the river. Curio believed this report and about the third hour of a hot summer day led the greater part of his army against Saburra by a sandy road destitute of water; for even if there were any streams there in winter they were dried up by the heat of the sun. He found the river in possession of Saburra and of the king himself. Disappointed in his expectation Curio retreated to some hills, oppressed by fatigue, heat, and thirst. When the enemy beheld him in this condition they crossed the river prepared for fight. Curio despised the danger and very imprudently led his enfeebled army down to the plain,
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CAP. VII

φροντικῶς, ἀσθενῆ τοῦ στρατὸν ἀγων. κυκλωσαμένων δ’ αὐτὸν τῶν Νομάδων ἰππεῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τινα χρόνου ὑπεχώρει καὶ ἐς βραχὺ συνεστέλλετο, ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ἀνέφευγεν αὐτὸς ἐς τοὺς λόφους. Ἀσίνιος μὲν δὲ Πολλίων ἄρχομένου τοῦ κακοῦ διέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰτύκη στρατόπεδον σὺν ὀλίγοις, μή τις ἐς Οὐάρου γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἐνταῦθα κακοπραγίας ἐπίθεσις. Κουρίων δὲ φιλοκινδύνως μαχόμενος σὺν ἀπασί τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπέσεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ Πολλίωνι μηδένα ἄλλον ἐπανελθεὶν ἐς Ἰτύκην.

46. Τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τέλος τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν Βαγράδαν ποταμὸν μάχης ἐγένετο, καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Κουρίωνος ἀποτμηθεῖσα ἐς Ἰόβαν ἐφέρετο· ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ κακοῦ φανερῶ γενομένου, Φλάμμας μὲν ὁ ναῦαρχος αὐτίκα ἐφευγεν αὐτῶ στόλῳ, πρῶτα τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, Ἀσίνιος δ’ ἐς τοὺς παρομοίοντας ἐμπόρους ἀκατίῳ διαπλεύσας ἐδείτο αὐτῶν ἐπιπλεῦσαι τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβεῖν. καὶ τινες ἐς τοῦτο νυκτὸς ἐπέπλευσαν, ἀθρόων δ’ ἐσβαινόντων ἐκείνων τὰ τε σκάφη κατεδύτε, καὶ τῶν ἀναχθέντων οἱ ἐμποροὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς χρήματα φέροντας ἑνεκα τῶν χρημάτων ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐρρίπτουν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἀναχθέντας, ἐτερα δ’ ἐν τῇ γῇ, νυκτὸς ἐτι, περὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐγίγνετο ὁμοια. καὶ μεθ’ ἦμεραν οἱ μὲν τῷ Οὐάρῳ σφᾶς παρέδοσαν, δ’ ἐς Ἰόβας ἐπελθὼν περιέστησεν αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸ τείχος καὶ ὡς λείψανα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ νίκης κατηκότισεν, οὐδὲν τῷ φροντίσας οὐδὲ Οὐάρον παρακαλοῦντος. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὰ σὺν Κουρίωνι ἐς Αἰβύνην ἐπιπλεύσαντα Ρωμαίων

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where he was surrounded by the Numidian horse. CHAP. VII

Here for some time he sustained the attack by retiring slowly and drawing his men together into a small space, but being much distressed he retreated again to the hills. Asinius Pollio, at the beginning of the trouble, had retreated with a small force to the camp at Utica lest Varus should make an attack upon it as soon as he should hear the news of the disaster at the river. Curio perished fighting bravely, together with all his men, not one returning to Utica to join Pollio.

46. Such was the result of the battle at the river Bagradas. Curio's head was cut off and carried to Juba. As soon as the news of this disaster reached the camp at Utica, Flamma, the admiral, fled, fleet and all, not taking a single one of the land forces on board, but Pollio rowed out in a small boat to the merchant ships that were lying at anchor near by and besought them to come to the shore and take the army on board. Some of them did so by night, but the soldiers came aboard in such crowds that some of the small boats were sunk. Of those who were carried out to sea, and who had money with them, many were thrown overboard by the merchants for the sake of the money. So much for those who put to sea, but similar calamities, while it was still night, befell those who remained on shore. At daybreak they surrendered themselves to Varus, but Juba came up and, having collected them under the walls, put them all to the sword, claiming that they were the remainder of his victory, and paying no attention to the remonstrances of even Varus himself. Thus the two Roman legions that sailed to Africa with
47. And when the Romans had arrived, they set out to follow Pyrrhus and to destroy his forces. They divided their army into three divisions, and surrounded the city. Pyrrhus, hearing of this, was afraid to make any sort of counterattack, and so he retired and fortified his city more strongly. Then, having strengthened his position, he sent an army to attack the Romans, who had divided their forces into three divisions. Pyrrhus, seeing this, did not risk an engagement, but instead gathered his army and retired into his city. The Romans, seeing this, attacked the city and captured it, and set it on fire. Then they proceeded to destroy the rest of Pyrrhus's army. They divided their forces into three divisions and surrounded the city. Pyrrhus, hearing of this, was afraid to make any sort of counterattack, and so he retired and fortified his city more strongly.
Curio were totally destroyed, together with the cavalry, the light-armed troops, and the servants belonging to the army. Juba, after vaunting his great exploit to Pompey, returned home.

47. About this time Antonius was defeated in Illyria by Pompey's lieutenant against Dolabella, Octavius, and another army of Caesar mutinied at Placentia, crying out against their officers for prolonging the war and not paying them the five minae that Caesar had promised them as a donative while they were still at Brundusium. When Caesar heard of this he flew from Massilia to Placentia and coming before the soldiers, who were still in a state of mutiny, addressed them as follows: "You know what kind of speed I use in everything I undertake. This war is not prolonged by us, but by the enemy, who keep retiring from us. You reaped great advantages from my command in Gaul, and you took an oath to me for the whole of this war and not for a part only; and now you abandon us in the midst of our labours, you revolt against your officers, you propose to give orders to those from whom you are bound to receive orders. Being myself the witness of my liberality to you heretofore I shall now execute the law of our country by decimating the ninth legion, where this mutiny began." Straightway a cry went up from the whole legion, and the officers threw themselves at Caesar's feet in supplication. Caesar yielded little by little and so far remitted the punishment as to designate 120 only (who seemed to have been the leaders

* The Greek text is conjectural.
CAP. σαι καὶ δυόδεκα αὐτῶν τοὺς λαχόντας ἀνελείν.
tῶν δὲ δυόδεκα τῶν δὲ ἐφάνη τις οὐδ’ ἐπιδημῶν, ὅτε ἦς στάσις ἐγίγνετο. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐμφή-
ναντα λοχαγὸν ἔκτεινεν ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ.

48. Ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ Πλακεντίαν στάσις οὔτως ἐσέλευτο, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην παρῆλθε, καὶ
αὐτὸν ὁ δήμος πεφρικὼς ἥρειτο δικτάτορα, ὅπερ τι τῆς βουλῆς ψηφιζομένης οὔτε προχειρο-
tονοῦντος ἄρχοντος. ὁ δὲ, εἰτε παρατησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἐπίσθον εἶτε οὐ χρήζουν, ἀρξας
ἐπὶ ἐνδέκα μοῦνας ἥμερας (ὥδε γὰρ τισι δοκεῖ) ὑπάτους ἐσ τῷ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν ἀευτὸν τε καὶ
Πούπλιον Ἰσαυρικόν. ἡγεμόνας τε ἐς τὰ ἐθνὶ
περιεπεμπεν ἣ ἐνήλπατεν, ἐφ’ ἀευτοῦ καταλέγων,
ἐς μὲν Ἰβηρίαν Μάρκου Δέπιδον, ἐς δὲ Σικελίαν
Αὐλον Ἀλβῖνον, ἐς δὲ Σαρδῶ Σέξτον Πεδοῦ-
καίου, ἐς δὲ τὴν νεόληπτον Γαλατίαν Δέκμον
Βροῦτον. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ λιμόττουντι σίτον ἐπέδωκε
καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας δεομένῳ καταγαγεῖν συνεχώ-
ρησε, χωρίς Μίλωνος. αἰτοῦσι δ’ αὐτῶις καὶ
χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς διὰ τε πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ
tὴν ἐκ τῶν δὲ τις πιπρασκομένως ἐπούσαν εὐνο-
ίαιν, τὰς μὲν ἀποκοπᾶς οὐκ ἔδωκε, τιμητὰς δὲ τῶν
ἀνίων ἀπέφηνεν, ὅν ἐδει τοὺς χρήστας τοῖς
dανείσασιν ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων διδόναι. καὶ τάδε
πράξας περὶ χειμερίους τροπᾶς περιέπεμπε τὸν
στρατὸν ἀπαντάν ὡς τὸ Βρεντέσιον αὐτὸς τε ἔβην
Δεκεμβρίου μηνὸς Ῥωμαίοις οὖν, οὐκ ἀναμείνας
οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνεκα τὴν νομμηνίαν τοῦ ἔτους
πλησιάζουσαν. ὁ δὲ δήμος εἴπετο παρακαλῶν
συμβήναι Πομπηίῳ, οὐ γὰρ ἄδηλον ἤν ἐς μοναρ-
χίαν τὸν νικῶντα τρέψεσθαι.

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of the revolt), and chose twelve of these by lot to be put to death. One of the twelve proved that he was absent when the conspiracy was formed, and Caesar put to death in his stead the centurion who had accused him.

48. After thus quelling the mutiny at Placentia, Caesar proceeded to Rome, where the trembling people chose him dictator without any decree of the Senate and without the intervention of a magistrate. But he, either deprecating the office as likely to prove invidious or not desiring it, after holding it only eleven days (as some say) designated himself and Publius Isauricus as consuls. He appointed or changed the governors of provinces according to his own pleasure. He assigned Marcus Lepidus to Spain, Aulus Albinus to Sicily, Sextus Peducaeus to Sardinia, and Decimus Brutus to the newly acquired Gaul. He distributed corn to the starving people and at their petition he allowed the return of all exiles except Milo. When he was asked to decree an abolition of debts, on the ground that the wars and seditions had caused a fall of prices, he refused it, but appointed appraisers of saleable goods which debtors might give to their creditors instead of money. When this had been done, about the winter solstice, he sent for his whole army to rendezvous at Brundusium and he himself took his departure in the month of December, according to the Roman calendar, not waiting for the beginning of his consulship on the calends of the new year, which was close at hand. The people followed him to the city gates, urging him to come to an arrangement with Pompey, for it was evident that whichever of the two should conquer would assume sovereign power.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

**VIII**

CAP. VIII

49. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὠδευεν οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων δυνατῆς ἐπείξεως, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος πάντα τὸν χρόνον τόνδε ναῦς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ στρατὸν αἰεὶ πλείονα καὶ χρήματα συνήγη καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ Καίσαρος τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς ἐλὼν ἐφύλασσεν αὐτὸν τὸν διάπλουν τὸν τε στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε, συντρέχοι καὶ συνιππεύοι καὶ παντὸς ἐξάρχων πόνου παρ' ἡλικίαιν' ὄθεν αὐτῷ ῥάδιως εὐνοιά τε ἦν, καὶ συνέθεεν ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια Πομπήίου πάντες ὡς ἐπὶ θέαν. ἦν δ' ἐς τότε Καίσαρι μὲν δέκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ Κελτῶν ἤπτεες μύροι, Πομπήῖῳ δὲ πέντε μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας, μεθ' ὀν τὸν Ἰονίον διεπεπλεύκει, καὶ τούτοις ὅσοι συνετάσσοντο ἤπτεες, ἐκ δὲ Παρθανίων δύο, τῶν σὺν Κράσσῳ πεπολεμηκότων τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, ... καὶ τι μέρος ἅλλο τῶν ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἐσβαλόντων μετὰ Γαβινίου, σύμπαντα ἄνδρῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐνδεκα τέλη καὶ ἤπτεες ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐπτακισχίλιοις. σύμμαχοι δ' ἐξ Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Βοιωτίας τοξόται τε Κρήταις καὶ σφενδονηταί Θρᾴκες καὶ ὅσοι περὶ τῶν Πόντου βέλεσι χρώνται, ἤπτεες τε τινες Κελτῶν καὶ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐτεροί τῆς ἑώς Κομμαγνοῦ τε ὑπ' Ἀντιόχου πεμφθέντες καὶ Κύλικας καὶ Καππαδόκαι καὶ ἐκ τῆς βραχυτέρας Ἀρμενίας τινες καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι. ὰν οὐχ ἀπασιν ἐς μάχας, ἀλλ' ἐς φρούρια καὶ ταφρείας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ στρατοῦ χρήσθαι διενοεῖτο, ἵνα μηδένα τῶν Ἰταλῶν τοῦ
49. Caesar departed on his journey and travelled with all possible speed, but in the meantime Pompey was using all diligence to build ships and collect additional forces of men and money. He captured forty of Caesar's ships in the Adriatic and guarded against his crossing. He disciplined his army and took part in the exercises of both infantry and cavalry, and was foremost in everything, notwithstanding his age. In this way he readily gained the good-will of his soldiers; and the people flocked to see Pompey's military drills as to a spectacle. Caesar at that time had ten legions of infantry and 10,000 Gallic horse. Pompey had five legions from Italy, with which he had crossed the Adriatic, and the cavalry belonging to them; also the two surviving legions that had served with Crassus in the Parthian war and a certain part of those who had made the incursion into Egypt with Gabinius, making altogether eleven legions of Italian troops and about 7000 horse. He had auxiliaries also from Ionia, Macedonia, Peloponnesus, and Bocotia, Cretan archers, Thracian slingers, and Pontic javelin-throwers. He had also some Gallic horse and others from eastern Galatia, together with Comageneans sent by Antiochus, Cilicians, Cappadocians, some troops from Lesser Armenia, also Pamphylians and Pisidians. Pompey did not intend to use all these for fighting. Some were employed in garrison duty, in building fortifications, and in other service for the Italian soldiers, so that none of the latter should be

\[1\] There is a small gap in the text here.
πολέμου περιστάτη. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἢν αὐτῷ τὰ πεζά, νῆσε δὲ μακρὰς μὲν ἐντελεῖς τοῖς πληρῶμαις ἐξακόσια, καὶ τούτων ἐς ἐκατὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβατῶν, αἰ καὶ μάλιστα προὔχειν ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ ὅλκάδων καὶ σκευοφόρων ἄλλο πλῆθος. ναῦαρχοὶ τε πολλοὶ κατὰ μέρη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Μᾶρκος Βύβλος.

50. Ὁς δὲ οἱ πάντα ἦν ἐτοιμα, συναγαγὼν ὅσοι τε ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Βουλής καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἄπαντα ἐς ἐπίκουν, ἔλεξεν ὅδε "καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον, ὦ ἀνδρές, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τοῖς ἐπιούσι πολεμοῦντες, οὐ τὰ οἰκήματα πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀνδρας εἶναι νομίζοντες· καὶ τόδε πράξαντες ὥς ἐκ τῆς ἀνέλαβον τοὺς καὶ εὐκλεεστέραν ἀπέφηναν· καὶ ἦμων αὐτῶν οἱ πρόγονοι Κελτῶν ἐπιόντων ἐξέλιπον τὸ ἀστυν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἀνεσωσάτο ἐξ 'Αρδεάτῶν Κάμιλλος ὀρμώμενος. πάντες τε οἱ εὐ φρονοῦντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὅτι ποτ' ἀν ὅσιν, ἠγοῦνται πατρίδα. ὁ καὶ ἦμείς ἐνθυμοῦμενοι δεύρο διέπλευσαμεν, οὐ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλειπόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρασκευάσμενοι τῇ καλῶς ἐνθάδε καὶ ἀμυνοῦμενοι τὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύοντα αὐτῇ, διὰ δὲ τοὺς δωροδοκοῦντας τῇ Ἰταλίαν ἄφιον καταλαβόντα. ὃν ὡμώς μὲν ἐγνώρισασθε εἶναι πολέμιον, ὁ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἵγγεμόνας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ὑμέτερα περιπέμπει καὶ τῇ πόλει τινᾶς ἐφίστησι καὶ έτέρους ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν· τοσίδε
kept away from the battles. Such were Pompey's land forces. He had 600 war-ships perfectly equipped, of which about 100 were manned by Romans and were understood to be much superior to the rest. He also had a great number of transports and ships of burden. There were numerous naval commanders for the different divisions, and Marcus Bibulus had the chief command over all.

50. When all was in readiness Pompey called the senators, the knights, and the whole army to an assembly and addressed them as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the Athenians, too, abandoned their city for the sake of liberty when they were fighting against invasion, because they believed that it was not houses that made a city, but men; and after they had done so they presently recovered it and made it more renowned than even before. So, too, our own ancestors abandoned the city when the Gauls invaded it, and Camillus hastened from Ardea and recovered it. All men of sound mind think that their country is wherever they can preserve their liberty. Because we were thus minded we sailed hither, not as deserters of our native land, but in order to prepare ourselves to defend it gloriously against one who has long conspired against it, and, by means of bribe-takers, has at last seized Italy by a sudden invasion. You have decreed him a public enemy, yet he now sends governors to take charge of your provinces. He appoints others over the city and still others throughout Italy. With such audacity has he deprived the people of their own

1 Herodotus viii. 41. The latter part of the sentence was a commonplace from Alcaeus downwards.
2 B.C. 389 is a probable date.
CAP. VIII τόλμη τον δήμον ἀφαίρεται την ἡγεμονίαν. καὶ εἰ τάδε πολεμῶν ἔτι καὶ δεδιός καὶ δίκην σὺν θεῷ δώσων ἐξεργάζεται, τί χρή νικήσαντα προσδοκᾶν ἐκλείψειν ὡμότητος ἡ βίας; καὶ τάδε πράττοντι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος σύνεισιν τινὲς ἐωνημένου χρημάτων ὄν ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας Γαλατίας πεπόρισται, δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσονοµίας αἱροῦμενοι.

51. Ἔγω δ' οὖν ἐξέλιπον οὔδ' ἀν ἐκλήπτομι τὸν μεθ' ὕμων καὶ ὑπὲρ ὕμων ἀγώνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτην ἐμαυτὸν ὕμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπιδίδωμι καὶ, εὖ τις ἔστι μοι πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τύχη ἀηττήτω μέχρι νῦν γενοµένω, καὶ τάδε μοι πάντα τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὰ παρόντα συνενεγκεῖν εὔχοµαι καὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι κινδυνευούσῃ καθὰ καὶ περικτωµένῃ τὴν ἡγεµονίαν αἰσιος. θαρρεῖν δὲ χρὴ τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ λογισµῷ τοῦ πολέµου, καλὴν καὶ δικαίαν ἔχοντι φιλοτιµίαν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος πολιτείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ, τῷ πλήθει τῆς παρασκευῆς τῷ τε νῦν ὄντι ἡµῖν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ τῷ γιγαντέοφι τε ἁεὶ καὶ προσεσυµένῳ μᾶλλον, ἐπειδὰν τὸν ἔργων ἀψώμεθα. οὐσα γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω καὶ τὸν Εὐζείνον πόντον ἔθνη, πάντα, ἔλληνικά τε καὶ βάρβαρα, ἡµῖν σύνεστι καὶ βασιλεῖς, ὅσοι Ρωµαιοὶ ἢ ἐµοὶ φίλοι, στρατιῶν καὶ βέλη καὶ ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν χορηγοῦσιν. ἵτε οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄξιός τῆς τε πατρίδος καὶ ὕµῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐµοῦ, καὶ τῆς Καίσαρος Ὑβρεως μνηµονεύοντες καὶ ὑέως ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόµενα χωροῦντες."
government. If he does these things while the war is still raging and while he is apprehensive of the result and when we intend, with heaven's help, to bring him to punishment, what cruelty, what violence is he likely to abstain from if he wins the victory? And while he is doing these things against the fatherland certain men, who have been bought with money that he obtained from our province of Gaul, co-operate with him, choosing to be his slaves instead of his equals.

51. "I have not failed and I never will fail to fight with you and for you. I give you my services both as soldier and as general. If I have any experience in war, if it has been my good fortune to remain unvanquished to this day, I pray the gods to continue all these blessings in our present need, and that I may become a man of happy destiny for my country in her perils as I was in extending her dominion. Surely we may trust in the gods and in the righteousness of the war, which has for its noble and just object the defence of our country's constitution. In addition to this we may rely upon the magnitude of the preparations which we behold on land and sea, which are all the time growing and will be augmented still more as soon as we come into action. We may say that all the nations of the East and around the Euxine Sea, both Greek and barbarian, stand with us; and kings, who are friends of the Roman people or of myself, are supplying us soldiers, arms, provisions, and other implements of war. Come to your task then with a spirit worthy of your country, of yourselves, and of me, mindful of the wrongs you have received from Caesar, and ready to obey my orders promptly."

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52. 'Ο μὲν ὥσπερ εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἄπας καὶ ὁσοὶ ἦσαν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς, πολὺ καὶ γνωριμώτατον πλήθος, εὐφήμουν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐκέλευον ἀγειν, ἐφ' ὦ τι χρήζοι. ὁ δὲ (Ἡγείτο γὰρ, δυσχεροῖς ἐτι τῆς ὥρας οὕσης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλημένου, μετὰ χειμώνα ἐπιπλευσείςθαι τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπατόν τε ὄντα τὴν ἄρχην ἐν τοσῷ διαθήσεσθαι) τοὺς μὲν ναυάρχους προσέτατεν ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἐς χειμασίαν ἐπιδιήρει καὶ περιέπεμπεν ἐς τε Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν.

Καὶ Πομπήιος μὲν οὕτω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀμέλδως ἐτεκμαίρετο, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ, ὦς μοι προείρητο, περὶ χειμερίους τροπάς ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἠπείγετο, νομίζων τῷ ἀδοκίτῳ μάλιστα ἐκπλήξειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οὔτε δὲ ἀγορὰν οὔτε παρασκευὴν οὔτε τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάντα ἡθροισμένον ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταλαβὼν, τοὺς παρόντας ὁμοὶ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν ἔλεγεν.

53. "Οὔτε τῆς ὥρας τὸ χειμέριον, δ' ἄνδρες, οἳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔμοι συναίρεσθε, οὔθ' ἡ τῶν ἀλλων βραδυτῆς ἡ ἐνδέια τῆς πρεποῦσης παρασκευῆς ἐφέξει με τῆς ὀρμῆς: ἀντὶ γὰρ πάντων ἡγούμαι μοι συνοίσειν τὴν ταχυεργίαν. καὶ πρῶτοι ἡμᾶς, οἳ πρῶτοι συνεδράμομεν ἀλλήλοις, ἄξιοὶ δὲ παράποντας μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὑποξύγια καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ πάνθ' ὑπολιπέσθαι, ἢν ἡμᾶς αἴ παροῦσαι νῆς ὑποδέξωνται, μόνους δ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάντας περᾶν, ἢν τοὺς ἑχθροὺς διαλαθοιμέν, τῷ μὲν χειμῶνι τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἀντιδείτες, τῇ δ' ὀλυγότητι τόλμαν, τῇ δ' ἀπορίᾳ τὴν τῶν ἑχθρῶν εὐπορίαν, ὡς ἐστὶν ἡμῖν εὐθὺς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ
52. When Pompey had thus spoken the whole army, including the senators and a great many of the nobility who were with him, applauded him vociferously and told him to lead them to whatsoever task he would. Pompey thought that as the season was bad and the sea harbourless Caesar would not attempt to cross till the end of winter, but would be occupied in the meantime with his duties as consul. So he ordered his naval officers to keep watch over the sea, and then divided his army and sent it into winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia.

So heedlessly did Pompey form his judgment of what was about to take place. Caesar, as I have already said, hastened to Brundusium about the winter solstice, intending to strike terror into his enemies by taking them by surprise. Although he found neither provisions, nor apparatus, nor his whole army collected at Brundusium, he, nevertheless, called those who were present to an assembly and addressed them as follows:—

53. "Fellow soldiers—you who are joined with me in the greatest of undertakings—neither the winter weather, nor the delay of our comrades, nor the want of suitable preparation shall check my onset. I consider rapidity of movement the best substitute for all these things. I think that we who are first at the rendezvous should leave behind us here our servants, our pack-animals, and all our apparatus in order that the ships which are here may hold us, and that we should embark alone and cross over at once without the enemy's knowledge. Let us oppose our good fortune to the winter weather, our courage to the smallness of our numbers, and to our want of supplies the abundance of the enemy, which will be
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CAP. VIII τὴν γῆν κρατεῖν, ἧν εἰδόμεν, ὅτι μὴ κρατήσασιν οὐδὲν ἐστίν ἵδιον. ἦμεν οὖν ἔπει θεράπουτάσ τε καὶ σκεύη καὶ ἄγορᾶν τὴν ἑκείνων, ἐὼς χειμάζουσιν ἐν ύποστέγοις. ἦμεν, ἐὼς Πομπήιος ἠγείται κἂμε χειμάζειν ἡ περὶ πομπᾶς καὶ θυσίας υπατικὰς εἶναι. εἰδόσι δ' ὑμῖν ἐκφέρω δυνατώτατον ἐν πολέμωι ἔργον εἶναι τὸ ἀδόκητον· φιλότιμον δὲ καὶ πρώτιστον δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι τῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῖς αὐτικά διωξομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῆ τὰ ἑκεῖ προετοιμάσαι. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ καὶ τόνδε τὸν καρδίν πλεῖν ἄν ἢ λέγειν μᾶλλον ἐβουλόμην ἵνα με Πομπήιος ἵδη, νομίζων ἐτὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν 'Ῥώμη διατίθεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ύμέτερον εὐπειθὲς εἰδῶς ὀμοί ἀναμένω τὴν ἀπόκρισιν."

54. Ἀναβοήσαντος δὲ σὺν ὀρμῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἀγειν σφᾶς, εὐθὺς ἔπει τὴν θάλασσαν ἤγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος, πέντε πεζῶν τέλη καὶ ἅπτεας λογάδας ἐξακοσίους. καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀγκυρῶν ἀπεσάλευε κλυδωνίου διαταράσσοντος. χειμέριοι δ᾽ ἦσαν τροπαί, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἀκοντα καὶ ἀσχάλλοντα κατεκώλυε, μέχρι καὶ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἔτους ἦμεραν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ διατρίβαι. καὶ δύο τελῶν ἅλλων ἐπελθόντων, ὁ δὲ καὶ τάδε προσλαβὼν ἀνήγετο χειμῶνος ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων: αἰ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῷ νησὶς ὀλγαί μακραί, Σαρδῶ καὶ Σικελίαν ἔφρουρον. ὑπὸ δὲ χειμώνων εἰς τὰ Κεραύνια ὅρη περιαχθέει τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθὺς ἐς Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἅλλην στρατιάν περιέπεμπεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὤντος ἐπὶ πόλιν "Ωρικον διὰ τραχείας ἀτραποῦ καὶ στενῆς, εἰς μέρῃ πολλὰ διασπώμενος ὑπὸ
ours to take as soon as we touch the land, if we realize that unless we conquer nothing is our own. Let us go then and possess ourselves of their servants, their apparatus, their provisions, while they are spending the winter under cover. Let us go while Pompey thinks that I am spending my time in winter quarters also, or in processions and sacrifices appertaining to my consulship. It is needless to tell you that the most potent thing in war is unexpectedness. It will be glorious for us to carry off the first honours of the coming conflict and to make everything safe in advance yonder for those who will immediately follow us. For my part I would rather now be sailing than talking, so that I may come in Pompey’s sight while he thinks me engaged in my official duties at Rome. I am certain that you agree with me, but yet I await your response.”

54. The whole army cried out with enthusiasm that he should lead on. Caesar at once led, direct from the platform to the seashore, five legions of foot-soldiers and 600 chosen horse, but as a storm came up he was obliged to anchor off shore. It was now the winter solstice and the wind kept him back, chafing and disappointed, and held him in Brundusium until the first day of the new year. In the meantime two more legions arrived and Caesar embarked these also and started in the winter time on merchant ships, for he had only a few war-ships and these were guarding Sardinia and Sicily. The ships were driven by the winds to the Ceraunian Mountains and Caesar sent them back immediately to bring the rest of the army. He then marched by night against the town of Óricum by a rough and narrow path, with his force divided in several parts
CAP. VIII τῆς δυσχωρίας, ὡς εὐπαρχείρητος ἂν, εἰ τις ἥσθετο, γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ τήν ἐω μόλις αὐτῷ συνήει τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ὁ φρούραρχος ὁ τῆς Ὁρίκου, τῶν ἐνδον αὐτῷ προειπότων οὐ καλύσειν ἐπίοντα Ῥωμαίοι ύπατον, τάς τε κλεῖς παρέδωκε τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ κατέμεινε τιμῆς ἀξιούμενος. Λουκρίτιος δὲ καὶ Μινούκιος ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ὁρίκου ναυσίν ὀκτωκαίδεκα μακραῖς Πομπήιος σῖτον ἐν πλοίοις φυλάσσοντες τά τε πλοία κατέδυσαν, ἵνα μὴ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτὰ λάβοι, καὶ ἐς Δυρράχιον διέφυγον. ὀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ὁρίκου Καίσαρ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν ἥπειγετό καὶ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν αὐτὸν δεχομένων, Σταβέριος ὁ φρούραρχος ἐξέλιπε τὴν πόλιν.

55. Καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀλάσας τὸν ἐαυτοῦ στρατὸν ἀνέμνησεν, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ταχυεργίαν τοῦ τε χειμώνος σὺν τῇ τῆς περιγένευτο καὶ θαλάσσης τοσὶδὲ χωρὶς νεῶν κρατήσειαν Ὁρίκον τε καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀμαχεῖ λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμῶν ἔχοιεν, καθάπερ εἴπεν, ἀγνοοῦντος ἐτί Πομπήιον. “ἐἰ δὲ καὶ Δυρράχιον,” ἔφη, “τὸ ταμεῖον τῆς Πομπήίου παρασκευὴς προλάβοιμεν, ἐσται πάντα ἡμῖν, ἃ ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὅλου θέρους πεπονημένοις.” τοσαῦτα εἴπον ἦγε συντόμως ἐπὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον αὐτοῦ ὁδὸν μακράν, οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀναπαύον. Πομπήιος δὲ προμαθῶν ἀντιπαρώδενεν ἐκ Μακεδονίας, σὺν ἐπείξει καὶ ὅδε πολλῆ, κόπτων τε τῇ ύλῇ, ἣν παρώδενεν, ἵνα Καίσαρι δύσβατος εἰη, καὶ ποταμῶν γεφύρας διαιρῶν καὶ ἀγορᾶν τὴν ἐν μέσῳ πᾶσαν ἐμπιπταρᾶς,
on account of the difficulties of the road, so that if anyone had observed it he might have been easily beaten. With much trouble he got his detachments together about daylight and the commander of the garrison of Oricum, having been forbidden by the townspeople to oppose the entrance of a Roman consul, delivered the keys of the place to Caesar and remained with him in a position of honour. Lucretius and Minucius, who were on the other side of Oricum with eighteen war-ships guarding merchant ships loaded with corn for Pompey, sunk the latter to prevent them from falling into Caesar's hands, and fled to Dyrrachium. From Oricum Caesar hastened to Apollonia, the inhabitants of which received him. Straberius, the commander of the garrison, abandoned the city.

55. Caesar assembled his army and congratulated them on the success they had achieved by their rapid movement in mid-winter, on conquering such a sea without war-ships, on taking Oricum and Apollonia without a fight, and on capturing the enemy's supplies, as he had predicted, without Pompey's knowledge. "If we can anticipate him in reaching Dyrrachium, his military arsenal," he added, "we shall be in possession of all the things they have collected by the labours of a whole summer." After speaking thus he led his soldiers directly toward Dyrrachium over a long road, not stopping day or night. Pompey, being advised beforehand, marched toward the same place from Macedonia with extreme haste also, cutting down trees along the road, in order to obstruct Caesar's passage, destroying bridges, and setting fire to all the supplies he met with, considering it at the same time of the
CAP. VIII ἐν μεγίστῳ, καθάπερ ἦν, καὶ ὅσε τιθέμενος τῇ ἕαυτοι παρασκευῇ διαφυλάξατο. κοινωντὸν δὲ ἢ πῦρ ἢ καπνὸν εἰ ποτὲ μακρόθεν ἵδοιεν αὐτῶν ἑκάτεροι, νομίζοντες εἶναι τὰ ἄλληλων ἐφιλονίκουν ὡς ἐν ἀγωνὶ δρόμου, καὶ οὔτε τροφὴ καὶ φαγόν ἐδίδοσαν οὔτε ὑπνὸ ἐπείξας δὴ ἦν καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ βοά τῶν ἀγώντων αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ λαμπτήρισι, καὶ θόρυβος ἐκ τοῦδε πολὺς καὶ φόβος, ὡς τῶν πολεμιῶν αἰὲν πλησιαζόντων. ὑπὸ δὲ καμάτου τινὸς ἀπερρήτου, ὢ ἐφερον, ἢ ἐν φάραγξι διαλαβόντες ὑπελείποντο, τὴν αὐτίκα ἀνάπαυσιν τοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἔχθρων φόβου διαλασσόμενοι.

56. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἐκατέρων κακοπαθοῦντων προῦλαβεν ὅμως ὁ Πομπήιος τὸ Δυνράχιον καὶ παρατεθεῖσθαι τῷ ἔστρατοπέδευσεν, ναύς τε ἐπητέρψας Ὡμίκον αὖθις εἶλε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἄκριβεστέραις φρουραῖς ἐφύλασσεν. ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Πομπήιον τῶν Ἀλωρα ποταμὸν ἐν μέσῳ θέμενος ἐστρατοπέδευσε καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντες ἐπομάχουν ἄλληλοις ἀνὰ μέρη, ἀθρόους δὲ τοῖς στρατοῖς οὐ συνεπλέκοντο, Πομπήιος μὲν ἐτὶ γυμνάζων τοὺς νεοστρατεύτους, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ τοὺς ἐκ Βρεντεσίου περιμένον. νομίζας δὲ ἔαρος μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ὀλκάδων διαπλάνοντας οὐ λήσει τὰς τοῦ Πομπήιον τριήρεις θαμίαν ἐς φυλακὴν ἀναπλεούσας, χειμῶνος δὲ εἰ παραβάλλοιτο, ναυλοχοῖς ἐς νῆσους τῶν πολεμίων, λαθεὶν ἄν αὐτοὺς ἵσοις ἢ καὶ βιώσασθαι μεγέθει τε νεῶν καὶ πνεύματι, μετεπέμπτο κατὰ σπουδήν. οὐκ ἀναγομένων δὲ ἐκείνων αὐτῶς ἐκρίνεν ἐπὶ τὴν
greatest importance (as it was) to safeguard his own stores. If either army saw any dust, or fire, or smoke at a distance they thought it was caused by the other, and they strove like athletes in a race. They did not allow themselves time for food or sleep. All was haste and eagerness mingled with the shouts of guides who carried torches, causing tumult and fear as the hostile armies were ever drawing nearer and nearer to each other. Some of the soldiers from fatigue threw away their loads. Others hid themselves in ravines and were left behind, exchanging their fear of the enemy for the rest which the moment craved.

56. In the midst of such distresses on either side Pompey arrived first at Dyrrachium and encamped near it. He sent a fleet and retook Oricum and kept the strictest watch on the sea. Caesar pitched his camp so that the river Alor ran between himself and Pompey. By crossing the stream they had occasional cavalry skirmishes with each other, but the armies did not come to a general engagement, for Pompey was still exercising his new levies and Caesar waited for the forces left at Brundusium. The latter apprehended that if these should sail in merchant ships in the spring they would not escape Pompey's triremes, which would be patrolling the sea, as guard ships, in great numbers, but if they should cross in winter while the enemy were lying inside among the islands they might perhaps be unnoticed, or might force their way by the strength of the wind and the size of their ships. So he sent orders to them to hasten. As they did not start he

1 Caesar and all other authorities say the river Apsus.
CAP. VIII 

στρατιάν διαπλέεσαι λαθών, ὡς οὐ τινος αὐτὴν ἀλλον ῥαδίως ἐπαξομένου. καὶ τὸ βουλευμα ἐπικρύψας ἔπεμψε τρεῖς θεράποντας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ δυόδεκα σταδίων ὄντα, οἱ κελήτιον ὄξυ καὶ κυβερνήτην τὸν ἄριστον ὡς δὴ τινι πεµ-

κοµένω πρὸς Καίσαρος ἐμελλον ἐτοιμάσειν.

IX 

CAP. IX 

57. Αὐτὸς δ' ἀπὸ διαίτης ὑπεχώρησε μὲν ὡς κάµνων τῷ σώµατι, τοὺς φίλους ἔτι ἔστιασθαὶ κελεύσας, ἐπεθέμενος δ' ἐσθήτα ἰδιῶτον καὶ ὁχή-

µατος εὐθὺς ἐπιθὰς ἔξηλασεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ὡς ὅδε ὁ πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπεσταλµένος: τά τε λοιπὰ διὰ τῶν θεράποντων προσέτασσεν, ἐγκεκα-

λυµένους τε καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ μάλιστα ἀγνοοῦµενος. χειµερίου δὲ τοῦ πνεύµατος οὕτως θαρρεῖν ἐκέ-

λευνον οἱ θεράποντες τὸν κυβερνήτην ὡς τὸδε μάλιστα λησώµενοι τοὺς πολεµίους ἐγγὺς ὄντας. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποταµὸν ὁ κυβερνήτης εἱρεσία βιαζό-

µενος ἐπέλευ: ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἀφίκετο καὶ ἡ

θάλασσα σὺν κλυδωνίῳ καὶ πνεύµατι τὸ ρεῖµα ἀνέκοπτεν, ὡς ἐπὶ σπιστερχόντων αὐτῶν τῶν θερα-

πόντων ἐβιάζετο καὶ ὡς ἐς οὐδὲν προκόπτων ἀπέ-

καµὲν καὶ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἀποκαλυ-

πάµενος ἐνεβόησεν αὐτῷ: “θαρρῶν ὦθι πρὸς τὸν

κλύδωνα: Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην.” ἐκπλαγείνων δὲ τῶν ἑρετῶν καὶ τοῦ

κυβερνήτου προθυµία τε πᾶσιν ἐνίσπιτε καὶ ἡ

ναῦς ὑπὸ βίας ἐξέπιπτε τοῦ ποταµοῦ. τὸ πνεύµα

δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ κύµα μετέωρον ἐς τὰς ὀχθας

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decided to cross over secretly to that army, because no one else could bring them so easily. He concealed his intention and sent three servants to the river, a distance of twelve stades, to procure a fast-sailing boat with a first rate pilot, saying that it was for a messenger sent by Caesar.

IX

57. Rising from supper he pretended to be fatigued and told his friends to remain at the table. He put on the clothing of a private person, stepped into a carriage, and drove away to the ship, pretending to be the messenger sent by Caesar. He gave the rest of his orders through his servants and remained concealed by the darkness of the night and unrecognized. As there was a severe wind blowing the servants told the pilot to be of good courage and seize this opportunity to avoid the enemy who were in the neighbourhood. The pilot made his way down the river by rowing, but when they came toward the mouth they found it broken into surf by the wind and the sea. The pilot, urged by the servants, put forth all his efforts, but as he could make no progress fatigue and despair came upon him. Then Caesar threw off his disguise and called out to him, “Brave the tempest with a stout heart, you carry Caesar and Caesar’s fortunes.” Both the rowers and the pilot were astounded and all took fresh courage and gained the mouth of the river, but the wind and waves violently tossed the ship high on towards the bank. As the dawn was near and they
CAP. IX. dierepttei, meχri plothiazooushs hmeras oi meν evedeoikeasan wοs en φωτι kantadholoi tois polemyous esomevou, o de Kaiσar, to δαιμονιω χαλεψαμενος wοs fthonerφ, efhike tηn vaun epainenai.

'H meν dh pneumeTai tαxhe tov potamon anepilei, 58. Kaiσara d' oI meν edhaimazoun tis eurolmias, oI d' epemefunto wοs stratijtη retrpon erγon eirγasmeνou, ou stratjηγф. o d' ouketeι λησεσαι prosoθokon Postouμion anv' eautοi prosetaxe diapleusai te kai frasai Gαβiνων ton stratton evthis nginei diα thalassou. anv d' apeidhi tαuta prosastasein 'Antowφ kai πrτω meta ton 'Antow-νων Kalνγφ. eι d' oI treis apoκvoinei, εpsistolh pros ton stratton auton egeryrappto allh, ton bouloμenon auton epι tαs vais epesethai to Postouμion kai kataferei anaxθentas es χωριον, es o ti o anemos ekφerη, μηδεν ton νεων feidomeνουs: ou gar neων χρηζειν Kaiσara, alla anδρων.

Oυτω meν anτι λογισμων o Kaiσar epistoiθei tη tuth. tade oυn o Pompηios prolabheiv epelγosmeνos es maxhν diekseusmeνos ethei. kai duo autou stratjtwτon en meso twn potamωn ereunω-μενων, η μαλιστα ειη diabastos, twn tis Kai-σaros eb epjdramωn tουs dyo anveile. kai o Pompηios anxeusjev, ouk aισιον to sumbαν ηγουμενος. autian d' eiχhe parα πασι kairων οριστων eklipeiv.

59. Postouμion de diapleusantos es to Brev-τεσιον, o meν Gαβiνων ouχ υποστας to pros-ταγμα ήγε tουs bouloμενουs diα tηs 'Iλυριδοσ, oủδαμον dianaπaνων kai anηρεθηsan υπο tουν 'Iλυριων σχεδου απαντες, kai o Kaiσar ήνεγκεν
Feared lest the enemy should discover them in the day-light, Caesar, blaming the ill-will of his evil genius, allowed the ship to return. So the ship sailed up the river with a strong wind. 58. Some of Caesar's friends were astonished at this act of bravery; while others blamed him, saying that it was a deed becoming a soldier but not a general. As Caesar saw that he could not conceal a second attempt he ordered Postumius to sail to Brundusium in his place and tell Gabinius to cross over with the army immediately, and if he did not obey, to give the same order to Antony, and if he failed then to give it to Calenus. Another letter was written to the whole army in case all three should hesitate, saying, "that everyone who was willing to do so should follow Postumius on shipboard and sail to any place where the wind might carry them, and not to mind what happened to the ships, because Caesar did not want ships but men."

Thus did Caesar put his trust in fortune rather than in prudence. Pompey, in order to anticipate Caesar's reinforcements, made haste and led his army forward prepared for battle. While two of his soldiers were searching in midstream for the best place to cross the river, one of Caesar's men attacked and killed them both, whereupon Pompey drew back, as he considered this event inauspicious. All of his friends blamed him for missing this capital opportunity.

59. When Postumius arrived at Brundusium Gabinius did not obey the order, but led those who were willing to go with him by way of Illyria by forced marches. Almost all of them were destroyed by the Illyrians and Caesar was obliged to endure
CAP. ὑπ' ἀσχολίας. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπιβήσας Ἀπολλωνίαν μὲν παρέπλευσεν, ἵστοις μεστοῖς ἐπιπνέοντος ἀνέμου χαλάσαντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος περὶ μεσημβρίαν εἶκοσι τοῦ Πομπηίου νῆας, ἐπ' ἔρευναν τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναχθείσαι, καθορώσα τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐδίωκον. τοῖς δὲ ὦς ἐν γαλήνῃ δέος ἦν πολύ, μὴ σφάς ἀνατρήσειαν ἢ καταδύσειαν αἱ μακραὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις καὶ τὰ εἰκότα παρεσκεύαζοντο, σφενδόναι τε ἥψεντο ἥδη καὶ βῆλη. καὶ ὁ ἀνεμὸς ἄφνω μεῖζων ἡ πρότερον ἐπέρραξεν. αἱ μὲν δὴ μεγάλοις αὐθίνες ἰστίους ἐξ ἀέλπτου τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδέχοντο καὶ διέπλεον ἄδεως· αἱ δ' ἀπελείποντο, ῥοθίω καὶ πνεύματι καὶ θαλάσσῃ κοίλη κακοπαθοῦσαι. καὶ μόλις ἐς ἀλίμενα καὶ πετρώδη διερρήκησαν, δύο τινὰς ἐς τέλμα τῶν Καίσαρος κατενεχθείσας ἔλυσαν. Ἀντώνιος δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐς τὸ καλοῦμενον Νυμφαίον κατήχθη.

60. Καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι σύμπασ ὁ στρατὸς ἦδη παρήν, παρὴν δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ. καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ λόφων ἐν φρούριοις πολλοῖς, πειραὶ τε ἦσαν περὶ ἔκαστον φρούριον πυκναὶ περιταφρεύνων καὶ περιτειχιστεῖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ἵγινομενῶν ὑμῶν καὶ ποιοῦντων ἐν ἄποροις. ἐν δὲ ταῖσδε ταῖς πειραῖς περὶ τοῖς φρούριοι ἠττωμένου τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ λοχαγὸς, ὁ Σκεδας ὄνομα ἦν, πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρῶν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐτρώθη βέλει καὶ προπηδήσας κατέσεισεν ὡς εἴπεν τι βουλόμενος. σιωπῆς δ' αὐτῷ γενομένης, Πομπηίου λοχαγὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ γνώριμον ἐκάλει· "σῶζε τὸν ὁμοίον
the outrage as he could not spare time for vengeance. CHAP. IX

Antony embarked the remainder of the army and sailed past Apollonia with a strong favouring wind. About noon the wind failed and twenty of Pompey's ships, that had put out to search the sea, discovered and pursued them. There was great fear on Caesar's vessels lest in this calm the warships of the enemy should ram them with their prows and sink them. They prepared themselves for battle and began to discharge stones and darts, when suddenly the wind sprang up stronger than before, filled their great sails unexpectedly, and enabled them to complete their voyage without fear. The pursuers were left behind and they suffered severely from the wind and waves in the narrow sea and were scattered along a harbourless and rocky coast. With difficulty they captured two of Caesar's ships that ran on a shoal. Antony brought the remainder to the port of Nymphaeum.

60. By this time Caesar had his whole army concentrated together and Pompey his. They encamped opposite each other on hills in numerous redoubts. There were frequent collisions around each of these redoubts while they were making lines of circumvallation and trying to cut off each other's supplies. In one of these fights in front of a redoubt Caesar's men were worsted, and a centurion, of the name of Scaeva, while performing many deeds of valour, was wounded in the eye with a dart. He advanced in front of his men beckoning with his hand as though he wished to say something. When silence was obtained he called out to one of Pompey's centurions, who was likewise distinguished for bravery, "Save your
σεαυτῷ, σῷζε τὸν φίλον καὶ πέμπτε μοι τοὺς χειραγωγήσοντας, ἐπεὶ τέτρωμαι.” προσδραμόντων δ’ ὡς αὐτομολούντι δύο ἀνδρῶν, τὸν μὲν ἐφθασε κτείνας, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ὄμοιν ἀπέκοψε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε ἐπρασσεὶ ἀπογυμνώσκων ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ φρούριον. τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις αἰδώς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι καὶ ὀρμή προσέπτιττε, καὶ τὸ φρούριον περιεσώθη, πολλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρούράρχου Μινυκίου παθόντος, ὃ γέ φασι τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσιδ’ ἀναδέξασθαι βέλη, τὸ δὲ σῶμα εἰς τραύματα καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὄμοίως ἐκκοπῆναι. τούτους μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ἀριστείοις πολλοῖς ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δ’, ἐκ Δυρραχίου τινὸς αὐτῷ πρασσομένης προδοσίας, ἢκε μὲν, ὃς συνεκείτο, νυκτὸς σὺν ὅλγοις ἐπὶ πύλας καὶ ἵερόν Ἀρτέμιδος . . .

Τοῦ δ’ αὐτοῦ χειμώνος ἄλλην στρατιάν ἐκ Συρίας ἦγε Πομπήιος Σκιπίων ὁ κηδεστῆς καὶ αὐτῷ Γάιος Καλούσιος περὶ Μακεδονίαν συμβαλὼν ἢττάτο, καὶ τέλος ἐν αὐτοῦ κατεκόπη χωρὶς οκτακοσίων ἄνδρων.

61. Καῖσαρι μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἦν ἐκ βαλάσσης διὰ Πομπηίου ναυκρατοῦντα: ἐξίμασεν ὅτι ὁ στρατὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόλαν ἠρτοποίουν, αὐτόμολοι τε Πομπηίῳ τοιούτῳ ἄρτους προσήγεκαν ὡς εὐφρανοῦντες ἰδόντα.” ὁ δὲ οὐ ςήθη, ἀλλ’ εἴπεν, “οὔτις θηρίοις μαχόμεθα.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Καῖσαρ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαντα συνῆγεν ὡς καὶ ἄκοντα Πομπηίου βιασόμενος ἐς μάχην ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν φρούριων ἐκ τοῦτο κεκενωμένα προσλαβὼν ἦσύχαζε. καὶ τῶδε μάλιστα
comrade, your friend, and send somebody to lead me by the hand, for I am wounded." Two soldiers advanced to him thinking that he was a deserter. One of these he killed before the stratagem was discovered and he shore off the shoulder of the other. This he did because he despaired of saving himself and his redoubt. His men, moved by shame at this act of self-devotion, rushed forward and saved the redoubt. Minucius, the commander of the post, also suffered severely. It is said that he received 120 missiles on his shield, was wounded six times, and, like Scaeva, lost an eye. Caesar honoured them both with many military gifts. He himself, as an offer for the betrayal of the town had been made from Dyrrachium, went by agreement with a small force by night to the gates at the temple of Artemis…

The same winter Scipio, Pompey’s father-in-law, advanced with another army from Syria. Caesar’s general, Gaius Calvisius, had an engagement with him in Macedonia, was beaten, and lost a whole legion except 800 men.

61. As Caesar could obtain no supplies by sea, on account of Pompey’s naval superiority, his army began to suffer famine and was compelled to make bread from roots. When deserters brought loaves of this kind to Pompey, thinking that he would be gladdened by the spectacle, he was not at all pleased, but said, “What wild beasts we are fighting with!” Then Caesar, compelled by necessity, drew his whole army together in order to force Pompey to fight even against his will. The latter occupied a number of the redoubts that Caesar had vacated

1 There is a gap in the text at this place. The attempt failed, as we learn from Dio Cassius (xli. 50).
ἀνιαθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπετόλμησεν ἔργῳ δυς χερεὶ
tε καὶ παραλόγῳ, πάντα Πομπήιον τὰ στρατό-
peda ἐνὶ τείχει περιλαβῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θά-
lασσαν ἀποτείχίζαι, ὡς μεγάλην, εἰ καὶ διαμάρτου,
δόξαν οἰσόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τολμήματι στάδιοι γὰρ
ἡσαν διακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνεχείρει
tοσὸδε ἔργῳ, Πομπήιος δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνταπετάφρευε
καὶ ἀντοκοδόμευν καὶ μάταια τὰ ἔργα ἄλληλοις
ἐποίουν. γλυγνεῖ τὸ αὐτοῖς ἄγων εἰς μέγας ἐν
δὲ Πομπήιος τρέπεται τε τοὺς Καῖσαρος πάνν
λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας
σημεῖα τε πολλὰ ἔλεγεν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν αἰετόν,
ὁ δὲ κυριώτατὸν ἔστι Ἄρωμαίοις, μόλις ἐφθασεν
ὁ φέρων ὑπὲρ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς ἑνδον ῥῶσαι.

62. Γενομένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς ὁ Καῖσαρ
ἐτέρωθεν ἤγεν ἄλλον στράτον, οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ
τοῦτον περίφοβον, ὡς Πομπήιον μακρόθεν ἐπι-
φανέντος μήτε στήναι περὶ τὰς πῦλας ὄντας ἥδη
μήτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐν κόσμῳ μήτε πεισθῆναι τοῖς
προστάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν ἐκαστον, ὅπη τυ-
χοιεν, ἀμεταστρεπτὶ χωρίς αἴδους καὶ παραγγέλ-
ματος καὶ λογισμοῦ. Καῖσαρος δὲ αὐτοῖς περι-
θέοντος τε καὶ σὺν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μακρὰν ἔτι τὸν Πομ-
pήιον ὄντα ἐπεδεικύωντος, καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὰ
σημεῖα ἀπερρίπτουν καὶ ἐφευγοῦν, οἱ δὲ μόλις ὕπ'
αἴδους κατέκυπτον ἡ τῆς γῆς ἄπρακτον τοσοῦτος
αὐτοῖς τάραχος ἐνεπεπτώκει. εἰς δὲ καὶ στρέψας
and refused to move. Caesar was greatly vexed at this and ventured upon an extremely difficult and chimerical task; that is, to carry a line of circumvallation around the whole of Pompey’s positions from sea to sea, thinking that even if he should fail he would acquire great renown from the boldness of the enterprise. The circuit was 1200 stades. Caesar actually began this great work, but Pompey built a corresponding line of trench and rampart. Thus they parried each other’s efforts. Nevertheless, they fought one great battle in which Pompey defeated Caesar in the most brilliant manner and pursued his men in headlong flight to his camp and took many of his standards. The eagle (the standard held in highest honour by the Romans) was saved with difficulty, the bearer having just time to throw it over the palisade to those within.

62. After this remarkable defeat Caesar brought up other troops from another quarter, but these also fell into a panic even when they beheld Pompey still far distant. Although they were already close to the gates they would neither make a stand, nor enter in good order, nor obey the commands given to them, but all fled pell-mell without shame, without orders, without reason. Caesar ran among them and with reproaches showed them that Pompey was still far distant, yet under his very eye some threw down their standards and fled, while others bent their gaze upon the ground in shame and did nothing; so great consternation had befallen them. One of the standard bearers, with his standard reversed, dared

1 The text here is probably corrupt. The distance mentioned is equal to 133 miles. Caesar (iii. 63) says that it was 17 miles; Florus (iv. 2) says 16 miles.
CAP. IX  

τὸ σημεῖον ἀνέτεινε τὸν οὐρίαχον ἐς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. καὶ τόνδε μὲν οἱ Καίσαρος ὑπασπισταὶ κατέκοπτον, οἱ δὲ ἐσελθόντες οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ἅπιντον, ἀλλὰ μεθεμένα πάντα ἤν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ἄφυλακτον, ὥστε αὐτὸ δοκεῖ συνεσπεσῶν ἀν τότε ὁ Πομπήιος ἐλείν κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐν τῷ τόδε ἔργῳ πάντα ἑξεργάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ Λαβινιὸς οὗτος, θεοῦ παράγοντος, ἐπὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐπείθει τραπῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀμα ὦ-κυνησεν, ἢ τὴν ἄφυλαξίαν τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἐνέδραν ὕφορόμενος ἢ ὃς ἤδη κεκριμένον τοῦ πολέμου καταφρονήσας. ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω τραπείς ἐτέρους τε ἐκτεινε πολλοὺς καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἔλαβεν ἐν ταῖς δύο μάχαις ὀκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσιν καὶ δεύτερον τόνδε καιρὸν ἐν- 

teloús ἔργου μεθήκεν. δὲ καὶ τὸν Καίσαρά 

φασὶν εἴπειν, ὅτι σήμερον ἀν ὁ πόλεμος ἑξείρ- 

γαστὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ τὸν νικᾶν ἐπιστά-

μενον ἔχον.

Χ

CAP. 63. Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος τὴν τε νίκην υπερεπαίρων 

ἐπέστελλε βασιλεύσι καὶ πόλεσι πάσαις καὶ 

τὸν στρατὸν αὐτίκα τὸν Καίσαρος ἦλπίζε πρὸς 

ἐαυτὸν μεταβαλεῖσθαι, λιμῷ τε πεπιεσμένον καὶ 

ὑπὸ τῆς ἡπτῆς καταπετλημένου, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς 

ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς, τὸ σφέτερον ἁμάρτημα φοβου-

μένουσι. οἱ δὲ, θεοῦ σφᾶς ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν ἄγοντος, 

τὸ ἁμάρτημα ἦδοντο καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοῖς 

ἐπιμεμφομένου τε πράως καὶ συγγενώμην διδόντος
to thrust the end of it at Caesar himself, but the bodyguard cut him down. When the soldiers entered the camp they did not station any guards. All precautions were neglected and the fortification was left unprotected, so that it is probable that Pompey might then have captured it and brought the war to an end by that one engagement had not Labienus, in some heaven-sent lunacy, persuaded him to pursue the fugitives instead. Moreover Pompey himself hesitated, either because he suspected a stratagem when he saw the gates unguarded or because he contemptuously supposed the war already decided by this battle. So he turned against those outside of the camp and made a heavy slaughter and took twenty-eight standards in the two engagements of this day, but he here missed his second opportunity to give the finishing stroke to the war. It is reported that Caesar said, “The war would have been ended to-day in the enemy’s favour if they had had a commander who knew how to make use of victory.”

X

63. Pompey sent letters to all the kings and cities magnifying his victory, and he expected that Caesar’s army would come over to him directly, conceiving that it was oppressed by hunger and cast down by defeat, and especially the officers through fear of punishment for their base conduct in the battle. But the latter, as though some god had brought them to repentance, were ashamed of their baseness, and as Caesar chided them gently and granted them pardon, they became still more angry with them-
**APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY**

CAP. ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρεθίζοντο καθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἐκ παρωδόξου μεταβολῆς ἐκέλευον τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ διακληρώσαντα αὐτοὺς τὸ δέκατον μέρος ἀναίρειν. οὐ πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος μᾶλλον ἦδοῦντο καὶ συνεγίνωσκον αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξίως ὑπὸ σφῶν ἥδικησθαι καὶ τοὺς φέροντας τὰ σημεῖα κτείνειν ἐπεβόων, ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὶ ποτε φυγόντες, εἰ μὴ τὰ σημεῖα προαπεστράφη. ὡς δὲ ὁ Καίσαρ οὐδὲ τούτ' ἀνασχόμενος ὀλίγους μόλις ἐκόλασεν, αὐτίκα πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν μετριποτάθειαν ὁρμὴ τοσίδε ἐνέπιπτεν, ὡς εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀγείν ἀξιόν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ἑνέκειντο σφόδρα προθύμως, παρακαλοῦντές τε καὶ ὑπισχυόμενοι διορθώσεθαι τὸ ἀμάρτημα νίκη καλὴν· κατὰ τε σφὰς ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς ἄλληλους ἰλαδὸν κατὰ μέρη συνώμωντο, ἐφορῶντος αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, μὴ ἐπανηξεῖν ἐκ τῆς μάχης, εἰ μὴ κρατοῖεν.

64. "Ὅθεν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν φίλοι παρεκάλουν ἀποχρῆσασθαι τοιὰδε μετανοία καὶ προθυμία στρατοῦ· ὡς δὲ ἔστω τὸ πλήθος εἶπεν, ὅτι μετὰ βελτιώσων καιρῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀξεῖ, καὶ μεμνῆσθαι τῇ σε δή τῆς προθυμίας διεκλεύσατο, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἀνεδίδασκεν, ὅτι χρῆ καὶ τῶν ἐπιστρέφειν τὸν φόβον τῆς ἢττης πολὺν αὐτοῖς ἐγγενόμενον καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ φρόνημα ἀκμάξον προκαθελεῖν. ὤμολογεῖ τε μεταγιγνώσκειν πρὸς Δυρραχίῳ στρατοπεδεύσας. ἑνθα ἐστὶν
selves and by a surprising revulsion of sentiment demanded that they should be decimated according to the traditional rule. When Caesar did not agree to this they were still more ashamed, and acknowledged that they had done him a wrong which he had little deserved at their hands. They cried out that he should at least put the standard-bearers to death because they themselves would never have run away unless the standards had first been turned backwards in flight. Caesar would not consent even to this, but he reluctantly punished a few. So great was the zeal excited among all by his moderation that they demanded to be led against the enemy immediately. They urged him vehemently, encouraging him and promising to wipe out their disgrace by a splendid victory. Of their own accord they visited each other in military order and took an oath by companies, under the eye of Caesar himself, that they would not leave the field of battle except as victors.\(^1\)

64. Caesar's friends, therefore, urged him to avail himself of the army's repentance and eagerness promptly, but he said in the hearing of the host that he would take a better opportunity to lead them against the enemy, and he exhorted them to be mindful of their present zeal. He privately admonished his friends that it was necessary first for the soldiers to recover from the very great alarm of their recent defeat, and for the enemy to lose something of their present high confidence. He confessed also that he had made a mistake in encamping before Dyrrachium where Pompey had abundance of

\(^1\) This agrees with the account given by Caesar himself of what took place in his camp after his defeat at Dyrrachium.
Καὶ τάδε εἰπὼν ἐστὶ Γόμφους τε πόλιν μικρὰν οὐ δεχομένην αὐτὸν ἔξειλεν ὑπὸ ὄργιν καὶ ἐπέτρεψε τῷ στρατῷ διαρτάσαι. οἱ δ’ ὡς ἐκ λιμοῦ πάντων ἐνεπίμπλαντο ἀθρόως καὶ ἐμεθύσκοντο ἀπρεπῶς, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν οἱ Γερμανοὶ γελοιότατοι κατὰ τὴν μέθην ἦσαν, ὡστε δοκεῖ καὶ τότε ἂν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπελθὼν ἐργάσασθαι τῷ λαμπρῷ, εἰ μὴ διόκειν ὅλως ὑπερείδεν ἐκ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Καῖσαρ ἐπτά συντόνως ἡμέραις ὁδεύσας ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ Φάρσαλον. λέγεται δ’ ἐν τοῖς Γόμφους γενέσθαι παθηματα γενναία καὶ μεκροὺς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν γερόντων ἐν ἱατρείῳ φανῆναι, κυλίκων αὐτοῖς παρακειμένων ἀτρώτως, εἰκοσὶ μὲν ὡς ἐκ μέθης κατακεκλιμένους ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐνα δ’ ἐπὶ θρόνου παρακαθέζομενον οὐα ἱατρῶν, ὡς τὸ φάρμακον αὐτοῖς ἄρα παρέσχε.

65. Πομπήιος δ’ ἐπὶ τῇ Καῖσαρος ἀναζεύξει βουλὴν προτίθει. καὶ Ἀφρανίῳ μὲν ἐδόκει τὸ ναυτικόν, οὐ δὴ καὶ πολὺ προβαλεῖ, ἐπιπέμπειν Καῖσαρι καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν θαλασσοκρατοῦντας ἀλωμένω καὶ ἀποροῦντι, τὸ δὲ πεζὸν αὐτῶν Πομπήιον ἀγειν κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίαν ἐνύουν τοὺς αὐτῶν οὖσαν καὶ πολεμίων ἔρημον, κρατινάμενον δ’ αὐτήν τε καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐξ οἰκείας καὶ ἐγενομένος γῆς αὐθίς ἐπιχειρεῖν Καῖσαρι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀριστα ἄν οἱ γενόμενα
supplies, whereas he ought to have drawn him to some place where he would be subject to the same scarcity as themselves.

After saying this he marched directly to Apollonia and from there to Thessaly, advancing by night in order to conceal his movements. The small town of Gomphi, to which he came, refused to open its gates to him, and he took it by storm and gave it over to his army to plunder. The soldiers, who had suffered much from hunger, ate immoderately and drank wine to excess, the Germans among them being especially ridiculous under the influence of drink, so that it seems probable that Pompey might have attacked them then and gained another victory had he not disdainfully neglected a close pursuit. After seven days of rapid marching Caesar encamped near Pharsalus. It is said that among the notable calamities of Gomphi, the bodies of twenty venerable men of the first rank were found lying on the floor in an apothecary's shop, not wounded, and with goblets near them, as though they were drunk, but that one of them was seated in a chair like a physician, and had no doubt dealt out poison to them.

65. After Caesar had withdrawn Pompey called a council of war, at which Afranius advised that they should make use of their naval force, in which they were much superior, and being masters of the sea should harass Caesar, who was now wandering and destitute, and that Pompey himself should conduct his infantry with all haste to Italy, which was well disposed toward him and was now free from a hostile army. Having mastered it, together with Gaul and Spain, they could attack Caesar again from their own home, the seat of imperial power. Although this was
Καίσαρος στρατὸν μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὕπο τοῦ λιμοῦ, ὡς οὖ πολὺ σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι τὸ ἐτὶ λοιπὸν ἔπει τῇ κατὰ Δυρράχιον γενομένη νίκη; τὸ δ’ ἐναντίον αἰσχιστὸν εἶναι, καταληπτεῖν φεύγοντα Καίσαρα καὶ τοῖς ἤττηθείσιν ὁμοίως τὸν νικῶντα φεύγειν. ὅ μὲν δὴ τοῖς προσθέμενοι αἰδοὶ μᾶλιστα τῶν ἐὼν ἔθνων ἐστὶ τῶν ἄφορότων καὶ φειδοὶ Λευκίον Σκιπίωνος, μή τι περὶ Μακεδονίαν ὑν ἐτὶ πάθοι, μᾶλιστα δ’ ἐστὶ ἀγώνα χρήσασθαι θαρροῦντε τῷ στρατῷ διανοούμενος ἐπῆλθε καὶ ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε τῷ Καίσαρι περὶ Φάρσαλον, καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀλλήλων ἀπείχον.

66. Ἀγορᾶ δὲ Πομπήω μὲν ἢν πανταχόθεν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ προδιώκηντο καὶ ὅδοι καὶ λιμένες καὶ φρούρια, ὡς ἐκ τε γῆς αἰεὶ φέρεσθαι καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης πάντα ἄνεμον αὐτῷ φέρειν. Καίσαρ δὲ μόνον ἔχειν, ὅ τι μόλις εὗροι καὶ λάβοι κακοπάθῶν. καὶ οὐδ’ ὃς αὐτὸν ἀπέλιπεν οὔδείς, ἀλλὰ σπουδὴ δαιμονίῳ συνενεχθήναι τοῖς πολέμοις ὀρέγοντο καὶ ἱγγοῦντο πολέμῳ μὲν εἶναι παρὰ πολὺ ἅμελνους νεοστρατεύτων ἐτὶ ὄντων δέκα ἐτεσίων ἰσκημένοι, εἰς δὲ ταφρεῖας ἤ περιτειχίσεις ἢ σιτολογίας ἐπιπόνους ἀσθενέστεροι διὰ γῆρας· ὁλως τε κάρμνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἑδοκεὶ δρᾶν τι . . . μετ’ ἀργίας ἢ λιμῷ διαφθαρῆμαι. ὤν ὁ Πομπήιος
the best possible advice Pompey disregarded it and allowed himself to be persuaded by those who said that Caesar’s army would presently desert to him on account of hunger, or that there would not be much left of it anyway after the victory of Dyrrachium. They said it would be disgraceful to abandon the pursuit of Caesar when he was in flight, and for the victor to flee as though vanquished. Pompey sided with these advisers partly out of regard for the opinions of the eastern nations that were looking on, partly to prevent any harm befalling Lucius Scipio, who was still in Macedonia, but most of all because he thought that he ought to fight while his army was in high spirits. Accordingly he advanced and pitched his camp opposite to Caesar’s near Pharsalus, so that they were separated from each other by a distance of thirty stades.

66. Pompey’s supplies came from every quarter, for the roads, harbours, and strongholds had been so provided beforehand that food was brought to him at all times from the land, and every wind blew it to him from the sea. Caesar, on the other hand, had only what he could find with difficulty and seize by hard labour. Yet even so nobody deserted him, but all, by a kind of divine fury, longed to come to close quarters with the enemy. They considered that they, who had been trained in arms for ten years, were much superior to the new levies of Pompey in fighting, but that for digging ditches and building fortifications and for laborious foraging they were weaker by reason of their age. Tired as they were they altogether preferred to perform some deed of valour rather than perish by hunger or inaction.

1 A few words are wanting in the Greek.
CAP. αἰσθανόμενος ἐπικίνδυνον μὲν ἤγείτο γεγυμνασμένοις καὶ ἀπογινώσκουσιν αὐτῶν ἀνδράς καὶ τύχῃ Καίσαρος λαμπρὰ περὶ τῶν ὁλων συνενεχθήναι δι’ εῖνός ἔργου, δυνατώτερον δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότερον ἐκτρύσαι ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτοὺς οὔτε γῆς εὐπόρου κρατοῦντας οὔτε θαλάσση χρωμένους οὔτε ναῦς ἐς φυγὴν ταχείαν ἔχοντας.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ κρατίστως λογισμῷ τρίβειν τῶν πόλεμον ἐγνώκει, καὶ ἐς λοιμὸν ἐκ λιμῷ τῶν πολεμίων περιφέρειν. 67. πολύ δ’ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν πλήθος ἀνδρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ὁμοτίμων οἱ καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων οἱ διαφανεστάτου βασιλεές τε πολλοὶ καὶ δυνάσται, οἱ μὲν ὑπ’ ἀπειρίας, οἱ δ’ ἀμέτρως τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον εὐπραγήμασιν ἐπηρμένοι, εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ τῷ πλέονες εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ καὶ κάμπνοτες ὅλως τῷ πολέμῳ τῆς κρίσιν ταχυτέραν μᾶλλον ἡ πρέπουσαν ἐπευγόμενοι γενέσθαι, πάντες ἐξόρυξιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐπιδεικνύοντες αἰεὶ τὸν Καίσαρα παρατάπτοντά τε καὶ προκαλούμενον. ὁ δ’ ἐξ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τούδε αὐτοὺς ἀνεδιδασκεν, ὅτι Καίσαρι μὲν τούτ’ ἐξ ἀπορίας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, σφίσι δὲ καὶ διὰ τούτ’ εὐκαιρόν ἠσυχάζειν, ὅτι Καίσαρ ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐπείγοτο. ἐνοχλούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐπηρμένου τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἀμέτρως καὶ τῶν ἐπ’ ἀξιώσεως αὐτῶν ἐπιτιθημένων ἐς φιλαρχίαν ὡς ἐκόντα βραδύνοντα, ἵν’ ἀνδρῶν ὁμοτίμων τοσόνδε ἄρχοι, καὶ ἔπι τῶδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα τε βασιλέων καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα καλοῦντων, ὅτι κάκεινος βασιλέων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡρχεί, ἐξέστη τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν.
Pompey perceived this and considered it dangerous to risk everything on a single battle with disciplined and desperate men, and against the brilliant good fortune of Caesar. It would be easier and safer to reduce them by want as they controlled no fertile territory, and could get nothing by sea, and had no ships for rapid flight.

So on the most prudent calculation he decided to protract the war and drive the enemy from famine to plague, but he was surrounded by a great number of senators, of equal rank with himself, by very distinguished knights, and by many kings and princes. Some of these, by reason of their inexperience in war, others because they were too much elated by the victory at Dyrrachium, others because they outnumbered the enemy, and others because they were quite tired of the war and preferred a quick decision rather than a sound one—all urged him to fight, pointing out to him that Caesar was always drawn up for battle and challenging him. Pompey endeavoured to shew them from this very fact that just as Caesar was compelled to do so by his want of supplies, so they had the more reason to remain quiet because Caesar was being driven on by necessity. Yet, harassed by the whole army, which was unduly puffed up by the victories at Dyrrachium, and by men of rank who accused him of being fond of power and of delaying purposely in order to prolong his authority over so many men of his own rank—and who for this reason called him derisively “king of kings” and “Agamemnon,” because he also ruled over kings while the war lasted—he allowed himself to be moved from his own purpose and gave in to them, being even now under that same divine
καὶ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, θεοῦ βλάπτοντος ἦδη καὶ τᾶλλα παρ’ ὅλου τόνδε τῶν πόλεμον. νωθής τε γὰρ καὶ βραδὺς παρὰ τῆν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐν ἀπασι γεγονὼς παρεσκευάζετο ἄκων ἐς μάχην ἐπὶ κακῷ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναπειθόντων.

68. Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκείνης τρία μὲν ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν ἐξήκε τέλη (τὸν γὰρ Πομπηίου ἐπαίνων τῆς βραδυτήτος καὶ οὐδαμοῦ νομίζων μεταθήσεσθαι τοῦ βουλεύματος περιέπεμπτεν ἐπὶ σῖτον), πυθόμενος δὲ τῆς παρασκευής ἡσθῆ τε τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἢν εἰκάζειν ἡγαγκάσθαι Πομπηίου ύπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τάχιστα ἀνεκάλει πάντα καὶ ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο. θυμόμενος τε νυκτὸς μέσης τὸν Ἀρη κατεκάλει καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην (ἐκ γὰρ Αἰνείου καὶ Ἰλών τοῦ Αἰνείου τὸ τῶν Ἰουλίων γένος παρενεχθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἡγεῖτο εἰναι), νεόν τε αὐτῇ νικη-φόρῳ χαριστήριον ἐν Ἤρωμῃ ποιήσειν εὐχετο κατορθώσας. ὡς δὲ καὶ σέλας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ διαπτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἐς τὸ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον ἐσβέσθη, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου ἔσεσθαι τι λαμπρὸν αὐτοῖς ἔφασαν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ σβέσειν αὐτὸς ἔμπεσον τὰ Πομπηίου. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῆς αὐτής νυκτὸς τινα τῶν ἱερείων ἐκφυγόντας ὑπὸ συνελήφθη, καὶ μελισσῶν ἐσμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμῶν ἐκάθισε, ἦπον νωχελουσ. μικρὸν τε πρὸ ἐξ πανικῶν ἱέπεσαν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ τῷ δῷ περιδρα-μῷ αὐτὸς καὶ καταστήσας ἀνεπάυετο σὺν ὑπνῷ βαθεῖ. περιεγειράντων δ’ αὐτῶν τῶν φίλων, ὄναρ
infatuation which led him astray during the whole of this war. He had now become, contrary to his nature, sluggish and dilatory in all things, and he prepared for battle against his will, to his own hurt and that of the men who had persuaded him.

68. That same night three of Caesar's legions started out to forage; for Caesar himself approved Pompey's dilatory proceedings, and had no idea that he would change, and accordingly sent them out to procure food. When he perceived that the enemy was preparing to fight he was delighted at the pressure which he conjectured had been put upon Pompey by his army, and he recalled all of his forces at once and made preparations on his own side. He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Aeneas and his son, Ilus, was descended the Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the Bringer of Victory if everything went well. Thereupon a flame from heaven flew through the air from Caesar's camp to Pompey's, where it was extinguished. Pompey's men said that it signified a brilliant victory for them over their enemies, but Caesar interpreted it as a meaning that he should fall upon and extinguish the power of Pompey. When Pompey was sacrificing the same night some of the victims escaped and could not be caught, and a swarm of bees, torpid creatures, settled on the altar. Shortly before daylight a panic occurred in his army. He himself went around and quieted it and then fell into a deep sleep, and when his friends aroused him he said that he had
69. Καὶ τόδε μὲν ἀγνοια τῆς Καίσαρος εὐχῆς οἱ τε φίλοι καὶ οἱ στρατὸς ἀπας πυθόμενοι ἦδοντο, καὶ τάλα ἀλόγως σὺν ὀρμῇ καὶ καταφρονήσει χω-ρούντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐπὶ ἔτοιμον. ὡς γε πολλοὶ καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς δάφνας ἀνέστεφον ἡδη, συμβόλῳ νίκης· καὶ οἱ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς δαίτα λαμπροτάτην ἐπόρσουν· εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἱ καὶ περὶ τῆς Καίσα-ρος ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐς ἀλλήλους ἡδη διήρξον. ἀπερ ὁ Πομπῆυς οἷα πολέμων ἐμπειρὸς ἀπε-στρέφετο καὶ νεμεσῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἑνεκαλύπτετο, κατεσιώτα δ᾽ ὁμοὶ ὑπὸ ὁκνου καὶ δέους, ὡσπερ οὐ στρατηγῶν ἐτι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγούμενος καὶ πάντα πράσσον ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης παρὰ γνώμην. τοσοῦτον ἀνδρὶ μεγαλουργῷ καὶ παρὰ πάν ἔργον ἐς ἔκεινη τὴν ἡμέραν εὐτυχεστάτῳ γενομένῳ τὸ δύσθυμον ἐνεπτεπτώκει, εἰτε ὅτι τὰ συμφέροντα κρίνων ὁμό ἐπειθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ κύβον ἐχώρει πληθοὺς ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦδε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δόξης ἔς τότε ἀγίτητον· εἰτε τι καὶ μαντικώτερον αὐτοῦ πλησιάζοντος ἡδη τοῦ κακοῦ συνετάρασσε, μέλλοντα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐκ δυναστείας τοσῆς ἀθρώως ἐκπεσεῖσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ᾽ οὐν εἴπτων τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτι ἢδη ἡ ἡμέρα, ὡσπέρ τοῦ ἐπικρατήσῃ, μεγάλων ἐς αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἄρξει κακῶν, παρέτασσεν ἐς τὴν μάχην· ὃ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν προπεσεῖν τινές ἐν
just dreamed that he had dedicated a temple in \textit{chap.}

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\item \textit{Venus Victrix.}
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69. His friends and his whole army when they heard of this were delighted, being in ignorance of Caesar’s vow, and in other respects too going to the battle in an unreasoning, a reckless, and contemptuous way as though it were already won. Many of them adorned their tents with laurel branches, the insignia of victory, and their slaves prepared a magnificent banquet for them. Some, too, of them began already to contend with each other for Caesar’s office of Pontifex Maximus. Pompey, being experienced in military affairs, turned away from these follies with concealed indignation, but he remained altogether silent through hesitancy and dread, as though he were no longer commander but under command, and as though he were doing everything under compulsion and against his judgment; so deep the dejection which had come over this man of great deeds (who, until this day, had been most fortunate in every undertaking), either because he had not carried his point in deciding what was the best course, and was about to cast the die involving the lives of so many men and also involving his own reputation as invincible; or because some presentiment of approaching evil troubled him, presaging his complete downfall that very day from a position of such vast power. Remarking merely to his friends that whichever should conquer, that day would be the beginning of great evils to the Romans for all future time, he began to make arrangements for the battle. In this remark some people thought his real intentions escaped him, involuntarily expressed in a moment of

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textit{Venus Victrix.}
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CAP. τὸ φόβῳ νομίζοντες ἠγούντο οὔτε ἄν Πομπήιον κρατήσαντα μεθείναι τὴν μοναρχίαν.

70. Στρατιά δ΄ ἦν, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, πολλῶν ἀμφίλογα εἰπόντων ἐπομένῳ μάλιστα Ἦρωμαίων τοῖς τὰ πιθανότατα γράφουσι περὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀνδρῶν, οἷς δὴ καὶ μάλιστα θαρροῦντες τὰ συμμαχικὰ οὐκ ἄκριβοσιν οὔτε ἀναγράφουσιν ὡς ἀλλότρια καὶ ὀλίγην ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰς προσθήκην χώραν ἔχοντα, Καίσαρι μὲν ἐς δισχίλιοις ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις, καὶ τούτων ἱππεῖς ὤσεὶ ἄμφι τοὺς χιλίους, Πομπηίῳ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ διπλάσιον, καὶ τούτων ἱππεῖς ἐς ἑπτακισχίλιοις. ὡδὲ μὲν τοῖς τὰ πιθανότατα λέγουσι δοκεῖ μυριάδας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν Ἰταλῶν συμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐς μάχην; οἱ δ’ ὀλιγωτέρους ἐξακισμυρίων φασίν, οἱ δ’ ὑπερπαραγόντες τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι λέγουσι. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἡμιόλιου, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τριῶν νομίζουσιν ἄμφι τὰ δύο τῶν Πομπηίῳ γενέσθαι μέρην. τοσάδε μὲν ἄμφιγνουσι περὶ τοῦ ἄκριβος ὅπως δ’ οὖν εἴχε, τοίσδε μάλιστα τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐθάρρησε. τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν ἦν Καίσαρι μὲν ἱππεῖς τε Κελτοῖ... καὶ Κελτῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεως ἀριθμός ἄλλος. Ἐλλήνων δ’ ἐπέλεταζον αὐτῷ Δόλοπες, Ἀκαρνάνες, Λίτωλοι. τοσοῦτοι δὲν τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχον, Πομπηίῳ δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐδὼ ἐθνην κατὰ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ἐς ἱππών, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Ἐλλάδος Δάκων ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱδίοις βασιλεύσι τασσόμενοι, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Πελοπόννησος καὶ Βοιωτοὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν, ἐστράτευον δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, κηρυξάντων μὲν αὐτοῖς.
fear, and they inferred that even if Pompey had been victorious he would not have laid down the supreme power.

70. Since many writers differ as to Caesar’s army, I shall follow the most credible Roman authorities, who give the most careful enumeration of the Italian soldiers, as the backbone of the army, but do not make much account of the allied forces or record them exactly, regarding them as mere foreigners and as contributing little to the issue of the day. The army, then, consisted of about 22,000 men and of these about 1000 were cavalry. Pompey had more than double that number, of whom about 7000 were cavalry. Some of the most trustworthy writers say that 70,000 Italian soldiers were engaged in this battle. Others give the smaller number, 60,000. Still others, grossly exaggerating, say 400,000. Of the whole number some say Pompey’s forces were half as many again as Caesar’s, others that they were two-thirds of the total number engaged. So much doubt is there as to the exact truth. However that may be, each of them placed his chief reliance on his Italian troops. In the way of allied forces Caesar had cavalry from both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul, besides some light-armed Greeks, consisting of Dolopians, Acarnanians, and Aetolians. Such were Caesar’s allies. Pompey had a great number from all the eastern nations, part horse, part foot. From Greece he had Lacedemonians marshalled by their own kings, and others from Peloponnesus and Boeotians with them. Athenians marched to his aid also, although proclamation had been made that

1 This is the simplest way to fill up the slight lacuna in the Greek.
71. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ὀλύγου πάντες, ὅσοι περιόντο τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔως, Ὑπακές τε καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Ἰώνες, Λυδοὶ τε καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Πισίδαι καὶ Παφλαγόνες, καὶ Κιλικία καὶ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη καὶ τὸ Ἑβραῖων γένος καὶ Ἀραβὲς οἱ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Κύπριοι τε καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Κρήτες σφενδονύται καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι νησίωται. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ δυνάσται στρατὸν ἀγοντες, Δημόταρος μὲν τετράρχης Γαλατῶν τῶν ἕφων, Ἀριαράθης δὲ Καππαδόκων βασιλεὺς. Ἀρμενίους δὲ ἤγε τοὺς ἐντὸς Ἐφραίου στρατηγὸς Ταξίλης καὶ Ἀρμενίους τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἐφραίην Μεγαβάτης, ὑπαρχὸς Ἀρτανάτου βασιλέως· ἄλλοι τε μικροὶ δυνάσται συνεπελαμβάνοντο τοῦ πόλον. λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἅπ' Ἀγύπτου νῆς ἐξήκοντα αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι παρὰ τῶν Ἀγύπτων βασιλέων, Κλεοπάτρας τε καὶ τοῦ ἁδελφοῦ, παιδὸς ἐτὶ ὄντος. ἀλλ' ἀδέ μὲν οὐ συνεμάχησαν· οὔδε γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο ναυτικῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀργίας εἰς Κερκύρα κατέμενε. καὶ δοκεῖ Πομπῆιος τὸ δέ μάλιστα ἀφρόνως ἐργάσασθαι, τῶν μὲν νεῶν καταφρονήσας, αἰς δὴ πολὺ προύχων ἐδύνατο παυταχοῦ τὴν ἐπακτὸν ἀγορὰν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ἄγωνι πεζῷ συνενεχθέως ἀνδρά−
they, being consecrated to the Thesmophori, should do no harm to the army of either party. Nevertheless, they wished to share in the glory of the war because this was a contest for the Roman leadership.

71. Besides the Greeks almost all the nations of the Levant sent aid to Pompey: Thracians, Hellespontines, Bithynians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Paphlagonians; Cilicia, Syria, Phoenicia, the Hebrews, and their neighbours the Arabs; Cyprians, Rhodians, Cretan slingers, and all the other islanders. Kings and princes were there leading their own troops: Deiotarus, the tetrarch of Galatia, and Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Taxiles commanded the Armenians from the hither side of the Euphrates; those from the other side were led by Megabates, the lieutenant of King Artapates. Some other small princes took part with Pompey in the action. It was said that sixty ships from Egypt were contributed to him by the sovereigns of that country, Cleopatra and her brother, who was still a boy. But these did not take part in the battle, nor did any other naval force, but they remained idle at Corcyra. Pompey seems to have acted very foolishly in this respect both in disregarding the fleet, in which he excelled so greatly that he could have deprived the enemy of all the supplies brought to them from abroad, and in risking a battle on land.

1 A difficult passage, of which the above is the most likely interpretation. The Thesmophori were Demeter and Persephone, goddesses of tillage and the arts of civilization. Their festival was held yearly.
CAP. xi

72. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ὁκονόμει θεὸς ἐς ἀρχὴν τῆς νῦν ἐπεχούσης τὰ πάντα ἡγεμονίας· τότε δ' αὐτῶν τὴν στρατιὰν ἕκατερος συναγαγὼν ἔπω

τρυνε, Πομπηίος μὲν τοιάδε λέγων: "ὑμεῖς, ὃ

συστρατιῶται, στρατηγείτε τοῦ πόλον μᾶλλον ἢ

στρατηγείσθε· αὐτὸι γὰρ ἐμοὶ τὰ Καίσαρος

ἐκτρύχειν ἐτὶ βουλομένου τὸν ἁγιὰ τόνδε προ-

καλέσασθε. ὡς οὖν ἀγωνοθέται τῆς μάχης χρῆ-

σασθε μὲν ὡς ἐλάττωσι πολὺ πλεῖον, κατα-

φρονεῖτε δὲ ὡς ἡπτημένων νευκηκότες καὶ γερόντων

νέοι καὶ πολλὰ κεκμηκτῶν ἀκμῆτες ἀνδρεῖς, οἰς

υπάρχει δύναμις τοσιδέ καὶ παρασκευὴ καὶ τὸ

συνειδὸς αὐτὸ τῆς αἰτίας· ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ

πατρίδος ἀγωνιζόμεθα μετὰ νόμων καὶ δόξης

ἀγαθῆς καὶ τοσώνδε ἀνδρῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ βουλῆς,

τῶν δ' ἰππέων, πρὸς ἀνδρα ἐνα ληστεύοντα τὴν

ἡγεμονίαν. ἢτε οὖν, ὡς ἡξιοῦτε, μετ' ἀγαθῆς

ἐλπίδος, ἐν όψει τιθέμενοι τὴν τε φυγῆν αὐτῶν

τὴν περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον γενομένην καὶ ὅσα σημεῖα

μᾶς ἡμέρας κρατοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐλάβομεν."

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with men exulting in their recent labours, and thirsting like tigers for blood. Although he had been on his guard against them at Dyrrachium, a certain spell seems to have come over him, most opportunistly for Caesar, with the result that Pompey's army became light-headed to a degree, taking entire charge of its commander, and rushing into action in a most unworkmanlike way.

XI

72. Such was the ordering of divine Providence to usher in the universal imperial power of our own day. Each of the commanders assembled his soldiers and made an appeal to them. Pompey spoke as follows: "You, my fellow soldiers, are the leaders in this task rather than the led, for you urged on this engagement while I was still desirous of wearing Caesar out by hunger. Since, therefore, you are the marshalls of the lists of battle, conduct yourselves like those who are greatly superior in numbers. Despise the enemy as victors do the vanquished, as young men do the old, as fresh troops do those who are wearied with many toils. Fight like those who have the power and the means, and the consciousness of a good cause. We are contending for liberty and country. On our side are the laws and honourable fame, and this great number of senators and knights, against one man who is piratically seizing supreme power. Go forward then, as you have desired to do, with good hope, keeping in your mind's eye the flight of the enemy at Dyrrachium, and the great number of their standards that we captured in one day when we defeated them there."
CAP. XI

73. ‘Ο μὲν δὴ Πομπήιος ὠδὲ ἔλεγεν, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ τοὺς ἱδίους τοιάδε: “τὰ μὲν δυσχερέστερα ἦδη νευκήκαμεν, ὁ φίλοι ἀντὶ γὰρ λιμοῦ καὶ ἀπορίας ἀνδράσι μαχούμεθα· ἤδε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα κρινεῖ πάντα. μέμνησθε μοι τῆς περὶ τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐπαγγελίας καὶ ὅλην ἐφορώντος ἑμοῦ συνώμυσθε ἀλλήλους, μὴ νικῶντες οὐδ’ ἐπανήξειν. οἴδε εἰσίν, ὁ ἄνδρες, ἐφ’ οὐς ἐξ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν ἤλθομεν· οἴδε οἱ περιφυγόντες ἡμᾶς ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οἱ τοὺς δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀθλούντας ἡμᾶς καὶ πολέμους τοσοῦτοι καὶ νίκας δυσαρεσκίτους ἀνύσαντας καὶ Ἰβήρων καὶ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανῶν ἥθην τετρακόσια περιποιήσαντας τῇ πατρίδι διέλυν ἀγεράστους ἄνευ βριθοῦμνα τε καὶ δωρεάν, καὶ οὐδ’ ἐσ τὰ δίκαια αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ προκαλούμενος ἐπείθαιν οὐδὲ χάρισιν ἐξήνυν. ἵστε, οὔς μεθήκα ἦπαθεῖς, ἐλπίσας ἡμῖν τι παρ’ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι δίκαιον. τὸντε οὖν μοι τὴμερον ἀθρόον ἀνενέγκατε καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴ τι σύνιστε μοι, κηδεμονίας ἢ πίστεως ἢ δωρεῶν μεγαλοφροσύνης.

74. “Εστι δέ οὐ δυσχερές νεοστρατεύτων καὶ ἀπειροπολέμων ἔτι πολυπόνους ἀγωνιστὰς περιγενέσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ μειρακιώδως ἐς ἀταξίαν καὶ δυσπείθειαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τραπέτων, ὅν ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι δεδιότα καὶ ἀκούντα χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, τύχῃ τε παρακμάζουντα ἡδη καὶ νωθή καὶ βραδὺν ἐς ἀπαντα γεγενημένον καὶ οὐδὲ στρατηγούντα ἐτί μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγούμενον. καὶ τάδε μοι περὶ μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν, ἐπεὶ τῶν γε συμμάχων μὴδὲ φροντίζετε μὴδ’ ἐν λόγῳ

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73. Such was Pompey's speech. Caesar addressed his men as follows: "My friends, we have already overcome our more formidable enemies, and are now about to encounter not hunger and want, but men. This day will decide everything. Remember what you promised me at Dyrrachium. Remember how you swore to each other in my presence that you would never leave the field except as conquerors. These men, fellow-soldiers, are the same that we have come to meet from the Pillars of Hercules, the same men who gave us the slip from Italy. They are the same who sought to disband us without honours, without a triumph, without rewards, after the toils and struggles of ten years, after we had finished those great wars, after innumerable victories, and after we had added 400 nations in Spain, Gaul, and Britain to our country's sway. I have not been able to prevail upon them by offering fair terms, nor to win them by benefits. Some, you know, I dismissed unharmed, hoping that we should obtain some justice from them. Recall all these facts to your minds to-day, and if you have any experience of me recall also my care for you, my good faith, and the generosity of my gifts to you.

74. "Nor is it difficult for hardy and veteran soldiers to overcome new recruits who are without experience in war, and who, moreover, like boys, spurn the rules of discipline and of obedience to their commander. I learn that he was afraid and unwilling to come to an engagement. His star has already passed its zenith; he has become slow and hesitating in all his acts, and no longer commands, but obeys the orders of others. I say these things of his Italian forces only. As for his allies, do not think about them, pay no attention to them, do not
CAP.  

τίθεσθε μηδὲ μάχεσθε ὅλως ἑκεῖνοις. ἀνδράποδα ταῦτ' ἐστὶ Σύρια καὶ Φρύγια καὶ Λύδια, φεύγειν αἰέλ καὶ δουλεύειν ἐτοιμα· οἷς ἐγὼ σαφῶς οἶδα, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτίκα ὄψεσθε, οὐδὲ Πομπήιον αὐτὸν τάξιν ἐγχυώτα πολέμου. ἔχεσθε οὖν μοι τῶν Ἰταλῶν μόνων, καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι δίκην κυνὸν περιθέωσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ θορυβοποιῶσι. τρεψάμενοι δ' αὐτοὺς τῶν μὲν ὡς συγγενῶν φειδώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἐς τὴν τῶν κατάπληξιν ἐξεργάσασθε. πρὸ δὲ πάντων, ὡς ἀν εἰδείην ὑμᾶς ἐγγὺς ὑπετίθεσθε μεμνημένους τε καὶ νίκην πάντως ἡ θάνατον αἱρομένους, καθέλετε μοι προϊόντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τείχη τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχώσατε, ὅνα μηδὲν ἔχωμεν, ἂν μὴ κρατῶμεν, ἵδωσι δ' ἡμᾶς ἀσταθμεύτους οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ συνώσων, οτί πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς ἑκεῖνοι σταθμεύσαι.”

75. Ὁ μὲν τοσάδε εἶπὼν φυλακὴν ὁμος τῶν σκηνῶν κατέπεμψε δισχίλιος τοὺς πάνυ γέροντας· οἱ δ' ἔξιόντες τὸ τείχος ήρείπων μετὰ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης καὶ ἐς τὴν τάφρον αὐτὸ ἐνεχώμενον. ὅρων δ' ὁ Πομπήιος, ἦγουμένων τινῶν ἐς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς συγκενάζεσθαι, συνίει τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ ἔστενε καθ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι χωροῦσιν ἐς χείρας θηρίως, λιμὸν ἔχοντες, ἅξιον θηρίων φάρμακον. ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἢν ἀναδύναι ἔτι, τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἐπὶ ἵπποι. διὸ δὴ καὶ τετρακισχίλιος τῶν Ἰταλῶν φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταληπτῶν παρέτασσε τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ Φαρσύλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἐμπέως ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντιδι- εκόσμει, τοὺς μὲν Ἰταλοὺς ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐς τρία 364
fight with them at all. They are Syrian, Phrygian, Lydian slaves, always ready for flight or servitude. I know very well, and you will presently see, that Pompey himself will not entrust to them any place in the ranks of war. Give your attention to the Italians only, even though these allies come running around you like dogs trying to frighten you. When you have put the enemy to flight let us spare the Italians as being our own kindred, but slaughter the allies in order to strike terror into the others. Before all else, in order that I may know that you are mindful of your promise to choose victory or death, throw down the walls of your camp as you go out to battle and fill up the ditch, so that we may have no place of refuge if we do not conquer, and so that the enemy may see that we have no camp and know that we are compelled to encamp in theirs."

75. Nevertheless, after he had thus spoken Caesar detailed 2,000 of his oldest men to guard the tents. The rest, as they passed out, demolished their fortification in the profoundest silence and filled up the ditch with the debris. When Pompey saw this, although some of his friends thought that it was a preparation for flight, he knew it was an exhibition of daring, and groaned in spirit, to think that they were now coming to grips with wild beasts, although they had on their side famine, the best tamer of wild beasts. But there was no drawing back now, when things were balanced on the razor’s edge. Wherefore, leaving 4,000 of his Italian troops to guard his camp, Pompey drew up the remainder between the city of Pharsalus and the river Enipeus opposite the place where Caesar was marshalling his forces. Each of them ranged his Italians in front,
Διαρρέων ἐπὶ μετώπου, μικρὸν ἀλλήλων διεστώτας, καὶ τοὺς ἢσπέας ἐπὶ τοὺς κέρασι τοὺς κατὰ μέρη τάσσων. τοξόται δὲ πᾶσιν ἀναμεμίχατο καὶ σφενδοῦνται. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν οὐτω κεκόσμητο, ὦ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ἐκάτερος ἐθάρρετα συμμαχικά δ’ ἦγον ἐφ’ ἐαυτῶν ὡς ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. πολύθρον δὲ ἦν τὸ Πομπῆίου συμμαχικὸν καὶ πολύγλωσσον καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πομπήιος Μακεδόνας μὲν καὶ Πελοποννησίους καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ἀποδεξάμενος τῆς εὐταξίας καὶ σιωπῆς, παρεστήσατο τῇ φάλαγγι τῇ Ἰταλικῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ὅπερ ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰκάζειν, ἔξω τάξεως ἐκέλευσε κατὰ φυλὰς ἐφεδρέωντας, ὅταν ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἄγων γένηται, κυκλούσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διώκειν, ὡσα δύναυτο βλάπτοντας, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸ Καῖσαρος ἄχαράκωτον ὑπὶ διαρράξειν.

76. Ἡγούντο δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος Πομπηίῳ μὲν ὁ κηδεστὴς Σκιπίων ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ Δομίτιος, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ Λέντλος. Ἀφράνιος δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐφύλαττον. Καίσαρι δὲ ἐστρατηγοῦν μὲν Σύλλας καὶ Ἀντώνιος καὶ Δομίτιος, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως συνετάσσετο τῷ δεκάτῳ τέλει, καθάπερ ἦν ἔθος αὐτῷ. καὶ τούτι ἵδοντες οἱ πολέμιοι μετήγαγον ἐπὶ αὐτὸ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἢσπέων, ἵνα πλέονες ὄντες, εἰ δυνηθέεν, κυκλώσατο. συνεῖς δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τρισχιλίους εὐτολμοτάτους πεζοὺς ἐνήδρευσεν, όις ἐκέλευσεν, ὅταν αἰσθώνται τοὺς πολεμίους περιθέοντας, ἀναπηδᾶν καὶ τὰ δόρατα ἐστηδόντας ἀνίσχειν ὅρθὰ ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν.
divided into three lines with a moderate space between them, and placed his cavalry on the wings of each division. Archers and slingers were mingled among all. Thus were the Italian troops disposed, on which each commander placed his chief reliance. The allied forces were marshalled by themselves rather for show than for use. There was much jargon and confusion of tongues among Pompey's auxiliaries. Pompey stationed the Macedonians, Peloponnesians, Boeotians, and Athenians near the Italian legions, as he approved of their good order and quiet behaviour. The rest, as Caesar had anticipated, he ordered to lie in wait by tribes outside of the line of battle, and when the engagement should become close to surround the enemy, to pursue, to do what damage they could, and to plunder Caesar's camp, which was without defences.

76. The centre of Pompey's formation was commanded by his father-in-law, Scipio, the left wing by Domitius, and the right by Lentulus. Afranius and Pompey guarded the camp. On Caesar's side the commanders were Sulla, Antony, and Domitius. Caesar took his place in the tenth legion, on the right wing, as was his custom. When the enemy saw this they transferred, to face that legion, the best of their horse, in order to surround it if they could, by their superiority of numbers. When Caesar perceived this movement he placed 3,000 of his bravest foot-soldiers in ambush and ordered them, when they should see the enemy trying to flank him, to rise, dart forward, and thrust their spears directly in the faces of the men because, as they were fresh and

1 An error of some sort. Pompey commanded one wing in person.
CAP. XI. ἀνδρῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὁσεῖν ἀπείρους καὶ νέους, ὀφαίξο-
μένους ἐτι, τού ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα κίνδυνον. οἱ μὲν
δὴ τοιάδε κατ’ ἄλληλον ἐμηχανόντο καὶ περιή-
σαν ἐκάλτους, καθιστάμενοι τε τὰ ἐπείγοντα καὶ
ἐς εὐνομίαν παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τὰ συνθήματα
ἀναδιόντες, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ Ἀφροδίτην νικηφόρον,
ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος Ἡρακλέα ἀνίκητον.

77. Ὡς δὲ σφίσιν ἐτοιμα πάντα ἢν, ἐτὶ πολὺ
cαὶ δὲς ἀνέμενον ἐν βαθείᾳ σιωπῇ, μέλλοντες ἑτὶ
cαὶ ὁκνοῦντες καὶ ἐς ἄλληλους ἀποβλέποντες,
ὅποτερος ἀρξεῖ τῆς μάχης. τὸ τε γὰρ πλῆθος
φύτευρον, οὐδὲνός πιὸ τοσοῦδε Ἰταλοῦ στρατοῦ
ἐς ἐνα κίνδυνον συνελθόντος, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν
ἐκκρίτων ὄντων ἐκατέρων ἥλεουν, καὶ μάλιστα,
ὅτε ἰδοιεν Ἰταλοὺς Ἰταλοῖς συμφερομένους.
ἐγγὺς τε τοῦ κακοῦ γιγνομένου αὐτοῦ ἡ μὲν
ἐκκαίουσα καὶ τυφλοῦσα πάντας φιλοτιμία
ἐσβένυτο καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς δέος, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς
ἐκαθάρευε δοξοκοπίας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐμέτρει
cαὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι περὶ πρωτείων δύο ἀνδρὲ
ἐρίζοντε ἄλληλοιν αὐτῶ τε κινδυνεύστων ἀμφὶ τῇ
σωτηρίᾳ, μὴν ἐσχάτω πάντων ἠττηθέντε ἐτὶ
eιναι, καὶ τοσοῦδε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν δὲ
αὐτοῦς. ἐσήκε δὲ σφᾶς, ὅτι φίλοι καὶ κηδεσταὶ
tέως ὄντες καὶ πολλὰ συμπράξαντες ἄλληλοις
ἐς ἄξιωμα καὶ δύναμιν, ξίφη νῦν φέρουσι κατ’
ἄλληλοιν καὶ τοὺς ὑποστρατευόμενους ἐς ῥομαίας
ἀθεμιστίας ἄγουσιν, ὀμοσθενεῖς τε ὄντας ἄλληλοις
καὶ πολίτας καὶ φυλέτας καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἐνόυς
δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐνέλειπεν ἐκείνη
inexperienced and still in the bloom of youth, they would not endure injury to their faces. Thus they laid their plans against each other, and each commander passed through the ranks of his own troops, attending to what was needful, exhorting his men to courage, and giving them the watchword, which on Caesar’s side was “Venus the Victorious,” and on Pompey’s “Hercules the Invincible.”

77. When all was in readiness on both sides they waited for some time in profound silence, hesitating, looking steadfastly at each other, each expecting the other to begin the battle. They were stricken with sorrow for the great host, for never before had such large Italian armies confronted the same danger together. They had pity for the valour of these men (the flower of both parties), especially because they saw Italians embattled against Italians. As the danger came nearer, the ambition that had inflamed and blinded them was extinguished, and gave place to fear. Reason purged the mad passion for glory, estimated the peril, and laid bare the cause of the war, showing how two men contending with each other for supremacy were throwing into the scale their own lives and fortunes—for defeat would mean the lowest degradation—and those of so large a number of the noblest citizens. The leaders reflected also that they, who had lately been friends and relatives by marriage, and had co-operated with each other in many ways to gain rank and power, had now drawn the sword for mutual slaughter and were leading to the same impiety those serving under them, men of the same city, of the same tribe, blood relations, and in some cases brothers against brothers. Even these circumstances were
οιρ. XI τῇ μάχη, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐν τοσαίῳ δε μυριάσιν εξ ἑνὸς ἐθνος ἐπὶ ἀλλήλας ἱουσαίς πολλά τὰ παράδοξα συνέπιπτεν. ὅν εὐθυμομένος ἐκάτερος μετανοίας τε οὐ δυνατής ἦτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐνεπιμπλατο καὶ ὡς ἐσόμενος ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἠμέρᾳ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἡ πρῶτος ἡ τελευταίος ἠκνεί τοσὴσδε ἀμφίβολαι ἅρξαι καὶ φασίν αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον καὶ ἀδικεῖσαι.

78. Μέλλοντι δ᾽ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέπουσιν ἡ ἠμέρα προὐκοπτε. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἰταλικὸν ἀπαν εὐσταθῶς ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίᾳ ἀκριβοῖς ἀνέμενε· τὸ δὲ συμμαχικὸν δ᾽. Πομπηίος αὐτῶν ταρασσόμενον ὅρων ὑπὸ τῆς μελλῆσεως καὶ δείσας, μὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἁγῶνος ἀταξίας κατάρξειν, ὑπεσήμαινε πρῶτος, καὶ ἀντήχησε Καίσαρ, αὐτίκα δ᾽ αἱ τε σάλπιγγες αὐτῶς ἐξωτρυνον ὀρθῶς κλαγγαῖς ὡς ἐν τοσῶδε πλήθει πολλαί κατὰ μέρη, καὶ οἱ κήρυκες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται περιθέουντες ἦττείγον. οἱ δὲ σοβαρῶς ἀλλήλους ἐπῆςαν μετὰ τε θάμβος καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης ὡς πολλῶν ἁγῶνον τοιῶν ἐμπειροπόλεμοι. πλησιάζουσι δ᾽ αὐτῶς ἦδη τὸξα καὶ λίθοι πρῶτον ὤν καὶ τῶν ἵππων βραχὺ τὰ πεζὰ προλαβόντων πειρά τε καὶ ἐπελά σεις ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους. καὶ προὔχοντες οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸ δέκατον τέλος ἐκκυκλοῦντο. Καίσαρος δὲ τὸ σημείον τοὺς ἐφεδρέουσιν ἄραντος, οἱ μὲν ἐξαναστάντες εἰς τοὺς ἵππους ἑχώρουν, ὀρθοῖς ἄνω τοῖς δόρασιν ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα τυπποῦντες τοὺς ἐπικαθημένους, οἱ δ᾽ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες αὐτῶν οὔτε τῇ ἀπόνοιαν οὔτε τὰς ἐπὶ στομα καὶ κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς πληγὰς ἐφενγον ἀκόσμως. καὶ τὸ ἐνταῦθα πεζὸν
not wanting in this battle; because many unnatural things must happen when thousands of the same nation come together in the clash of arms. Reflecting on these things each of them was seized with unavailing repentance, and since this day was to decide for each whether he should be the highest or the lowest of the human race, they hesitated to begin so critical a battle. It is said that both of them even wept.

78. When they were waiting and looking at each other the day was advancing. All the Italian troops stood motionless in their places, but when Pompey saw that his allied forces were falling into confusion by reason of the delay he feared lest the disorder should spread from them before the beginning of the battle. So he sounded the signal first and Caesar echoed it back. Straightway the trumpets, of which there were many distributed among the divisions of so great a host, aroused the soldiers with their inspiring blasts, and the standard-bearers and officers put themselves in motion and exhorted their men. They all advanced confidently to the encounter, but with stupor and deepest silence, like men who had had experience in many similar engagements. And now, as they came nearer together, there was first a discharge of arrows and stones. Then, as the cavalry were a little in advance of the infantry, they charged each other. Those of Pompey prevailed and began to outflank the tenth legion. Caesar then gave the signal to the cohorts in ambush and these, starting up suddenly, advanced to meet the cavalry, and with spears elevated aimed at the faces of the riders, who could not endure the enemy's savagery, nor the blows on their mouths and eyes, but fled in disorder.
CAP. εὐθὺς ἵππεόν ἔρημον γενόμενον ἐκυκλοῦντο
οἱ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ἵππεες, αὐτοὶ δεῖσαντες περι-
κύκλωσιν.

79. Πομπήιος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε τοὺς πεζοῖς
μὴ ἐπεκθεῖν ἐτὶ μὴ ἐκτρέχειν ἐκ τῆς φάλαγγος
μὴ ἀκοντίζειν, ἀλλὰ ἐν προβολῇ διαστάντας
ἀμύνεσθαι διὰ χειρὸς τοῖς δόραι τοὺς ἐπίοντας.
καὶ τόθε τινὲς αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατήγημα ἐπαινοῦσιν
ὡς ἀριστοῦ ἐν περικυκλώσει, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν ταῖς
ἐπιστολαῖς καταμέμφεται· τάς τε γὰρ πληγὰς
ὑπὸ τῆς βολῆς εὐτοιωτέρας γίνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς
ἀνδρὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δρόμου προθυμοτέρους· ἔστωτας
δὲ ἀποψυχεῖσθαι τε καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέουσιν εὐβλήτους
dὲ ἀτρέμιαν οὐα σκοποῦς εἶναι. ὁ καὶ τότε
γενέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ δέκατον τέλος σὺν αὐτῷ περι-
δραμεῖν τὰ λαία τοῦ Πομπήιου ἔρημα ἵππεον
γενόμενα καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀτρεμοῦντας ἐς τὰ
πλευρὰ ἑσακοντίζειν, μέχρι θορυβουμένους ἐμπε-
σόντας βίᾳ τρέψασθαι καὶ τῆς νίκης κατάρχαι.
κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἦν ἐτὶ τραυμάτων καὶ
φόνων ἔργα πολλὰ καὶ ποικίλα· βοὴ δὲ οὐδεμιὰ
ἐκ τοσῇς φάλαγγος τοιάδε δρώσης οὐδ' οἰμωγαὶ
tῶν ἀναιρουμένων ἢ πλησσομένων, ἀλλὰ βρυχή-
ματα μόνα καὶ στόνοι πεπτόντων, ἐνθα συνε-
tάχθησαν, ἐυσχημόνως. οἱ σύμμαχοι δὲ, καθάπερ
ἀγώνα πολέμου θεώμενοι, κατεπλήσσοντο τὴν
ἐυταξίαν καὶ οὔτε ἐς τᾶς σκηνὰς τοῦ Καῖσαρος
ἐτόλμων ὑπὸ θαύματος, ὀλίγων αὐτὰς καὶ
upon Caesar’s men, who had just now been afraid of being surrounded, fell upon the flank of Pompey’s infantry which was denuded of its cavalry supports.

79. When Pompey learned this he ordered his infantry not to advance farther, not to break the line of formation, and not to hurl the javelin, but to open their ranks, bring their spears to rest, and so ward off the onset of the enemy. Some persons praise this order of Pompey as the best in a case where one is attacked in flank, but Caesar criticises it in his letters. He says that the blows are delivered with more force, and that the spirits of the men are raised, by running, while those who stand still lose courage by reason of their immobility and become excellent targets for those charging against them. So, he says, it proved in this case, for the tenth legion, with Caesar himself, surrounded Pompey’s left wing, now deprived of cavalry, and assailed it with javelins in flank, where it stood immovable; until, finally, the assailants threw it into disorder, routed it, and this was the beginning of the victory. In the rest of the field slaughter and wounding of all kinds were going on, but no cry came from the scene of carnage, no lamentation from the wounded or the dying, only sighs and groans from those who were falling honourably in their tracks. The allies, who were looking at the battle as at a spectacle, were astonished at the discipline of the combatants. So dumbfounded were they that they did not dare attack Caesar’s tents, although they were guarded

1 The text says “Caesar’s horse,” but Schweighäuser considers this a manifest error since Appian, in § 79, says that it was the tenth legion that struck Pompey’s left flank. Caesar himself says (B.C. 3. 93. 5) that the six cohorts in reserve executed this decisive movement.
CAP. XI  

Πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν φυλασσόντων, περιδραμεῖν οὔτε τι ἀλλο ἢ ἑστῶτες ἑθάμβουν.

80. Ὡς δὲ ἐνέδωκε τὸ λαῖδον τοῦ Πομπήιον, αὐτὸι μὲν καὶ τότε βάδην ὑπεχώρουν ἁμα καὶ συνεπλέκοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι προτροπάδην ἑφευγον ἀπρακτοὶ, βοῶντες: “ἡσσήμεθα.” καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς σφῶν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ χαρακώματα ὡς ἀλλότρια προλαβόντες διέσπων καὶ διήρπαζον ἐς τὴν φυγὴν ὃ τι δύναιντο ἐπάγεσθαι. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὀπλιτικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε ἡσσῆς αἰσθανόμενον ὑπεχώρει κατὰ πόδα, πρὸτὸν ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ἐτὶ ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἁμνύο-

μενοὶ ἐπικειμένοι δ’ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν εὐπραξίᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ἁστράφησαν ἐς φυγήν. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ εὐμηχάνως δὴ τότε μάλιστα, ὡς μὴ συνέλθοιεν ἀδήπτης μηδὲ τὸ ἔργον γένοιτο μάχης μᾶς, ἀλλὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, κήρυκας ἐς τὰς τάξεις πανταχοῦ περιέπεμπτεν, οὐ τοῖς νυκτὸς ἐκέλευον ἀγαυστεῖν τῶν ὀμοιθνῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους μόνους χωρεῖν. καὶ τοῖς ἦττωμένοις προσεπέλαζον παρανοῦντες ἀδεῶς ἐστάναι. ἀνὴρ τε παρ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐκμανθάνων τὸ κήρυγμα εἰστήκει· καὶ σύμβολον ἦδη τούτο τῶν Πομπήιον στρατω-

τῶν ἦν, τὸ ἀδεῶς ἐστάναι, τὰ ἄλλα ὡς Ἰταλῶν ὀμοιοτρόπως ἐσκενασμένων τε καὶ φωνήν ὀμοίαν ἀφίεντον. διεκθέοντες δ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ τοῦ Καῖσαρος τοὺς συμμάχους οὐ δυναμένους ἀντέχειν ἀνήρουν· καὶ ὁ πλείστος ἐνταῦθα ἐγίγνετο φόνος.

81. Πομπήιος δ’ ἐπεὶ τὴν τροπὴν εἶδεν, ἐκφρων αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι ἀπῆλε βάδην ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκαθέζετο ἀναυδος,
only by a few old men. Nor did they accomplish anything else, but stood in a kind of stupor.

80. As Pompey's left wing began to give way his men even still retired step by step and in perfect order, but the allies who had not been in the fight, fled with headlong speed, shouting, "We are vanquished," dashed upon their own tents and fortifications as though they had been the enemy's, and pulled down and plundered whatever they could carry away in their flight. Then the rest of Pompey's Italian legions, perceiving the disaster to the left wing, retired slowly at first, in good order, and still resisting as well as they could; but when the enemy, flushed with victory, pressed upon them they turned in flight. Thereupon Caesar, in order that they might not rally, and that this might be the end of the whole war and not of one battle merely, with greater prudence than he had ever shewn before, sent heralds everywhere among the ranks to order the victors to spare their own countrymen and to smite only the auxiliaries. The heralds drew near to the retreating enemy and told them to stand still and fear not. As this proclamation was passed from man to man they halted, and the phrase "stand and fear not" began to be passed as a sort of watch-word among Pompey's soldiers; for, being Italians, they were clad in the same style as Caesar's men and spoke the same language. Accordingly, the latter passed by them and fell upon the auxiliaries, who were not able to resist, and made a very great slaughter among them.

81. When Pompey saw the retreat of his men he Total defeat of the Pompeians became bereft of his senses and retired at a slow pace to his camp, and when he reached his tent he
CAP. XI

οἷον τι καὶ τὸν Τελαμώνος Αἴαντά φασιν ἐν Ἡλίῳ παθεῖν, ἐν μέσοις πολεμίοις ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὀλίγοι πάνυ ἐσήσαν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ γὰρ κήρυγμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἑστάναι τε ἀκινδύνως ἔποιει, καὶ παραδραμόντων τῶν πολεμίων διεσκίδην κατὰ μέρος. λήγονσι δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ Καίσαρ τὸν στρατὸν ἀσχέτως πῶς περιθέων ἱκέτευε προσπονῆσαι, μέχρι καὶ τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Πομπήίου λάβοιεν, ἐκδιδάσκων, ὅτι, εἰ συσταῖεν αὕτης οἱ πολέμοι, μίαν ἡμέραν ἔσονται νευκηκότες, εἰ δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν ἐλοιεν, τὸν πολέμον ἐνι τῶδε ἔργῳ κατωρθωκότες ἀν εἶεν. τὰς τε οὐν χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ὄρεγε καὶ πρῶτος ἔξηρχε δρόμοι. τοῖς δὲ τὰ μὲν σώματα ἕκαμνε, τὴν δὲ φυχὴν ἄ το λογισμὸς καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ συντρέχων ἐκούφιζεν. ἦώρει δὲ καὶ ἦ τῶν γεγονότων εὐπραξία καὶ ἐλπὶς, ὅτι καὶ τὸν χάρακα αἴρησουσι καὶ πολλὰ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ. ἤκιστα δὲ ἐν ἐλπίςιν ἦ εὐτυχίαις ἄνθρωποι καμάτων αἰσθάνονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῶδε προσπεσόντες ἐπεχείρουν σὺν πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπομαχομένους καταφρονῆσει, ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος μαθὼν ἐξ ἄλλοκτον σιωπῆς τοσοῦτον ἀπέρρηξεν "οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα ἡμῶν," καὶ εἰπὼν τὴν τε στολὴν εὐήλλαξε καὶ ὑπὸν ἔπιθας σὺν φίλοις τέσσαριν οὐκ ἄνεσχε δρόμου, πρὶν ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἐν Λαρίσῃ γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ, ὥς ἐπηπείλησε παρατάσσων, ἐν τῷ Πομπήίου χάρακι ἐστάθμησε, καὶ αὐτός τε τὴν ἐκείνου βρώμην καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαίσαντο.

82. Ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐκατέρων, τῶν γε Ἰταλῶν (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῶν γε συμμάχων οὐδ' ἐξαρίθμησις
sat down speechless, resembling Ajax, the son of Telamon, who, they say, suffered in like manner in the midst of his enemies at Troy, being deprived of his senses by some god. Very few of the rest returned to the camp, for Caesar’s proclamation caused them to remain unharmed, and as their enemies had passed beyond them they dispersed in groups. As the day was declining Caesar ran hither and thither among his troops and besought them to continue their exertions till they should capture Pompey’s camp, telling them that if they allowed the enemy to rally they would be the victors for only a single day, whereas if they should take the enemy’s camp they would finish the war with this one blow. He stretched out his hands to them and took the lead in person. Although they were weary in body, the words and example of their commander lightened their spirits. Their success so far, and the hope of capturing the enemy’s camp and the contents thereof, excited them; for in the midst of hope and prosperity men feel fatigue least. So they fell upon the camp and assaulted it with the utmost disdain for the defenders. When Pompey learned this he started up from his strange silence, exclaiming, “What! in our very camp?” Having spoken thus he changed his clothing, mounted a horse, and fled with four friends, and did not draw rein until he reached Larissa early the next morning. So Caesar established himself in Pompey’s camp as he had promised to do when he was preparing for the battle, and ate Pompey’s supper, and the whole army feasted at the enemy’s expense.

82. The losses of Italians on each side—for there was no report of the losses of auxiliaries, either
CAP. ἐγένετο ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ καταφρονήσεως) ἐκ μὲν τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τριάκοντα λοχαγῶν καὶ ὀπλίται διακόσιοι, ἢ, ὡς ἔτεροι δοκεῖ, χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πομπηίου δουλεύτων μὲν δέκα, ὅν ἦν καὶ Δεύκιος Δομίτιος, ὁ αὐτῷ Καίσαρι πεμφθεὶς ἔπι τὴν Γαλατίαν διάδοχος, τῶν δὲ καλουμένων ἰππέων ἀμφὶ τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἑκ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῶς οἱ μὲν ἐπαίροντές φασὶ δισμυρίων ἐπὶ πεντακισχιλίους, Ἀσίνος δὲ Πολλιών, ὑπὸ Καίσαρι τῆς μάχης ἑκείνης στρατηγῶν, ἐξακισχιλίους ἀναγράφει νεκροὺς εὐρεθήναι τῶν Πομπηίου.

Τούτῳ τέλος ἦν τῆς ἀοιδάμου περὶ Φάρσαλον μάχης. ἀριστεία δ’ ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ αὐτὸς καὶ πρῶτα καὶ δεύτερα ἐκ πάντων ἐφέρετο, ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀριστεύει, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος τὸ δέκατον τὰ δὲ τρίτα Κρασίνιος λοχαγός, ὅπερ Καίσαρ μὲν ἐξειδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἔρετο, ὁ τε προσδιοκών, ὃ δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀνεβόθησε· "νικήσομεν, ὁ Καίσαρ, καὶ τῇμερον ἡ ζώντα ἢ νεκρὸν ἀποδέξῃ". ἡ στρατιὰ δ’ ἐμαρτύρει καθάπερ ἐνθοῦν ἐς ἐκάστην τάξιν μεταθέοντα πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ δρᾶσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγονον ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὐρέθη, τὰ ἀριστεία ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτῷ περιέθηκε καὶ συνέθηκε καὶ τάφον ἐξαίρετον ἀνέστησεν ἐγγὺς τοῦ πολυαιδρίου.

XII

CAP. 83. Ὁ δὲ Πομπηίος ἐκ Λαρίσης ὁμοίῳ δρόμῳ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐπειχθεὶς σκάφους ἐπέβη σμικροῦ 378
because of their multitude or because they were despised—were as follows: in Caesar's army, thirty centurions and 200 legionaries, or, as some authorities have it, 1200; on Pompey's side ten senators, among whom was Lucius Domitius, the same who had been sent to succeed Caesar himself in Gaul, and about forty distinguished knights. Some exaggerating writers put the loss in the remainder of his forces at 25,000, but Asinius Pollio, who was one of Caesar's officers in this battle, records the number of dead Pompeians found as 6000.

Such was the result of the famous battle of Pharsalus. Caesar himself carries off the palm for first and second place by common consent, and with him the tenth legion. The third place is taken by the centurion Crassinius, whom Caesar asked at the beginning of the battle what result he anticipated, and who responded proudly, "We shall conquer, O Caesar, and you will thank me either living or dead." The whole army testifies that he darted through the ranks like one possessed and did many brilliant deeds. When sought for he was found among the dead, and Caesar bestowed military honours on his body and buried it, and erected a special tomb for him near the common burial-place of the others.

XII

83. From Larissa Pompey continued his flight to the sea where he embarked in a small boat, and
καὶ νεῶς παραπλεούσης ἑπτιυχῶν ἐς Μιτυλήνην διέπλευσεν· ὅθεν τὴν γυναῖκα Κορυνῆλιαν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τριήρων τεσσάρων ἐπιβάς, αἰ αὐτῷ παρὰ τε Ῥόδιων καὶ Τυρίων ἀφίκοντο, Κερκύρας μὲν καὶ τότε καὶ Διβύης ὑπερείδειν, ἐνθα αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἦν ἄλλος πολὺς καὶ ναυτικὸν ἀκραίφυς, ἐτὶ δὲ τὴν ἕω φερόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν Παρθυναίον ὡς δι᾽ ἐκείνου πάντα ἀναληψόμενο τὸ ἐνθύμημα ἐπεκρυπτε, μέχρι περὶ τὴν Κιλικίαν μόλις ἐξέφερε τοὺς φίλους. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἥξιονν φυλάσσεσθαι τὸν Παρθυναίον, ἐπιβεβουλευμένον τε ἕναγχος ὑπὸ Κράςσου καὶ θυμούμενον ἔτι τῆς Κράςσου συμφορᾶ, μηδὲ ἐσ ἀκρατεῖς βαρβάρους ἁγειν εὐπρεπὴ γυναῖκα Κορυνῆλιαν, Κράςσου μάλιστα γεγενημένην. δεύτερα δ᾿ αὐτοῦ προθέντος περὶ τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἰοβα, Ἰοβα μὲν ὑπερεώρων ὡς ἀδόξου, ἐσ δὲ τὴν Αἰγύπτου αὐτῷ συνεφρόνουν, ἐγγὺς τε οὕσαν καὶ μεγάλην ἀρχήν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ δυνατὴν ναυσὶ καὶ σίτῳ καὶ χρήματι· τοὺς τε βασιλεύοντας αὐτῆς, εἰ καὶ παῖδες εἰσι, πατρικοὺς εἶναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ φίλους.

84. ὁ μὲν δὴ διὰ τάδε ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἐπλευράτι δ᾿ ἐκπεσοῦσις ἀπ᾿ Αἰγύπτου Κλεοπάτρας, ἢ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνήρχε, καὶ στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἀγειρούσης, Πτολεμαίος ὁ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφὸς ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταῖς Κλεοπάτρας ἐσβολαῖς ἐφήδρευε, καὶ πως κατὰ δαίμονα ἐς τὸ Κάσσιον τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν Πομπηίου κατέφερε. θεασάμενος δὲ στρατὸν ἐτὶ τῆς γῆς πολὺν ἐστησὲ τὸν πλοῦν καὶ ἐκάσεν,
meeting a ship by chance he sailed to Mitylene. There he joined his wife, Cornelia, and they embarked with four triremes which had come to him from Rhodes and Tyre. He decided not to sail for Corecyra and Africa, where he had other large military and naval forces as yet untouched, but intended to push on eastward to the king of the Parthians, expecting to receive every assistance from him. He concealed his intention until he arrived at Cilicia, where he revealed it hesitatingly to his friends; but they advised him to beware of the Parthian, against whom Crassus had lately led an expedition, and who was puffed up by his victory over the latter, and especially not to put in the power of these barbarians the beautiful Cornelia, who had formerly been the wife of Crassus. Then he made a second proposal respecting Egypt and Juba. The latter they despised as not sufficiently distinguished, but they all agreed about going to Egypt, which was near and was a great kingdom, still prosperous and powerful in ships, provisions, and money. Its sovereigns, too, although children, were allied to Pompey by their father's friendship.

For these reasons he sailed to Egypt, whence Cleopatra, who had previously reigned with her brother, had been lately expelled, and was collecting an army in Syria. Ptolemy, her brother, was at Casium in Egypt, lying in wait for her invasion, and, as Providence would have it, the wind carried Pompey thither. Seeing a large army on the shore he stopped his ship, rightly judging that the king was there. So he sent messengers to tell

1 The younger Crassus.  
2 King of Numidia.
CAP. όπερ ἦν, παρεῖναι τὸν βασιλέα. πέμψας τε ἐφραζὲ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίας. ὁ δὲ ἦν μὲν περὶ τρισκαίδεκα ἐτη μάλιστα γεγονός, ἐπετρόπευν δ' αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν Ἀχιλλᾶς, τὰ δὲ χρήματα Ποθεινὸς εὐνοὺχος· οὐ βουλὴν προτίθεντο περὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου. καὶ παρὼν ὁ Σάμιος Θεόδωτος ὁ ρήτωρ, διδάσκαλος ὅν τοῦ παιδὸς, ἀθέμιστον εἰσηγεῖτο ἐργον, ἐνεδρεύσαι καὶ κτείναι Πομπήιον ὡς χαριουμένους Καίσαρι. κυρωθείσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης σκάφος εὑτελές ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐπέμπτε, ὡς τῆς θαλάσσης οὐσίας ἄλτευνος καὶ μεγάλαις ναυοῦν σῶκειν, ὑπηρέται τε τινὲς τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐνέβαινον ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ Σεμπρώνιος, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαίος τότε μὲν τῷ βασιλεί, πάλαι δὲ αὐτῷ Πομπηίῳ στρατευσάμενος, δεξιάν ἐφερε παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ ἐκέλευν ὡς ἐς φίλου τῶν παίδα διαπέσαι. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ στράτος ᾅσπερ ἐπὶ τιμῆ τοῦ Πομπηίου παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐξετάσσετο ἅπας, καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς ἐν μέσῳ τῇ φοινικίδι κατάδηλος ήν περικεμένη.

85. Ὁ δ' Πομπήιος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ἅπαντα, καὶ τὴν παράταξιν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ σκάφους εὑτελείαν καὶ τὸ μὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτὸν οἱ παραγενέσθαι μηδὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινὰς πέμψαι τοσοῦτο δ' ἐκ τῶν Σοφοκλέους ἰαμβείων πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνενεγκών· "ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τῦραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου στὶ δοῦλος, καὶ ἐλεύθερος μόλις," ἐνέβαινεν ἐς τὸ σκάφος. καὶ ἐν τῷ διάπλωσι σιωπώντων ἅπαντων ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὑπώ-
of his arrival and to speak of his father's friendship. CHAP XII

The king was then about thirteen years of age and was under the tutelage of Achillas, who commanded his army, and the eunuch Pothinus, who had charge of his treasury. These took counsel together concerning Pompey. There was present also Theodotus, a rhetorician of Samos, the boy's tutor, who offered the infamous advice that they should lay a trap for Pompey and kill him in order to curry favour with Caesar. His opinion prevailed. So they sent a miserable skiff to bring him, pretending that the sea was shallow and not adapted to large ships. Some of the king's attendants came in the skiff, among them a Roman, named Sempronius, who was then serving in the king's army and had formerly served under Pompey himself. He gave his hand to Pompey in the king's name and directed him to take passage in the boat to the young man as to a friend. At the same time the whole army was marshalled along the shore as if to do honour to Pompey, and the king was conspicuous in the midst of them by the purple robe he wore.

85. Pompey's suspicions were aroused by all that he observed—the marshalling of the army, the mean- ness of the skiff, and the fact that the king himself did not come to meet him nor send any of his high dignitaries. Nevertheless, he entered the skiff, repeating to himself these lines of Sophocles, "Whoso resorts to a tyrant becomes his slave, even if he be free when he goes." While rowing to the shore all were silent, and this made him still more suspicious.

1 Caesar, Plutarch, Florus, and Dio Cassius, give this miscreant the name of Septimus.
πένευ· καὶ τὸν Σεµπρώνιον εἶτε ἐπεγιωότως Ἐρωμαίον ὄντα καὶ ἐστρατευμένου ἑαυτῷ, εἶτε τοπάξων ἐκ τοῦ μόνου ἑστάναι, κατὰ δὴ τὴν στρατιωτικὴν ἀρὰ διδασκαλίαν οὐ συνεδρεύοντα ἀυτοκράτορι, ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐς αὐτὸν εἶπεν· "Ἄρα σε γινώσκω, συστρατιώτα;" καὶ ὅς αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπένευσεν, ἀποστραφέντα δ᾿ εὐθὺς ἐπάταξε πρῶτος, έιθ᾽ ἔτεροι. καὶ τὸ μὲν γιύναιον τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ οἱ φίλοι ταύτα μακρόθεν ὀρῶντες ἀνώμωξόν τε καὶ χείρας ἐς θεοὺς ἐκδίκους σπουδῶν ἀνίσχοντες ἀπέπλευον τάχιστα ὡς ἐκ πολεμίας.

86. Πομπηίου δὲ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες οἱ περὶ Ποθεινὸν ἐφύλασσον Καίσαρι ὡς ἐπὶ μεγίστας ἀμοιβαῖς (ὅ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἧμύνατο ἄξιως τῆς ἀθεμιστίας), τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα τις ἔθεσεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἥιόνος καὶ τάφον ἤγειρεν εὐτελῆ· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἀλλος ἐπέγραψε· "τῷ ναοῖς βρίθοντι πόση σπάνις ἐπλετο τύμβου."

Χρόνῳ δὲ τὸν τάφον τόνδε ἐπικρυφθέντα ὅλον ὑπὸ ψάμμου καὶ εἰκόνας, ὅσα ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὑστερον οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθηκαν, λευκωβημένα πάντα καὶ ἔς τὸ ἅρμα τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατενεχθέντα ἐξήτησε καὶ εὑρεν ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ Ἐρωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐπιδημῶν, καὶ τὸν τάφον ἀνεκάθηρε γνώριμον αὐθίς εἶναι καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διωρθώσατο.

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Finally, either recognizing Sempronius as a Roman soldier who had served under him or guessing that he was such because he alone remained standing (for, according to military discipline, a soldier does not sit in the presence of his commander), he turned to him and said, "Do I not know you, comrade?" The other nodded and, as Pompey turned away, he immediately gave him the first stab and the others followed his example. Pompey's wife and friends who saw this at a distance cried out and, lifting their hands to heaven, invoked the gods, the avengers of violated faith. Then they sailed away in all haste as from an enemy's country.

86. The servants of Pothinus cut off Pompey's head and kept it for Caesar, in expectation of a large reward, but he visited condign punishment on them for their nefarious deed. The remainder of the body was buried by somebody on the shore, and a small monument was erected over it, on which somebody else wrote this inscription:—

"How pitiful a tomb for one so rich in temples." ¹

In the course of time the monument was wholly covered with sand, and the bronze images that had been erected to Pompey by his kinsfolk at a later period near Mount Cassius had all been outraged and afterwards removed to the secret recess of the temple, but in my time they were sought for and found by the Roman emperor Hadrian, while making a journey thither, who cleared away the rubbish from the monument and made it again conspicuous, and placed Pompey's images in their proper places.

¹ The point is not obvious, but Pompey seems credited with the possession of such temples as were in territories which he had conquered.
Τόδε μὲν δὴ τοῦ βίου τέλος ἦν Πομπηίω τῷ μεγίστους πολέμους ἀνύσαντι καὶ μέγιστα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὕφελθαντι καὶ Μεγάλω διὰ ταῦτα ὄνομασθέντι καὶ οὖν ἤττηθέντι ποτὲ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ ἀντίθετό καὶ εὐτυχεστάτω ἔξετι νέου γενομένῳ ἀπὸ γὰρ τριῶν καὶ εἰκοσίν ἐτῶν οὐ διέλιπεν ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα τῇ μὲν ἰσχύι μοναρχικῶς δυναστεύων, τῇ δὲ δόξῃ διὰ τὸν Καίσαρος ζήλου δημοτικὸς νομίζομενος ἄρχειν.

87. Λεύκιος δὲ Σκιπίων, ὁ κηδεστής τοῦ Πομπῆιον, καὶ ὁ σοι ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργου διεπεφεύγεσαν, ἐπὶ Κερκύρας ἠπείγοντο πρὸς Κάτωνα, ἔτερον στρατόν καὶ τριακοσίων τριήρων ἄρχειν ὑπολειμμένου, εὐβουλότερον οίδε τοῦ Πομπῆιον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ περιφανέστατοι νειμάμενοι τὸ ναυτικόν, Κάσσιος μὲν ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπλει πρὸς Φαρνάκην ὡς ἀναστήσων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Καίσαρα, Σκιπίων δὲ καὶ Κάτων ἐς Λιβύην ἐπλεον, Οὐάρῳ τε πίσυνοι καὶ τῷ μετὰ Οὐάρον στρατὸ καὶ Ἰόβα Νομάδων βασιλεῖ συμμαχοῦντε. Πομπῆιος δὲ, ὁ τοῦ Πομπῆιον πρεσβύτερος νύσος, καὶ Λαβιηνὸς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Σκάπλας τὸ μέρος ἔχουσες ἠπείγοντο ἐς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀποστήσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόν ἄλλον ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἰβηρῶν τε καὶ Κελτιβήρων καὶ θεραπόντων συνέλεγον ἐν τε παρασκευῇ μείζονι ἐγίγνοντο. τηλικαίται δυνάμεις τῆς Πομπῆιον παρασκευὴς ἦσαν ὑπόλοιποι, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ θεοβλαβείας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ Πομπῆιος ἐφυγε. τῶν δ'
Such was the end of Pompey, who had successfully carried on the greatest wars and had made the greatest additions to the empire of the Romans, and had acquired by that means the title of Great. He had never been defeated before, but had remained unvanquished and most fortunate from his youth up. From his twenty-third to his fifty-eighth year he had not ceased to exercise power which as regards its strength was that of an autocrat, but by the inevitable contrast with Caesar had an almost democratic appearance.

87. Lucius Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, and the other notables who had escaped from the battle of Pharsalus, more prudent than Pompey, hurried to Corcyra and joined Cato, who had been left there with another army and 300 triremes. The leaders apportioned the fleet among themselves, and Cassius sailed to Pharnaces in Pontus to induce him to take up arms against Caesar. Scipio and Cato embarked for Africa, relying on Varus and his army and his ally, Juba, king of Numidia. The elder son of Pompey, together with Labienus and Scapula, each with his own part of the army, hastened to Spain and, having detached it from Caesar, collected a new army of Spaniards, Celtiberians, and slaves, and made formidable preparations for war. So great were the forces still remaining which Pompey had prepared, and which Pompey himself overlooked and ran away from in his infatuation. Cato had been chosen

1 This is an error. Pompey was defeated by Sertorius in Spain; see the preceding book § 110: ὁ δὲ Σερτώριος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Πομπήιον.

2 The sentence is both confused and pleonastic. ζῆλος is almost certainly Pompey's rivalry with Caesar, which caused them to be regularly contrasted.
CAP. XII  ἐν Διβύῃ Κάτωνα σφὸν στρατηγεῖν αἰρουμένων, ὁ Кάτων οὐχ ὑπέστη παρόντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων, οἱ κατ’ ἄξιοςιν ἔπρεσβευον αὐτοῦ μόνην ἄρχην ἀρξαντος ἐν Ἐρώμη τῆς στρατηγίδα. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ Δεύκιος Σκιπτών αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ στρατὸς κανταύθα πολὺς ἤθροιζετο καὶ ἐγυμμάζετο. καὶ δύο αἶδε μάλιστα ἄξιόλογοι παρασκευαί, περὶ Διβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν, ἐπὶ Καίσαρα συνεκροτοῦντο.

XIII

CAP. XIII  88. Δυνὸς δ’ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν Φαρσάλῳ διέτριψε θύων καὶ τῶν στρατῶν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναλαμβάνων ἐνθα καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλευθέρους ἥφει συμμαχήσαντάς οἱ καὶ Ἀθηναίων αἰτήσαα συγγνώμην ἐπεδίδοου καὶ ἐπεῖπε: “ποσάκις ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολλυμένους ἢ δόξα τῶν προγόνων περισσώτεροι;” τῇ τρίτῃ δ’ ἐξῆλαυνέν ἐπὶ την ἔως κατὰ πύστιν τῆς Πομπηλίου φυγῆς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλησποντοῦ ἀπορία τρήρων σκάφεσιν ἐπεραιοῦτο μικρῷς. Κάσσιος δὲ σὺν τῷ μέρει τῶν τρίηρων ἐπιφαίνεται μεσοποροῦντι, πρὸς Φαρνάκην ἐπειγόμενος. καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἄν πολλαῖς τρήρεσι κατὰ σκαφῶν μικρῶν, ὑπὸ δέους τῆς Καίσαρος εὐτυχίας περιπύστο δὴ καὶ ἐπιφόβου τότε οὕσης ἐξεπλάγη καὶ νομίσας οἱ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπίτηδες ἐπιπλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ὤρεγέν ἐς αὐτὸν, ἀπὸ τρήρων ἐς σκιάθη, καὶ συγγνώμην ἤτει καὶ τᾶς τρήρεις παρεδίδουν. τοσοῦτον ἵσχυεν ἢ δόξα τῆς Καίσαρος εὐπραγίας· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε αὑτίαν ἐτέραν ὁρῶ οὐδὲ ἔργον ἐτερον ἡγοῦμαι 388
commander of the forces in Africa, but he declined the appointment since there were consuls present who outranked him, he having held only the praetorship in Rome. So Lucius Scipio was made the commander and he collected and drilled a large army there. Thus two armies of considerable magnitude were brought together against Caesar, one in Africa and the other in Spain.

XIII

88. Caesar remained two days at Pharsalus after the victory, offering sacrifice and giving his army a respite from fighting. Then he set free his Thessalian allies and granted pardon to the suppliant Athenians, and said to them, "How often will the glory of your ancestors save you from self-destruction?" On the third day he marched eastward, having learned that Pompey had fled thither, and for want of triremes he essayed to cross the Hellespont in skiffs. Here Cassius came upon him in midstream, with a part of his fleet, as he was hastening to Pharnaces. Although he might have mastered these small boats with his numerous triremes he was panic-stricken by Caesar's astounding success, which was then heralded with consternation everywhere, and he thought that Caesar had sailed purposely against him. So he extended his hands in entreaty from his trireme toward the skiff, begged for pardon, and surrendered his fleet. So great was the power of Caesar's prestige. I can see no other reason myself, nor can I think of any other instance where
This is a dubious tale. Caesar tells us (iii. 101) that Cassius was in Sicily with a fleet when the news of Pharsalus arrived; that when the first news of the battle came the Pompeians considered it a fiction invented by Caesar's friends, but that when they were convinced that it was true, Cassius departed with his fleet. Then Caesar describes his
fortune was more propitious in a trying emergency than when Cassius, a most valiant man, with seventy triremes, fell in with Caesar when he was unprepared, but did not venture to come to blows with him. And yet he who thus, through fear alone, disgracefully surrendered to Caesar when he was crossing the straits, afterward murdered him in Rome when he was at the height of his power; by which fact it is evident that the panic which then seized Cassius was due to the fortune by which Caesar was uplifted.\(^1\)

89. Being thus unexpectedly saved, Caesar passed the Hellespont and granted pardon to the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the other peoples who inhabit the great peninsula called by the common name of Lower Asia, and who sent ambassadors to him to ask it. Learning that Pompey was making for Egypt he sailed for Rhodes. He did not wait even there for his army, which was coming forward by detachments, but embarked with those he had on the triremes of Cassius and the Rhodians. Letting nobody know whither he intended to go he set sail toward evening, telling the other pilots to steer by the torch of his own ship by night and by his signal in the daytime; his own pilot, after they had proceeded a long way from the land, he ordered to steer for Alexandria. After a three days' sail he arrived there, and was received by the king's own movements, saying that he considered it necessary to drop everything else and pursue Pompey, and that he pushed on every day as far as his cavalry could go, having ordered one legion to follow by shorter marches. He must have passed the Hellespont before Cassius sailed from Sicily. Suetonius (Jul. 63) says that it was Lucius Cassius whom Caesar met in the Hellespont.
τροπεύοντες, ἐτὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμφὶ τὸ Κάσσιον ὄντος. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀπραγμοσύνην τινὰ διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν συνόντων ὑπεκρίνετο φιλοφρόνως τε τούς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐξεδέχετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν περιων τοῦ κάλλους ἑθαύμαζε καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων μετὰ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐστῶς ἥκροατο· οὔθεν αὐτῷ χάρις τε καὶ δόξα ἀγαθῇ ὡς ἀπράγμον παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεύσιν ἐφύσει.

90. Ἡ ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ στρατός αὐτῷ κατέτρευσε, Ποθεῖνον μὲν καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶν ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ τῆς ἐς τὸν Πομπήιον παρανομίας, Θεόδοτον δὲ διαδράντα Κάσσιος ὑπερφοράν ἐκρέμασε, εὐρέων ἐν Ἀσία. θορυβοῦντων δ' ἐπὶ τῶδε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρέων καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἱούσης, ἀγῶνες αὐτῷ ποικίλοι περὶ τὸ βασιλείου ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς παρ' αὐτῷ αἰγιαλοῖς, ἐνθα καὶ φεύγων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐξῆλατο καὶ ἐς πολύ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ διενίξατο· καὶ τὴν χαμάυδα αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς περὶ τρόπαιον ἐκρέμασαν. τελευταίον δ' ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτῷ γίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀγών, ὁ δ' ἐκ καὶ μάλιστα ἐκράτει. καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διετρόφθησαν αὐτῷ μῆνες ἐννέα, μέχρι Κλεοπάτραν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄδελφος βασιλεύειν ἀπεφθηνεν Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρακοσίων νεῶν, τὴν χώραν θεώμενος, περιέπλευ μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας, καὶ τᾶλλα ἠδόμενος αὐτῇ. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἐκαστὰ ὡς ἐγένετο, ἀκριβεστερὸν ἂν περὶ Αἰγύπτου συγγραφῇ διέξεισ' τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Πομπήιον προσφερομένην οὐχ ὑπέστη, ἀλλὰ προσέταξε ταφῆναι, καὶ τι αὐτῇ τέμενος βραχὺ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως περιτεθὲν Νεμέσεως τέμενος ἐκαλεῖτο· ὅπερ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ Ἑρωμαίων 392
guardians, the king himself being still at Casium. CHAP. xiii
At first, on account of the smallness of his forces, he pretended to take his ease, receiving visitors in a friendly way, traversing the city, admiring its beauty, and listening to the lectures of the philosophers while he stood among the crowd. Thus he gained the good-will and esteem of the Alexandrians as one who had no designs against them.

90. When his soldiers arrived by sea he punished Pothinus and Achillas with death for their crime against Pompey. (Theodotus escaped and was afterward crucified by Cassius, who found him wandering in Asia.) The Alexandrians thereupon rose in tumult, and the king's army marched against Caesar and various battles took place around the palace and on the neighbouring shores. In one of these Caesar escaped by leaping into the sea and swimming a long distance in deep water. The Alexandrians captured his cloak and hung it up as a trophy. He fought the last battle against the king on the banks of the Nile, in which he won a decisive victory. He consumed nine months in this strife, at the end of which he established Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt in place of her brother. He ascended the Nile with 400 ships, exploring the country in company with Cleopatra and generally enjoying himself with her. The details, however, of these events are related more particularly in my Egyptian history. Caesar could not bear to look at the head of Pompey when it was brought to him, but ordered that it be buried, and set apart for it a small plot of ground near the city which was dedicated to Nemesis, but in my time, while the Roman emperor Trajan was exterminating
91. Τοσάδε μὲν δὴ Καίσαρ ἐργασάμενος ἐν Ἄλεξανδρείᾳ διὰ Συρίας ἐπὶ Φαρνάκην ἤπείγετο. ὁ δὲ ἦδη μὲν εἰργαστὸ πολλὰ καὶ περιεσπάκει τινὰ Ῥωμαίων χωρία καὶ Δομιτίω Καίσαρος στρατηγῷ συνενεχθεῖς ἐς μάχην ἐνενικήκει πάνω λαμπρῶς, καὶ τάδε μάλιστα ἐπαρθεῖς Ἀμυσὸν πόλιν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Ῥωμαίζουσαν ἐξηνδραπόδιστο καὶ τοὺς παίδας αὐτῶν τομίας ἐπεποίητο πάντας· προσιόντος δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐταράσσετο καὶ μετεγγυωσκε καὶ ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων γενομένω πρέσβεις ἐπέμπην ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης, στέφανον τε χρύσειον αὐτῶ φέροντας καὶ ἐς γάμον ὑπ’ ἀνοίας ἐγγυώντας Καίσαρι τὴν Φαρνάκους θυγατέρα. ὁ δ’ αἰσθόμενος ὡν φέρουσι, προῆλθε δεικτεῖν αὐτῷ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ἐβάδιζε λεσχηνεύνοι τοὺς πρέσβεις, μέχρι προσπελάσας τὸ χάρακι τοῦ Φαρνάκους καὶ τοσοῦτο εἰπὼν· "οὐ γὰρ αὐτῖκα δώσει δίκην ὁ πατροκτόνος;" ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον ἀνεπήδησε καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης βοής τρέπεται τε τὸν Φαρνάκην καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκεῖνε, σὺν χιλίοις ποὺ μάλιστα ὃν ἱππεύον τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶ συνδραμούσιν ὥστε καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν· "ὡς μακάριε Πομπήιε, τοιοῦτοις ἀρὰ κατὰ Μιθριδάτην τὸν τούδε πατέρα πολεμῶν ἀνδράσι μέγας τε ἐνομίσθης καὶ μέγας ἐπεκλήθης." ἐς δὲ Ὀρύμην περὶ τῆς τῆς μάχης ἐπέστελλε· "ἐγὼ δὲ ἠλθοῦν, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα." 92. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Φαρνάκης μὲν ἀγαπῶν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν Βοσπόρου, τὴν δεδομένην οἱ παρὰ...
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK II

the Jewish race in Egypt, it was devastated by them in the exigencies of the war.

91. After Caesar had performed these exploits in Alexandria he hastened by way of Syria against Pharnaces. The latter had already accomplished many of his aims, had seized some of the Roman countries, had fought a battle with Caesar's lieutenant, Domitian, and won a very brilliant victory over him. Being much elated by this affair he had subjugated the city of Amisus in Pontus, which adhered to the Roman interest, sold their inhabitants into slavery, and made all their boys eunuchs. On the approach of Caesar he became alarmed and repented of his deeds, and when Caesar was within 200 stades he sent ambassadors to him to treat for peace. They bore a golden crown and foolishly offered him the daughter of Pharnaces in marriage. When Caesar learned what they were bringing he moved forward with his army, walking in advance and chatting with the ambassadors until he arrived at the camp of Pharnaces, when he merely said, "Why should I not take instant vengeance on this parricide?" Then he sprang upon his horse and at the first shout put Pharnaces to flight and killed a large number of the enemy, although he had with him only about 1000 of his own cavalry who had accompanied him in the advance. Here it is said that he exclaimed, "O fortunate Pompey, who wast considered and named the Great for warring against such men as these in the time of Mithridates, the father of this man." Of this battle he wrote to Rome the words, "I came, I saw, I conquered."

92. After this, Pharnaces was glad to escape to the kingdom which Pompey had assigned to him on
Πομπηίου, συνέφυγεν· ο θεός Καισάρ, ού σχολήν ἄγων περὶ μικρὰ τρίβεσθαι τοσῶνδε πολέμων αὐτῶν περιμενόντων, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετῆλθε καὶ παροδεύων αὐτὴν εχρημάτιζε ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνοχλουμέναι ὑπὸ τῶν μισθουμένων τοὺς φόρους, ὡς μοι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσιανὴν συγγραφὴν δεδήλωται. πυθόμενος δὲ ἐν Ρώμη στάσιν εἶναι καὶ Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἦπαρχον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν στρατιὰ φυλάσσειν, πάντα μεθείς ἵς Ρώμην ἤπείγετο. ὡς δὲ ἤλθεν, ἡ μὲν στάσις ἡ πολιτικὴ κατεπαύετο, ἐτέρα δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνίστατο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ὡς οὔτε τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα σφίσιν ἐπὶ τῷ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἔργῳ λαβόντες οὔτε ἐννόμως ἔτι βραδύνοντες ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ· ἠφεθήναι τε πάντες ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἥξιοιν. ο δὲ ἐπηγγέλλετο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀόριστα τινὰ ἐν Φάρσαλῳ, καὶ ἐτερα ἀόριστα, ὅταν ο ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμος ἐκτελεσθῇ· τότε δὲ ἐπεμπεῖν ἄλλας ὅριζων ἐκάστῳ χειλίας δραχμάς. οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπισχυεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ αὐτίκα διδόναι πάντα ἐκέλευον καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Σαλούστιον Κρίστον πεμφθέντα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅλιγον καὶ διέφθειραν, εἰ μὴ διέφυγε. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τέλος μὲν ἄλλο στρατιωτῶν, οὐ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ Ἀντωνίου παρεφύλασσον, περιέστησε τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ταῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐξόδοις, δείσας περὶ ἀρπαγῆς· αὐτὸς δὲ, πάντων δεδιότων καὶ παραινοῦντων.

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the Bosporus. As Caesar had no time to waste on small matters while such great wars were still unfinished elsewhere, he returned to the province of Asia and while passing through it transacted public business in the cities, which were oppressed by the farmers of the revenue, as I have shown in my Asiatic history.\(^1\) Learning that a sedition had broken out in Rome and that Antony, his master of horse, had occupied the forum with soldiers, he laid aside everything else and hastened to the city. When he arrived there the civil sedition had been quieted, but another one sprang up against himself in the army because the promises made to them after the battle of Pharsalus had not been kept, and because they had been held in service beyond the term fixed by law. They demanded that they should all be dismissed to their homes. Caesar had made them certain indefinite promises at Pharsalus, and others equally indefinite after the war in Africa should be finished. Now he sent them a definite promise of 1000 drachmas more to each man. They answered him that they did not want any more promises but prompt payment in full, and Salustius Crispus,\(^2\) who had been sent to them on this business, had a narrow escape, for he would have been killed if he had not fled. When Caesar learned of this he stationed the legion with which Antony had been guarding the city around his own house and the city gates, as he apprehended attempts at plunder. Then, notwithstanding all his friends were alarmed and cautioned him against the

\(^1\) Our author does not mention any Asiatic history in his preface. Photius in his enumeration of the works of Appian extant in his time speaks of the "tenth book, Grecian and Ionian." Schweighäuser thinks that this is here referred to.  
\(^2\) The historian.
CAP. XIII

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αὐτῷ τὴν ὀρμήν τοῦ στρατοῦ φυλάξασθαί, μάλα θρασέως αὐτοῖς ἔτι στασιάζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἀρειον πεδίον ἐπῆλθεν ὦ προμηνύσας καὶ ἐπὶ βῆματος ὀφθη.

93. Οἴ δὲ σὺν θορύβῳ τα τἀπολοι συνέτρεχον καὶ, ὡς ἔθος, ἀφινο φανέντα σφίσιν ἡσπάζοντο αὐτοκράτορα. κελεύσαντος δ᾿ ὁ τι θέλονεν εἰπεὶν, περὶ μὲν τῶν δωρεῶν ἐς ὁψὶν εἰπεὶν αὐτοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲ ἐτόλμησαν ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκπλήξεως, ὡς δὲ μετριώτεραν, ἀφεθῇ καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἀνεβόησαν, ἐλπίζαντες στρατοῦ δεόμενον ἐς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους πολέμους αὐτῶν ἔρειν τι καὶ περὶ τῶν δωρεῶν. ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν οὐδὲ μελλήσας ἀπεκρίνατο· "ἀφίημι." καταπλαγέντων δ᾿ αὐτῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ σιωπῆς βαθυτάτης γενομένης ἐπείπτε· "καὶ δώσω γε ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἀπαντα, ὅταν θριαμβεύσω μεθ᾿ ἐτέρων." ἀδοκήτου δ᾿ αὐτοῖς ἀμα καὶ τούδε καὶ φιλανθρώπου φανέντος, αἰδῶς αὐτίκα πᾶσιν ἐνέπιπτεν καὶ λογισμὸς μετὰ ξῆλου, εἰ δόξους μὲν αὐτοὶ καταλιπεῖν σφῶν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐν μέσοις τοσοῦτο τολεμίους, θριαμβεύσουσι δ᾿ ἀνθ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐτεροί καὶ σφεῖς τῶν ἐν Διβύῃ κερδῶν ἐκπεσοῦνται, μεγάλων ἐσεθαὶ νομιζομένων, ἐχθροὶ τε ὄμοιοι αὐτοῦ τε Καίσαρος ἐσονται καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. δείσαντος οὖν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡσύχαζον ἐξ ἀπορίας, ἐλπίζοντες ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ τῶν Καίσαρα καὶ μεταγγώσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν χερσὶ χρείαν. ὁ δ᾿ ἀνθησύχαζε καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ παρακαλοῦντων ἐπιθέεγξασθαί τι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλο καὶ μὴ βραχεῖ καὶ αὐστήρῳ.
fury of the soldiers, he went boldly among them while they were still riotous in the Campus Martius, without sending word beforehand, and showed himself on the platform.

93. The soldiers ran together tumultuously without arms, and, as was their custom, saluted their commander who had suddenly appeared among them. When he bade them tell what they wanted they were so surprised that they did not even venture to speak openly of the donative in his presence, but they adopted the more moderate course of demanding their discharge from service, hoping that, since he needed soldiers for the unfinished wars, he would speak about the donative himself. But, contrary to the expectation of all, he replied without hesitation, "I discharge you." Then, to their still greater astonishment, and while the silence was most profound, he added, "And I shall give you all that I have promised when I triumph with other soldiers." At this expression, as unexpected as it was kind, shame immediately took possession of all, and the consideration, mingled with jealousy, that while they would be thought to be abandoning their commander in the midst of so many enemies, others would join in the triumph instead of themselves, and they would lose the gains of the war in Africa, which were expected to be great, and become hateful to Caesar himself as well as to the opposite party. Moved by these fears they remained still more silent and embarrassed, hoping that Caesar would yield and change his mind on account of his immediate necessity. But he remained silent also, until his friends urged him to say something more to them and not leave his old comrades of so many campaigns with a
ΑΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIII λόγῳ τολλὰ συνεστρατευμένους ἐγκαταλύπειν, ἀρχόμενος λέγειν πολίτας ἀντὶ στρατιωτῶν προσείπευν· ὅτερ ἐστὶ σύμβολον ἀφειμένων τῆς στρατείας καὶ ἱδιωτευόντων.

94. Οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἐτί ἀνέκραγον μετανοεῖν καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύεσθαι. ἀποστρεφομένου τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἀπίστου ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐπείξει πλέον βοῶντες ἐνέκειντο παραμείναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ κολάζειν σφῶν τοὺς ἀμαρτόντας. ὁ δ’ ἐτί μὲν τι διέτριψεν, οὔτε ἀπίστῳ οὔτε ἑπανιῶν, ὑποκρινόμενος ἀπορεῖν· ἐπανελθὼν δ’ ὁμος ἐφη κολάσειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἀχθεσθαι δ’, ὅτι καὶ τὸ δέκατον τέλος, ὁ προετίμησεν αἰεὶ, τοιαῦτα θορυβεῖ. “καὶ τόδε,” ἐφη, “μόνον ἀφίημι τῆς στρατείας· δῶσῳ δὲ καὶ τόδε ὁμος τὰ ὑπεσχημένα ἀπαντα, ἐπανελθὼν ἐκ Διβύης. δῶσῳ δὲ καὶ γῆν ἀπασιν ἐκτελεσθέντων τῶν πολέμων, οὐ καθάπερ Σύλλας, ἀφαιρούμενος ἐτέρων ἢν ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀφαιρεθέσι τοὺς λαβόντας συνοικίζων καὶ ποιῶν ἀλλήλοις ἐς αἰεὶ πολεμίους, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δῆμου γῆν ἐπινέμων καὶ τὴν ἐμαντοῦ, καὶ τὰ δέοντα προσωνούμενος.” κρότου δὲ καὶ εὐφημίας παρὰ πάντων γεγομένης, τὸ δέκατον ὑπερήλθει τέλος, ἐς μόνον αὐτὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδιαλλάκτου φανέντος· καὶ σφᾶς αὐτὸν ἡξίουν διακληρωθήσατε καὶ τὸ μέρος θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦς ὑπερεθίζειν ἐτι δεόμενος ἀκριβῶς μετανοοῦντας, συνηλλάσσετο ἀπασι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Διβύῃ πόλεμον ἐξῆγει. 400
short and austere word. Then he began to speak, addressing them first as "citizens," not "fellow-soldiers," which implied that they were already discharged from the army and were private individuals.

94. They could endure it no longer, but cried out that they repented of what they had done, and besought him to keep them in his service. But Caesar turned away and was leaving the platform when they shouted with greater eagerness and urged him to stay and punish the guilty among them. He delayed a while longer, not going away and not turning back, but pretending to be undecided. At length he came back and said that he would not punish any of them, but that he was grieved that even the tenth legion, to which he had always given the first place of honour, should join in such a riot. "And this legion alone," he continued, "I will discharge from the service. Nevertheless, when I return from Africa I will give them all that I have promised. And when the wars are ended I will give lands to all, not as Sulla did by taking it from the present holders and uniting present and past owners in a colony, and so making them everlasting enemies to each other, but I will give the public land, and my own, and will purchase as well the necessary implements." There was clapping of hands and joyful acclaim on all sides, but the tenth legion was plunged in grief because to them alone Caesar appeared inexorable. They begged him to choose a portion of their number by lot and put them to death. But Caesar, seeing that there was no need of stimulating them any further when they had repented so bitterly, became reconciled to all, and departed straightway for the war in Africa.
CAP. XIV
95. Διαβάλων δ' ἐκ Ρηγίου τὸν πορθμόν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνης ἔς Λιλύβαιον ἤλθε. καὶ πυθόμενος Κάτωνα μὲν τὴν παρασκευήν τοῦ πολέμου ναυσὶ καὶ πεζών τινι μέρει φρουρεῖν ἐν Ἰτύκη μετὰ τῶν τριακοσίων, οὕς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ προβούλους ἐπεποίησατο τοῦ πολέμου καὶ σύγκλητον ἐκάλουν, τὸν δ' αὐτοκράτορα Λεόκειον Σκιτίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν Ἀδρυμητῷ στρατοπεδεύειν, διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιτίωνα. καὶ αὐτὸν οἴχομενον ὡς Ἰοβαν καταλαβὼν παρέτασθεν ἐς μάχην παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Σκιτίωνος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ συνοισόμενος τοῖς πολεμίῳς χωρίς αὐτοκράτορος ὤσιν. ἀντεπήσαν δὲ αὐτῷ Δαβηνός τε καὶ Πετρήιος, οἱ τοῦ Σκιτίωνος ὑποστράτηγοι, καὶ ἐκράτουν τῶν Καίσαρος παρὰ πολὺ καὶ τραπέντας ἑδίωκον σοβαρῶς μετὰ καταφρονήσεως, μέχρι Δαβηνόν μὲν ὁ ὄπτος ἐς τὴν γαστέρα πληγεῖς ἀπεσέισατο καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ παραστισταὶ συνήρ- παζον, ὁ δὲ Πετρήιος, ὡς ἀκριβῇ τοῦ στρατοῦ λαβὼν πείραν καὶ νικήσων, ὅτε βούλεται, διέλυε τὸ ἔργον ἐπειπών τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν. "μὴ ἀφελώ- μεθα τὴν νίκην τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἡμῶν Σκιτίωνα." καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο μέρος τῆς Καίσαρος τύχης ἔργον ἐφαίνετο κρατησάντων ἃν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν πολεμίων ἄφνω τὴν μάχην ὑπὸ τῶν νικώντων διαλυθήσεται αὐτός δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ἐγχρίμπτων ἀπασίν ἐπιστρέφειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα σημεῖα, τοὺς ἀετοὺς, φερόντων.
THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK II

XIV

95. Caesar crossed the strait from Rhegium to Messana and went to Lilybaeum. Here, learning that Cato was guarding the enemy's magazines with a fleet and a part of the land forces at Utica, and that he had with him the 300 men who had for a long time constituted their council of war and were called the Senate, and that the commander, L. Scipio, and the flower of the army were at Adrumetum, he sailed against the latter. He arrived at a time when Scipio had gone away to meet Juba, and he drew up his forces for battle near Scipio's very camp in order to come to an engagement with the enemy at a time when their commander was absent. Labienus and Petreius, Scipio's lieutenants, attacked him, defeated him badly, and pursued him in a haughty and disdainful manner until Labienus' horse was wounded in the belly and threw him, and his attendants carried him off, and Petreius, thinking that he had made a thorough test of the army and that he could conquer whenever he liked, drew off his forces, saying to those around him, "Let us not deprive our general, Scipio, of the victory." In the rest of the battle it appeared to be a matter of Caesar's luck that the victorious enemy abandoned the field when they might have won; but it is said that in the flight Caesar dashed up to his whole line and turned it back and seizing one of those who

1 μέρος is probably inserted by error of a copyist, but even its removal does not wholly smooth the sentence.

2 ἔγχυςμπτως ἄπασιν. How could he dash up to all of them at once? Mendelssohn suggests ἀποδρᾶσιν, i.e. he dashed up to the runaways.
χρ. ΞIV. τῇ έαυτοῦ χειρὶ περισσάςας μετενεγκείν ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἔως Πετρῖνος ἀνέζευξε καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀσπασίως ὑπεχώρει.

Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς πρώτης ἐν Διβυή Καίσαρι μάχης τέλος ἦν. 96. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ύστερον, αὐτοῦ τε Σκιπίωνος ὅκτῳ τέλεσι πεζῶν καὶ ἰππεῶν δύο μυρίσιν, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ Λίβνες ἤσαν, πελτασταῖς τε πολλοῖς καὶ ἐλέφασιν ἐς τριάκοντα προσδοκώ-μένου παρέσεσθαι σὺν Ἰόβα τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ τῶδε ἀγοντι πεζοὺς ἄλλους ἀμφὶ πρίσμυριοις καὶ ἰππέας Νομάδας ἐς δισμυρίους καὶ ἀκοντίστας πόλλοις καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἐξήκοντα ἑτέρους, ἡ στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐδεύμανε καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἑθορυβοῦντο κατά τε πείραν ὃν ἦδη πεπόθθεσαν καὶ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν ἑπτώντων τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ ἄρετῆς, μάλιστα τῶν Νομάδων ἰππεῶν. ο τῶν ἐλέφαντων πόλεμος ἀήθης σφίσιν ὃν ἐξέπλησε. Βόχχου δ' ἑτέρου Μαυ-ρουσίων δυνάστου Κίρταν, ἡ βασίλειον ἦν Ἰόβα, καταλαβόντος, ὃ μὲν Ἰόβας, ἔξαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τούτῳ, ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα μάλιστα ἀνέζευξεν μετὰ τοῦ ἱδίου στρατοῦ, τριάκοντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ μόνους ἕπο- λυτῶν ἐλέφαντας τῷ Σκιπίωνι, ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνεθάρρησεν, ὡς τὸ πέμπτον τέλος αἰτήσαν αὐτιταχθῆναι τοῖς ἐλέφασι κρατῆσαι πάνιν καρτερῶς· καὶ νῦν ἂν ἐκείνου τῶδε τῷ τέλει ἐλέφαντες ἐς τὰ σημεία ἐπίκεινται.

97. Μακράς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπόνων κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη τῆς μάχης καὶ πολυτρόπον γενομένης, περὶ ἐστέραιν μόλις ὁ Καίσαρ ἐνίκα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐθὺς ἐξήρει τὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, οὗδεν ἀνεῖσ ὅπο ἐν νυκτὶ τῆς νίκης, μέχρι τὸ σύμπαν ἐξεργάσασθαι.
carried the principal standards (the eagles) dragged him to the front. Finally, Petreius retired and Caesar was glad to do the same.

Such was the result of Caesar's first battle in Africa. Not long afterward it was reported that Scipio himself was advancing with eight legions of foot, 20,000 horse (of which most were Africans), and a large number of light-armed troops, and thirty elephants; together with King Juba, who had some 30,000 foot-soldiers in addition, raised for this war, and 20,000 Numidian cavalry, besides a large number of spearmen and sixty elephants. Caesar's army began to be alarmed and a tumult broke out among them on account of the disaster they had already experienced and of the reputation of the forces advancing against them, and especially of the numbers and bravery of the Numidian cavalry. War with elephants, to which they were unaccustomed, also frightened them. But Bocchus, another Mauritanian prince, seized Cirta, which was the capital of Juba's kingdom, and when this news reached Juba he started for home at once with his army, leaving thirty of his elephants only with Scipio. Thereupon Caesar's men plucked up courage to such a degree that the fifth legion begged to be drawn up opposite the elephants, and it overcame them valiantly. From that day to the present this legion has borne the figure of an elephant on its standards.

The battle was long, severe, and doubtful in all parts of the field until toward evening, when victory declared itself on the side of Caesar, who went straight on and captured Scipio's camp and did not desist, even in the night, from reaping the fruits of his victory until he had made a clean sweep.

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οι δὲ ἐχθροὶ κατ' ὀλίγους, ὅτη δύναντο, διέφευγον· καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτὸς, ἀμά Ἀφρανίῳ πάντα μεθείς, ἔφευγεν ἀνὰ τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἀφράκτων.

Ὡδὲ μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ στρατός, ἐς ὅκτω μυριάδας μάλιστα συνελθὼν ἐκ τε πολλοῦ γεγυμνασμένος καὶ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας μάχης ἐν ἐλπίδι καὶ θάρσει γενόμενος, δευτέρα τῇ δὲ συμβολῇ συνετρίβετο ἀθρώως. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κλέος ἐς ἀμαχον εὐτυχίαιν ἐδοξάζετο, οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἡσσωμένων ἐς ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ μεριζόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἀμαρτήματα τῇ Καίσαρος τὴν προστιθέντων ἐδόκει γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἄρηλ εἰς σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἀμαρτήματα τῇ Καίσαρος τὴν προστιθέντων, οὕτως ἀπορήσειεν ὁ Καίσαρ ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ, οὕτω τὴν πρώτην νίκην ἐς τέλος προαγαγόντων, συντριφθεὶς οὕτως ὄξεως διαλυθήναι.

98. Ἐξαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐς Ἰτύκην τρίτη μάλιστα ἀμέρα καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰτύκην ἱόντος ἐγίγνετο φυγῇ πάντων. καὶ οὐδένα κατείχεν ὁ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ναὶς ἐδίδον τοῖς αἰτοῦσι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν· αὐτὸς δὲ εὐσταθῶς ύπέμενε καὶ τοῖς Ἰτυκαίοις ὑπισχυομένοις πρὸ ἑαυτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνον δείησθαι ἐπιμειδιῶν ἀπεκρίνατο οὐ δεήσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς Καίσαρα διαλλακτῶν καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καλώς. σημηνάμενος δὲ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἀπαντᾷ καὶ συγγραφᾶς υπὲρ ἐκάστου τοῖς Ἰτυκαῖων ἀρχοῦσιν ἐπιδοὺς περὶ ἐσπέραν ἀμφὶ λοιπὰ καὶ δείπνουν ἣν καθεξόμενος τε ἐγεύετο, ὡσπερ εἰθιστο, εξ οὗ Πομπήιος ἀνήρητο· οὐδέν τε τῶν συνήθων

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The enemy scattered in small bodies wherever they could. Scipio himself, abandoning everything to Afranius, fled by sea with twelve open ships.

Thus was this army also, composed of nearly 80,000 men who had been under long training and were inspired with hope and courage by the previous battle, completely annihilated in the second engagement. And now Caesar's fame began to be celebrated as of a man of invincible fortune, and those who were vanquished by him attributed nothing to his merit, but ascribed everything, including their own blunders, to "Caesar's fortune." For in fact it seemed that it was through the bad generalship of the commanders who, as in Thessaly, neglected their opportunity to wear out Caesar by delay until his supplies were exhausted, in this foreign land, and in like manner failed to reap the fruits of their first victory, that this war was also foreshortened and thus sharply brought to a finish.

98. When these facts became known at Utica some three days later, and as Caesar was marching right against that place, a general flight began. Cato did not detain anybody. He gave ships to all the nobility who asked for them, but himself adhered firmly to his post. When the inhabitants of Utica promised to intercede for him before doing so for themselves, he answered with a smile that he did not need any intercessors with Caesar, and that Caesar knew it very well. Then he placed his seal on all the public property and gave the accounts of each kind to the magistrates of Utica. Toward evening he bathed and dined. He ate in a sitting posture, as had been his custom since Pompey's

1 Instead of reclining.
εναλλάσσων οὐδ’ ἐλάσσω προσφερόμενος ἢ πλείω, συνελεσχύνει τοῖς παροῦσι περὶ τῶν ἐκπεπλευ-
κότων καὶ ἠρώτα περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, εἰ κατὰ
πρόμνην ἐσοιτο αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ διαστήματος, εἰ
φθάσουσι πόρρω γενέσθαι, πρὶν ἐς ἐω Καῖσαρα
ἐπελθεῖν. οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ ἐς ὑπνοι ἀπιὼν ἐνήλλαξέ
τι τῶν συνήθων, πλὴν ὅτι νῦν ἡσπάσατο φιλο-
φρονέστερον. τὸ δὲ ξιφίδιον τῇ κλίνῃ τὸ σύνηθες
οὐχ εὑρὼν παρακείμενον ἐξεβόησεν, ὅτι προδιδοῖτο
ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῖς πολεμίοις· τίνι γὰρ ἐφη
χρήσεθαι προσιόντων, ἂν νυκτὸς ἐπίσω; τῶν
de αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντων μηδὲν ἐφ’ ἐαυτὸν βο-
λεύειν, ἀλλ’ ἀναπαύεσθαι χωρὶς ξιφίδιον, ἄξιο-
πιστότερον ἐτι εἶπεν· "οὐ γὰρ ἐστί μοι θέλοντι
cαὶ δὲ ἐσθήτος ἐμαυτὸν ἀποπνίξει καὶ ἐς τὰ
teίχη τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπαράξαι καὶ ἐς τράχηλῳ
κυβιστήσαι καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα κατασχόντα ἐκτρίψαι;"
pολλὰ τε ὁμοία εἴπων παρίγγαγεν αὐτοὺς παρα-
θεῖναι τὸ ξιφίδιον. ὡς δὲ ἐτέθη, Πλάτωνος
αἰτήσας τὴν περὶ ψυχῆς συγγραφῆν ἄνεγίνωσκε.

99. Καὶ ἐπεὶ τέλος εἴχε τῷ Πλάτωνι ὁ λόγος,
ἀναπαύεσθαι τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὑπολαβῶν ἐπροσεν
αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὰ στέρνα· προπεσόντων δ’ αὐτῷ τῶν
σπλάγχνων καὶ στόνου τινὸς ἔξακουσθέντος ἐσέ-
δραμον οἱ περὶ θύρας· καὶ οἱ ἰατρὸι τὰ σπλάγχνα
ἐτὶ σῶα ὅταν ἐνέθηκαν ἐνδον καὶ τὰς πληγὰς
ἐπιρρώπαντες ἐπέδησαν. ὁ δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν αὖθις
ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ κατεμέμφετο μὲν ἐαυτῷ πληγῆς
ἀσθενοῦς, χάριν δ’ ὁμολογεῖ τοῖς περισσώσασι καὶ
καταδορθεῖν ἐφη δεῖσθαι. οἷς μὲν δὴ τὸ ξίφος
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death. He changed his habits in no respect. He partook of the dinner, neither more nor less than usual. He conversed with the others present concerning those who had sailed away and inquired whether the wind was favourable and whether they would make sufficient distance before Caesar should arrive the next morning. Nor did he alter any of his habits when he retired to rest, except that he embraced his son rather more affectionately than usual. As he did not find his dirk in its accustomed place by his couch, he exclaimed that he had been betrayed by his servants to the enemy. "What weapon" he asked, "shall I use if I am attacked in the night?" When they besought him to do no violence to himself but to go to sleep without his dirk, he replied still more plausibly, "Could I not strangle myself with my clothing if I wished to, or knock my brains out against the wall, or throw myself headlong to the ground, or destroy myself by holding my breath?" Much more he said to the same purport until he persuaded them to bring back his dirk. When it had been put in its place he called for Plato's treatise on the soul and began to read.

99. When Plato's dialogue had come to an end and when he thought that those who were stationed at the doors were asleep, he stabbed himself under the breast. His intestines protruded and the attendants heard a groan and rushed in. Physicians replaced his intestines, which were still uninjured, in his body, and after sewing up the wound tied a bandage around it. When Cato came to himself he dissembled again. Although he blamed himself for the insufficiency of the wound, he expressed thanks.
CAP. XIV. ἔχοντες φύσιν καὶ τὰς θύρας ὡς ἦρεμοῦντι ἐπέκλεισαν. ὁ δὲ ὑπνοὺς δόξαν αὐτοῖς παρασχῶν τὰ δεσμὰ ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ σιγῆς ἀπερρήγην καὶ τὰς ῥαφὰς τοῦ τραύματος ἀνέπτυσσεν, οἶα θηρίον τὸ τε τραύμα καὶ τὴν γαστέρα εὐρύων ὄνυξι καὶ δακτύλων ἐρευνῶν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα διαρρήκτων, μέχρι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐτή μὲν ἄμφι πετυχόντα γηγονώς, ὀμολογούμενος δὲ τὴν τε γνώμην, ἐς ὁ τι κρίνειε, πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιμονώτατος φύναι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ πρέπον ἢ καλὸν οὐκ ἔθεσεν μᾶλλον ἢ μεγαλοψύχοις λογισμοῖς ὀρίσα. Παρ- κία γε τοι τῇ Φιλίππου συνών ἐκ παρθένου καὶ ἀρεσκόμενος αὐτῇ μάλιστα καὶ πάιδας ἔχων ἐξ ἔκεινης ἐδωκεν ὁμοῖος αὐτῇ Ὁρτησίῳ τῶν φίλων τινὶ, παίδων τε ἐπιθυμοῦντι καὶ τεκνοποιοῦ γυναι- κὸς οὐ τυγχάνοντι, μέχρι κάκεινῳ κυήσασαν ἐς τὸν οἰκὸν αὐθὶς ὡς χρήσας ἀνεδέξατο. τοιόσος μὲν ὁ Κάτων ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν οἳ Ἰτυκαῖοι λαμπρῶς ἔθαπτον ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἐφη μὲν οἳ φθονήσα Κάτωνα καλῆς ἐπιδείξεως, Κικέρωνος δὲ ποιή- σαντος ἐγκώμιον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιγράψαντος Κάτων, ἀντέγραψε κατηγορίαν ὁ Καίσαρ καὶ ἐπέγραψεν Ἀντικάτων.

100. Ἰοβᾶς δὲ καὶ Πετρῖμος τῶν γυνομένων πυθανόμενοι καὶ οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν οὐτε φυγην οὔτε σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντες, ἐπὶ τῇ διαίτῃ ξέφεσε διεχρήσαντο ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν ἄρχην τὴν Ἰοβᾶ
to those who had saved him and said that he only needed sleep. The attendants then retired, taking the dirk with them, and closed the door, thinking that he had become quiet. Cato after feigning sleep, tore off the bandage with his hands without making any noise, opened the suture of the wound, enlarged it with his nails like a wild beast, plunged his fingers into his stomach, and tore out his entrails until he died, being then about fifty years of age. He was considered the most steadfast of all men in upholding any opinion that he had once espoused and in adhering to justice, rectitude, and morality, not as a matter of custom merely, but rather from a high-souled philosophy. He had married Marcia, the daughter of Philippus, as a girl; was extremely fond of her, and she had borne him children. Nevertheless, he gave her to Hortensius, one of his friends, —who desired to have children but was married to a childless wife,—until she bore a child to him also, when Cato took her back to his own house as though he had merely lent her. Such a man was Cato, and the Uticans gave him a magnificent funeral. Caesar said that Cato had grudged him the opportunity for a deed of honour,¹ but when Cicero pronounced an encomium on him which he styled the Cato, Caesar wrote an answer to it which he called the Anti-Cato.

100. Juba and Petreius, in view of the circumstances, perceiving no chance of flight or safety, slew each other with swords at a banquet. Caesar made Juba's kingdom tributary to the Romans and

¹ That is, an opportunity to pardon him. According to Plutarch (Cato c. 72) Caesar said: "O Cato, I envy thee thy death because thou did'st envy me my safety."
Καίσαρ ὑποτελὴ Ὁρμαίοις ἐποίησεν, αὐτὴ Σαλού-
στιον Κρίσπου ἐγκαταστήσας. Ἰτυκαῖοις δὲ καὶ
tῷ Κάτωνος νῦν συνεγίνωσκε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα
tοῦ Πομπηίου μετὰ δύο παίδων αὐτῆς ἐν Ἰτύκη
cαταλαβὼν ἔξεπεμπε σῶους τῷ νέῳ Πομπηίῳ.
tῶν δὲ τριακοσίων ὄσους εὑρε διέφθειρεν. Δεύκιος
dὲ Σκιπίων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ χειμαζόμενος ἐν τῇ
θαλάσσῃ καὶ πολεμίας ναυσίν ἐντυχὼν ἐφέρετο
γενναῖος, μέχρι καταλαμβανόμενος αὐτὸν τε διε-
χρήσατο καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεθηκεν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.

ΧV

101. Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῷ περὶ Διβύνην Καί-
σαρος πολέμῳ τέλος ἐγίγνετο, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐπαινελθὼν
ἐς Ὁρμῆν ἔθριάμβευε τέσσαρας ὁμοῦ θριάμβους,
ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλάταν, δὴ τὲ πολλὰ καὶ μέγιστα ἐθνὶ
προσέλαβε καὶ ἀφιστάμενα ἄλλα ἐκρατύνατο, καὶ
Ποντικὸν ἐπὶ Φαρνάκει καὶ Διβυκῶν ἐπὶ Διβύων
τοῖς συμμαχήσας τῷ Σκιπίων· ἔνθα καὶ Ἰόβα
παῖς, Ἰὸβας ὁ συγγραφεύς, βρέφος ὃν ἔτι παρῆ-
γετο. παρῆγαγε δὲ τινα καὶ τῆς ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον
ναυμαχίας θρίαμβον Διψύπτων, μεταξὺ τοῦ Γα-
λατῶν καὶ Φαρνάκων. τὰ δὲ Ὁρμαίων φυλάξα-
μενος ἅρα, ὥς ἐμφύλια ὁπὸ ὑποκότα τε αὐτῷ καὶ
Ὡρμαίοις αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀπαίσια, ἐπιγράψαι θρι-
άμβῳ, παρῆγαγεν ὁμοὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς τὰ
appointed Salustius Crispus its governor. He pardoned the Uticans and the son of Cato. He captured the daughter of Pompey together with her two children in Utica and sent them safe to the younger Pompeius. Of the 300 he put to death all that he found.\(^1\) Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief was overtaken by a storm, and met a hostile fleet and bore himself bravely until he was overpowered, when he stabbed himself and leaped into the sea.

XV

101. This was the end of Caesar’s war in Africa, and when he returned to Rome he had four triumphs together: one for his Gallic wars, in which he had added many great nations to the Roman sway and subdued others that had revolted; one for the Pontic war against Pharnaces; one for the war in Africa against the African allies of L. Scipio, in which the historian Juba (the son of King Juba), then an infant, was led a captive. Between the Gallic and the Pontic triumphs he introduced a kind of Egyptian triumph, in which he led some captives taken in the naval engagement on the Nile. Although he took care not to inscribe any Roman names in his triumph (as it would have been unseemly in his eyes and base and inauspicious in those of the Roman people to triumph over fellow-citizens), yet all these mis-

\(^1\) The 300 are those mentioned in § 95. Suetonius (Jul. 75) says that only three of Caesar’s enemies lost their lives, except in battle, viz.: Afranius, Faustus Sulla, and young Lucius Caesar, and that it was thought that even these were put to death without Caesar’s consent.
CAP. παθήματα ἀπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐν εἰκόσι καὶ ποικίλαις γραφαῖς, χωρίς γε Πομπηίου· τούτων γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐφυλάξατο δεῖξαι, σφόδρα ἐτι πρὸς πάντων ἐπιποθούμενον. ὦ δὲ δήμος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις κακοῖς, καὶ περ δεδώς, ἐστενε, καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἢδοι Δευκιόν τε Σκιπίωνα. τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησσόμενον ἐσ τὰ στέρνα υφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθίεμενον ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἡ Πετρήμον ἐπὶ διαίτῃ διαχρωμεν ἐαυτοῦ, ἡ Κάτωνα υφ' ἑαυτοῦ διαστόμενον ὡς θηρίων. Ἀχιλλᾶ δ' ἐφήσθησαν καὶ Ποθεινὸ καὶ τὴν Φαρνάκους φυγὴν ἐγέλασαν.

102. Χρήματα δ' ἐν τοῖς θριάμβοις φασὶ παρενεχθῆναι μυριάδας ἐξ καὶ ἦμον ταλάντων καὶ στεφάνους δύο καὶ εἰκοσὶ καὶ δισκηλίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ, ἔλκοντας ἐς δισμυρίας καὶ δекατέσσαρας καὶ τετρακοσίας λίτρας. ἀφ' ὅν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ θριάμβῳ δἰένειμε, τὰ υπεσχημένα πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλων, στρατιώτη μὲν ἀνὰ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς, λοχαγῷ δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ χιλιάρχη καὶ ἱππάρχη τὸ ἐπὶ διπλάσιον καὶ τοῖς δημοταῖς ἐκάστῳ μνὰν Ἀττικῆν. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θέας ποικίλας ἵππων τε καὶ μουσικῆς καὶ πεζομαχίας ἀνδρῶν χιλίων πρὸς ἐτέρους χιλίων καὶ ἱππομαχίαν διακοσίων πρὸς ἴσους καὶ ἀναμὲξ ἄλλων πεζῶν τε καὶ ἵππων ἀγώνα ἐλεφάντων τε μάχην εἰκοσὶ πρὸς εἰκοσὶ καὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐρετῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ἐπιβεβηκότων ἐς μάχην χιλίων ἐκατέρωθεν. ἀνέστησε καὶ τῇ Γενετείρᾳ τὸν νεών, ὡσπερ εὐξατο
fortunes were represented in the processions and the men also by various images and pictures, all except Pompey, whom alone he did not venture to exhibit, since he was still greatly regretted by all. The people, although restrained by fear, groaned over their domestic ills, especially when they saw the picture of Lucius Scipio, the general-in-chief, wounded in the breast by his own hand, casting himself into the sea, and Petreius committing self-destruction at the banquet, and Cato torn open by himself like a wild beast. They applauded the death of Achillas and Pothinus, and laughed at the flight of Pharnaces.

102. It is said that money to the amount of 60,500 [silver] talents \(^1\) was borne in the procession and 2822 crowns of gold weighing 20,414 pounds, from which wealth Caesar made apportionments immediately after the triumph, paying the army all that he had promised and more. Each soldier received 5000 Attic drachmas, each centurion double, and each tribune of infantry and prefect of cavalry fourfold that sum. To each plebeian citizen also was given an Attic mina. He gave also various spectacles with horses and music, a combat of foot-soldiers, 1000 on each side, and a cavalry fight of 200 on each side. There was also another combat of horse and foot together. There was a combat of elephants, twenty against twenty, and a naval engagement of 4000 oarsmen, where 1000 fighting men contended on each side. He erected the temple to Venus, his ances-

\(^1\) No reasonable modern estimate can be given of these sums (which are suspiciously large) owing to our ignorance of the purchasing power of money at that period; but the silver talent is generally reckoned about £235 and the Attic mina £4; the drachma was a franc.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

103. Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦδη τέταρτον ὑπατεύων ἐπὶ τὸν νέον Πομπήιον ἐστράτευεν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ λοιπὸς ἦν ἐτὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος, οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· τῶν τε γὰρ ἄριστων ὅσοι διεπέφευγεσαν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἐκεῖ συνέδραμον, καὶ στρατὸς ὁ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Λιβύης τε καὶ Φαρσάλου τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διήλθεν, ὁ δὲ ἐξ Ἰβηρίων τε καὶ Κέλτιβηρων, ἐθνοὺς ἀλκίμου καὶ χαῖροντος ἀεὶ μάχαις. πολὺς δὲ καὶ δούλων ὁμίλου ἐστρατεύετο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ τέταρτον έτος εἴχον ἐν τοῖς γνωμασίοις καὶ γνώμην ἐτοιμον ἀγωνίσασθαι μετὰ ἀπογνώσεως. ὃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα σφαλεῖς ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἐλθόντι τῷ Καίσαρι συνεμάχετο, καίτοι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῶ παραινοῦντων ἐκ πέρας ὄν ἀμφὶ τῷ Φάρσαλον καὶ Λιβύην ἐπετόθεσαν, ἐκτρίβεις τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γῇ περιφέρειν. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἦκε μὲν ἀπὸ Ἰβηρίας ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσὶν ημέραις, βαρυτάτῳ στρατῷ μακροτάτην ὀδὸν ἐπελθὼν· δέος δ’
tress, as he had vowed to do when he was about to begin the battle of Pharsalus, and he laid out ground around the temple which he intended to be a forum for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but a meeting-place for the transaction of public business, like the public squares of the Persians, where the people assemble to seek justice or to learn the laws. He placed a beautiful image of Cleopatra by the side of the goddess, which stands there to this day. He caused an enumeration of the people to be made, and it is said that it was found to be only one half of the number existing before this war. To such a degree had the rivalry of these two men reduced the city.

103. Caesar, now in his fourth consulship, marched against the younger Pompeius in Spain. This was all that was left of the civil war, but it was not to be despised, for such of the nobility as had escaped from Africa had assembled here. The army was composed of soldiers from Pharsalus and Africa itself, who had come hither with their leaders, and of Spaniards and Celtiberians, a strong and warlike race. There was also a great number of emancipated slaves in Pompeius' camp, who had all been under discipline four years and were ready to fight with desperation. Pompeius was misled by this appearance of strength and did not postpone the battle, but engaged Caesar straightway on his arrival, although the older men, who had learned by experience at Pharsalus and Africa, advised him to wear Caesar out by delay and reduce him to want, as he was in a hostile country. Caesar made the journey from Rome in twenty-seven days, though he was moving, with a heavily-laden army, by a very
CAP. οίον οὐ πρότερον ἐνέπιπτεν αὐτοῦ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ δόξαν τῶν πολεμίων τούτων πλήθους καὶ ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἀπογνώσεως.

104. Δὴ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς ἐβραδύνεν, ἔστε ποῦ τι αὐτῶ πατασκεπτομένῳ προσπελάσας ὁ Πομπήιος ὁνείδισεν ἐς δειλίαν. καὶ τὸ οὖνείδος οὖν ἐνεγκὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐξέτασε παρὰ πόλιν Κορδύβην, σύνθημα καὶ τότε δοῦς Ἀφροδίτην· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος Εὐσέβειαν. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνιόντων ἥδη τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατοῦ τὸ δέος ἡπτετο καὶ οἶκνος ἐπεγίγνετο τῷ φόβῳ, θεοῦ πάντας ὁ Καίσαρ ἵκετεν, τὰς κεφαρας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀώσχων, μὴ ἐν πόνῳ τόδε πολλὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ ἔργα μιῆναι, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθέων παρεκάλει τὸ τε κράνος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρῶν ἐς πρόσωπον ἐνυσώπει καὶ προύτρεπεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ὡς τι μετέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ δέους, ἔως ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτὸς ἀρπάζας τινὸς ἀστίδα καὶ τοῖς ἄμφο τῶν ἡγεμόσιν εἰπὼν· "ἐσται τοῦτο τέλος ἐμοί τε τοῦ βίου καὶ ἴμιν τῶν στρατευόντων," προύδραμε τῆς τάξεως ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὡς μόνους αὐτῶν ἀποσχεῖν δέκα πόδας καὶ διακόσια αὐτῶν ὀργαμα ἐπιβληθήναι καὶ τούτων τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκκλίναι, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀστίδα ἀναδέξασθαι. τότε γὰρ ὅτι τῶν τε ἡγεμόνων προθέων ἐκαστὸν ἴστατο παρ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ἀπὸ ἐμπεσὼν μετὰ ὀρμῆς ὅλην ἡγωνίζετο τὴν ἡμέραν, προύχων τε καὶ ἦττωμενος αἰεὶ παρὰ μέρος, μέχρις ἐς ἐσπέραν μόλις ἐνίκησεν, ὅτε καὶ φασίν αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πολλάκις μὲν ἡγωνίσατο περὶ νίκης, νῦν δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς.

105. Φόνου δὲ πολλοῦ γενομένου καὶ φυγῆς
long route, but fear fell upon his soldiers as never before, in consequence of the reports received of the numbers, the discipline, and the desperate valour of the enemy.

104. For this reason Caesar himself also was slow in movement, until Pompeius approached him at a certain place where he was reconnoitring and accused him of cowardice. Caesar could not endure this reproach. He drew up his forces for battle near Corduba, and then, too, gave Venus for his watchword. Pompeius, on the other hand, gave Piety for his. When battle was joined fear seized upon Caesar's army and hesitation was joined to fear. Caesar, lifting his hands toward heaven, implored all the gods that his many glorious deeds be not stained by this single disaster. He ran up and encouraged his soldiers. He took his helmet off his head and shamed them to their faces and exhorted them. As they abated nothing of their fear he seized a shield from a soldier and said to the officers around him, "This shall be the end of my life and of your military service." Then he sprang forward in advance of his line of battle toward the enemy so far that he was only ten feet distant from them. Some 200 missiles were aimed at him, some of which he evaded while others were caught on his shield. Then each of the tribunes ran toward him and took position by his side, and the whole army rushed forward and fought the entire day, advancing and retreating by turns until, toward evening, Caesar with difficulty won the victory. It was reported that he said that he had often fought for victory, but that this time he had fought even for existence.

105. After a great slaughter the Pompeians fled
CAP. τῶν Πομπηίου στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὴν Κορινθίαν, ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ, ᾦν μὴ διαφυγόντες οἱ πολέμιοι πάλιν ἐς μάχην παρασκευάσαντο, ἐκέλευε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκτείνῃσαν τὴν Κορινθίαν, οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες τοῖς γεγονόσι τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἀνηρμένων ἐπεφοροῦν ἀλλήλους καὶ δόρασιν αὐτὰ διαπηγνύντες ἐς τὴν ὑγίν ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ τελέους ηὐλίσαντο. τῆς δ᾽ ἐπιούσις ἐάλῳ μὲν ἡ πόλις, τῶν δὲ ἤγεμόνων τοῦ Πομπηίου Σκάπλας μὲν νήσας πυρὰν ἑαυτὸν ἐνέπρησεν, Ὀνάρον δὲ καὶ Λαβινοῦ καὶ ἑτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἐκομίσθησαν αἱ κεφαλαί Καῖσαρι. Πομπηίος δ᾽ αὐτὸς διέφυγε μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἣττης σὺν ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐπέευσιν ἐπὶ Καρθαίας, ἐνθα αὐτὸς νεῶν στόλος ἦν, καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὰ νεώρια λαθῶν ὡς τὶς ἱδιώτης, φορεὶν κομιξόμενος· ὅρων δὲ καὶ τούτως ἀπογιγνώσκοντας ἑαυτῶν ἐδείσε περὶ ἐκδόσεως καὶ ἔφευγεν αὐτίς, ἐπιβαίνων σκάφους. ἐμπλακέντα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα καλωδίῳ, κόπτων τὶς τὸ καλώδιον ξιφιδίῳ, τὸν ταρσὸν ἐτεμεν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλωδίου τοῦ ποδὸς· καὶ διαπλεύσας ἐς τὶ χωρίον ἐθεραπεύετο. ζητούμενος δὲ κάνταθα ἔφευγε διὰ δυσβάτου καὶ ἀκαυθώδους ὄδοι, τὸ τραύμα περικεντούμενος, μέχρι κάμνων ὑπὸ τι δένδρου ἐκαθέξετο καὶ τῶν ζητητῶν ἐπιπεσόντων οὐκ ἀγεννὸς αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενος κατεκόπη. τοῦδε μὲν δὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνέχθεισάν οἱ προσέταξε τινι θάψαι, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνὶ ἔργῳ καὶ ὅδε παρὰ δόξαν ἐλέυτο· τοὺς δ᾽ ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαφυγόντας ἠθοροῦξεν ὁ τοῦτο τοῦ Πομπηίου νεώτερος ἀδελφός, Πομπῆιος μὲν καὶ ὅδε ὄν, Σέξιστος δὲ καλούμενος τῷ προτέρῳ τῶν ὄνομάτων.
to Corduba, and Caesar, in order to prevent the fugitives from preparing for another battle, ordered a siege of that place. The soldiers, wearied with toil, piled the bodies and arms of the slain together, fastened them to the earth with spears, and encamped behind this ghastly wall. On the following day the city was taken. Scapula, one of the Pompeian leaders, erected a funeral pile on which he consumed himself. The heads of Varus, Labienus, and other distinguished men were brought to Caesar. Pompeius himself fled from the scene of his defeat with 150 horsemen toward Carteia, where he had a fleet, and entered the dockyard secretly as a private individual borne in a litter. When he saw that the men here despaired of their safety he feared lest he should be delivered up, and took to flight again. While going on board a small boat his foot was caught by a rope, and a man who attempted to cut the rope with his sword cut the sole of his foot instead. So he sailed to a certain place and received medical treatment. Being pursued thither he fled by a rough and thorny road that aggravated his wound, until fagged out he took a seat under a tree. Here his pursuers came upon him and he was cut down while defending himself bravely. His head was brought to Caesar who gave orders for its burial. Thus this war also, contrary to expectation, was brought to an end in one battle. A younger brother of this Pompeius, also named Pompeius but called by his first name, Sextus, collected those who escaped from this fight.
106. Ἀλλ' οδὲ μὲν ἔτι λανθάνων καὶ διαδιδρά-
σκων ἠλήστευεν, ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐς Ὁρμην ἤπείγετο,
τὰ ἐμφύλια πάντα καθελών, ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ δόξης,
οἷς οὐ τις πρὸ τοῦ ὅθεν αὐτῷ τιμαὶ πᾶσαι, ὡσι
ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, ἀμέτρως ἐς χάριν ἐπενοοῦντο,
θυσίων τε πέρι καὶ ἀγώνων καὶ ἀναθημάτων ἐν
πάσιν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν ἐθνεσιν ἀπασι, καὶ ἐν βασιλεύσιν,
ὅσοι Ὁρμαῖοις φίλοι. σχήματα τε ἐπεγράφετο
τάς εἰκόνις ποικίλα, καὶ στέφανος ἐκ δρῦς ἢν ἐπί
ἐνίας ὡς σωτηρί δῆς πατρίδος, ὃς πάλαι τοὺς
ὑπερασπίζον τοὺς ἔγεραιροι ὁ περισσώθεντες.
ἀνερρήθη δὲ καὶ πατὴρ πατρίδος, καὶ δικτάτωρ
ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἡρέθη καὶ ὑπατος ἐς δέκα ἐτη,
καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἱερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος εἶναι καὶ χρηματί-
ζειν ἐπὶ θρόνων ἐλεφαντίνων τε καὶ χρυσῶν, καὶ
θύειν μὲν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ θριαμβικὸς ἡμφιεσμένον, τὴν
δὲ πόλιν ἀνὰ ἄτος ἐκαστον, αἰς αὐτὸς ἡμέραις ἐν
παρατάξεσιν ἐνίκα, ἱερεὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερείας ἀνὰ
πενταετες εὐχὰς δημοσίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τίθεσθαι,
καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς καθισταμένας ὁμώνυμαι μηδει
τῶν ὑπὸ Καῖσαρος ὁριζομένων ἀντιπράξειν. ἐς τε
τιμὴν τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν Κυντίλιον μήνα
Ἰουλίον ἀιτὶ Κυντιλίου μετωνόμασαν εἶναι.
καὶ νεώς ἐξηφίσαντο πολλοὺς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι
καθάπερ θεῷ καὶ κοινῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἐπιεικείας,
ἀλλήλους διεἰσυμένους οὕτως ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὲν
ὡς δεσπότην, εὐχοντο δὲ σφίσιν ἐπιεικὴ γενέσθαι.
106. Sextus for the present kept hid and lived by piracy, but Caesar having ended the civil wars hastened to Rome, honoured and feared as no one had ever been before. All kinds of honours were devised for his gratification without stint, even such as were divine—sacrifices, games, statues in all the temples and public places, by every tribe, by all the provinces, and by the kings in alliance with Rome. He was represented in different characters, and in some cases crowned with oak as the saviour of his country, for by this crown those whose lives had been saved used formerly to reward those to whom they owed their safety. He was proclaimed the Father of his Country and chosen dictator for life and consul for ten years, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. It was decreed that he should transact business on a throne of ivory and gold; that he should himself sacrifice always in triumphal costume; that each year the city should celebrate the days on which he had won his victories; that every five years priests and Vestal virgins should offer up public prayers for his safety; and that the magistrates immediately upon their inauguration should take an oath not to oppose any of Caesar's decrees. In honour of his birth the name of the month Quintilis was changed to July. Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands. Thus whilst they feared his power they besought his clemency.
CAP. XVI 107. Εἰς ὅ καὶ βασιλέα προσεπεῖν ἐπενόουν, μέχρι μαθῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπηγόρευσε καὶ ἦπείλησεν ὡς ἀθέμιστον ὄνομα μετὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀράν. ὅπεραι δ᾽ ὅσαι στρατηγίδες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐτὶ ἐσωματοφυλάκουν, ἀπέστησε τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ μετὰ τῆς δημοσίας ὑπηρεσίας ἐπεφαίνετο μόνης. ὥδε δ᾽ ἔχοντι καὶ χρηματίζοντι πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν προλεγομένων τιμῶν ἡ βουλῆ, τῶν ὑπάτων ἡγουμένων, ἐν κόσμῳ τῷ πρέποντι ἐκάστῳ προσέφερον. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐδεξιοῦτο μὲν, οὐχ ὑπανέστη δὲ προσείχειν οὐδ᾽ ἐπιμένουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς βασιλικῆς προσηγορίας καὶ τόδε παρέσχε. τὰς δὲ ἀλλὰς τιμὰς χωρὶς τῆς δεκαετοῦς ὑπατείας προσέμενος ὑπάτους ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἀπέφηνεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ Ἄντώνιον, τὸν ἵππαρχον ἑαυτοῦ, Δεπίδῳ προστάξας ἵππαρχεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἄντωνιον, ἄρχοντι μὲν Ἰβηρίας, ἡγεμονεύοντι δ᾽ αὐτῆς διὰ φίλων. κατεκάλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὁ Καίσαρ, πλὴν εἰ τις ἐπὶ ἀνηκέστοις ἐφευγε· καὶ τοῖς ἕχθροις διηλλάσσετο καὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων οἱ πολλοὶ προῆγεν ἅθρόως ἐς ἐτησίους ἄρχας ἡ ἐς ἐθνῶν ἡ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας. ὁ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ὑπαχθεῖς ὁ δήμος ἥλπιζε καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν, καθάπερ Σύλλας ἐς ἔσον αὐτῷ δυναστεύσας ἐποίησεν.

108. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐσφάλματο, εἰκόνα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τις τῶν ὑπερθείσοντων τὸ λογοτεχνῆ τῆς βασιλείας ἐστεφάνωσε δύσμαις, ἀναπτελεγμένης ταινίας λευκῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ δήμαρχοι Μάρυλλος.
107. There were some who proposed to give him the title of king, but when he learned of their purpose he forbade it with threats, saying that it was an inauspicious name by reason of the curse of their ancestors. He dismissed the praetorian cohorts that had served as his bodyguard during the wars, and showed himself with the ordinary civil escort only. While he was thus transacting business in front of the rostra, the Senate, preceded by the consuls, each one in his robes of office, brought the decree awarding him the honours aforesaid. He extended his hand to them, but did not rise when they approached nor while they remained there, and this, too, afforded his slanderers a pretext for accusing him of wishing to be greeted as a king. He accepted all the honours conferred upon him except the ten-year consulship. As consuls for the ensuing year he designated himself and Antony, his master of horse, and he appointed Lepidus, who was then governor of Spain, but was administering it by his friends, master of horse in place of Antony. Caesar also recalled the exiles, except those who were banished for some very grave offence. He pardoned his enemies and forthwith advanced many of those who had fought against him to the yearly magistracies, or to the command of provinces and armies. Wherefore the people was chiefly induced to hope that he would restore the republic to them as Sulla did after he had attained the same power.

108. In this they were disappointed, but some person among those who wished to spread the report of his desire to be king placed a crown of laurel on his statue, bound with a white fillet. The tribunes, Marullus and Caesetius, sought out this person and
CAP. te kai Kaishtios aneurontes es thn phulakhn esebalov, upokrinamenvi ti kai tò Kaisarì xarízesai, proapellìsantì tois peri basileias legovnì, ó dè toutò mev hènèkev evóstathòs, éterwn ò autòn ámfì tás túlaias íonta pothèn basilea prosepíonton kai toì òhmì stoìn stená-kantos, eùmhekánwos eiìte tois áspasaumenoi: "óuk eìmi Basileús, álìa Kaisar," òs òn peri tò ónoma èsfalmenoi. ói ò ámfì ón Márullon kai toutè toutw ánndòw toutw arrà metabev enèvren kai tois uphrètaios èkekelenan ágèn òs díkhn èpì tò arxeiòn autòn. kai ó Kaisar oukèti ènegkòn katahgorhèsen èpì tìs boulìs tòn peri tòn Márullon òs èptíboulèven toutw oi metà têchnì òs turaunídos diaboli, kai ètìnèkev àxìous mev autòs ènai thanátow, mónìs ò autòs àfairesitai kai paralúven tìs te àrchi kai tou bouleutèrìnì. ó dè kai màlista autòn dièbàlev òs èpipìmuònta tìs èpiklìshewos kai tás òs toutò peíras kathìnta kai turaunikon òlòs gegonòta. ò te ýaì próbasa tìs koláswos peri tìs basiliikìs èpówumìas òn, ò te toutw demàròw èrchi íera kai òsuvlos òn èk nómu kai èrkou palaiou. tìn te òrghìn àxeiàn èpotei tò mou ànàmeiain tìs èrchi tò úpolòtopon.

109. òn kai autòs aîsthánomenos kai metanòwç kai toutè pròton ègoumenos ònèn polèmikìs èrchi òn eirìhìs barv kai dușkerès diapetpàxhai, légetai tois filoi autòn ènteilasai phulàsisei òs dedwòta tois èchthoris laðh òntousi kai' autòs. pùthòmenw ò aztìevn, ev sunghorei pàlin autòn sòmatofulakein tàs òbèrikàs peîras, 426
put him in prison, pretending to gratify Caesar also by this, as he had threatened any who should talk about making him king. Caesar put up with their action, and when some others who met him at the city gates as he was returning from some place greeted him as king, and the people groaned, he said with happy readiness to those who had thus saluted him, "I am not King, I am Caesar," as though they had mistaken his name. The attendants of Marullus again found out which man began the shouting and ordered the officers to bring him to trial before his tribunal. Caesar at last put up with it no longer and accused the faction of Marullus before the Senate of artfully conspiring to cast upon him the odium of royalty. He added that they were deserving of death, but that it would be sufficient if they were deprived of their office and expelled from the Senate. Thus he confirmed the suspicion that he desired the title, and that he was privy to the attempts to confer it upon him, and that his tyranny was already complete; for the cause of their punishment was their zeal against the title of king, and, moreover, the office of tribune was sacred and inviolable according to law and the ancient oath. By not even waiting for the expiration of their office he sharpened the public indignation.

109. When Caesar perceived this he repented, and, reflecting that this was the first severe and arbitrary act that he had done without military authority and in time of peace, it is said that he ordered his friends to protect him, since he had given his enemies the handle they were seeking against him. But when they asked him if he would bring together again his Spanish cohorts as a body-
CAP. XVI

"οὐδὲν ἀτυχέστερον," ἤφη, "διηνεκοὺς φυλακῆς· ἐστὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ δεδιότος." οὐ μὴν αἱ γε περὶ τῆς βασιλείας πείραι κατεπαύοντο οὐδ᾽ ὡς, ἀλλὰ θεώμενον αὐτὸν ἐν ἁγορᾷ τὰ Λουπιονία ἐπὶ θρόνου χρυσέου, πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, Ἀντώνιος ὑπατεύσῃ τὸν αὐτῷ Καίσαρι καὶ διαθέσῃ τότε γυμνὸς ἀληθιμένος, ὥσπερ εἰσόθασιν οἱ τήσει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἱερεῖς, ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμβόλα ἀναδραμὼν ἐστεφάνωσε διαδήματι. κρότον δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὁμιν παρ᾽ ὅλην γενομένον καὶ στόνου παρὰ τῶν πλειώνων, ὁ Καίσαρ ἀπέρριψε τὸ διάδημα. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐθίς ἐπέθηκε, καὶ οὗ Ἀντώνιος αὐθίς ἀπερρίπτει. καὶ ὁ δῆμος διεριζόντων μὲν ἕτη ἡσύχαζε, μετέωρος ὡς, ὅτι τελευτήσει τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐπικρατήσαντος δὲ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνεβόησαν ἥδιστον καὶ αὐτὸν ἁμα εὐφήμουν οὐ προσέμενον.

110. Ὁ δὲ, εἴτε ἀπογυνώς, εἴτε κάμων καὶ ἐκκλίνων ἧδη τὴν τῆς πειρατική διαβολήν, εἴτε τισὶν ἐχθροῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀφίσταμένοις, εἴτε νόσημα τοῦ διωτικοῦ θεραπεύων, ἐπιληφθάναι καὶ σπάσασθαι αἰφνίδιον ἐμπίπτοντα αὐτῷ μάλιστα παρὰ τῶν ἀργάσιας, ἔπενεις στρατεύσαι μάκραν ἐς τὴν Γέτας καὶ Παρθυνάος, οὗτοι μὲν αὐστηροὶ καὶ φιλοπολέμως καὶ γείτονι ἐθνεὶς προετιβουλεύων, Παρθυνάος δὲ τινύμενος τῆς ἐς Κράσσου παρασπονδύσεσσας. στρατιάν δὴ προὔπεμπεν ἧδη τὸν Ἰόνιον περὰν, ἐκκαίδεκα τέλη πεζῶν καὶ ἱππεῶν μυρίους. καὶ λόγος ἄλλος ἕφοιτα, Σιβύλλειον εἶναι προαγόρευμα μὴ πρὶν ὑπακούσῃ σεσθαι Ρωμαίοις Παρθυνάοις, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατεύσειε. καὶ τινὲς ἀπὸ τούδε

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guard, he said, "There is nothing more unlucky than perpetual watching; that is the part of one who is always afraid." Nor were the attempts to claim royal honours for him brought to an end even thus, for while he was in the forum looking at the games of the Lupercal, seated on his golden chair before the rostra, Antony, his colleague in the consulship, who was running naked and anointed, as was the priests' custom at that festival, sprang upon the rostra and put a diadem on his head. At this sight some few clapped their hands, but the greater number groaned, and Caesar threw off the diadem. Antony again put it on him and again Caesar threw it off. While they were thus contending the people remained silent, being in suspense to see how it would end. When they saw that Caesar prevailed they shouted for joy, and at the same time applauded him because he did not accept it.

110. And now Caesar, either renouncing his hope, or being tired out, and wishing by this time to avoid this plot and odium, or deliberately giving up the city to certain of his enemies, or hoping to cure his bodily ailment of epilepsy and convulsions, which came upon him suddenly and especially when he was inactive, conceived the idea of a long campaign against the Getae and the Parthians. The Getae, a hardy, warlike, and neighbouring nation, were to be attacked first. The Parthians were to be punished for their perfidy toward Crassus. He sent across the Adriatic in advance sixteen legions of foot and 10,000 horse. And now another rumour gained currency that the Sibyline books had predicted that the Parthians would never submit to the Romans until the latter should be commanded by a king. For this reason...
CAP. έτόλμων λέγειν, ὅτι χρῆ Ἦῳ Ρωμαίων μὲν αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ ἦν, δικτάτορα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα καλεῖν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἑστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ βασιλείας ὀνόματα, τῶν δὲ ἔθνων, ὅσα Ἦῳ Ῥωμαίοις ὑπήκοα, ἀντικρυς ἀνειπεῖν βασιλεά. ὁ δὲ καὶ τόδε παρητεῖτο καὶ τὴν έξοδον ὅλως ἔπετάχυνεν, ἐπίφθονος ὃν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

111. Ἐξεναὶ δ' αὐτῶν μέλλοντα πρὸ τετάρτης ἡμέρας οἱ ἔχθροι κατέκανον ἐν τῷ Βουλευτηρίῳ, εἰτε διὰ ξύλων εὐνυχίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως ὑπερ-όγκου πάνω γενομένης, εἴθ', ὡς ἐφασκον αὐτοί, τῆς πατρίου πολιτείας ἐπιθυμία, εὖ γὰρ ἤδεσαν αὐτῶν, μὴ καὶ τάδε τὰ ἔθνη προσλαβῶν ἀναμ-φιλόγως γένοιτο βασιλεύς. ταύτης δὲ σκοπῶν ἤγονμαι τῆς προσθήκης ἀφορμῆς λαβεῖν ἐγχειρήσεως, ἐς ὄνομα μόνον αὐτοῖς διαφερούσης, ἐργὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ δικτάτορος ὄντος ἀκριβῶς βασιλέως. συνεστήσαντο δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν μάλιστα δύο ἄνδρε, Μάρκος τε Βροῦτος, ὁ Καισάρις ἐπίκλην, Βροῦτον τοῦ κατὰ Σύλλαν ἀνηρμένου παῖς αὐτῷ τε Καίσαρι προσφυγῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Φάρσαλον ἀνυχήματος, καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ὁ τὰς τριήρεις κατὰ τὸν Ἐλλησποντον ἐγχειρίσας τῷ Καίσαρι, οивание μὲν ἅμω τῆς Πομπηίου μοίρας γεγονότε, τῶν δ' αὐτῶ Καίσαρι φιλτάτον Δέκμος Βροῦτος Ἀλβίνος, ἀπαντεῖς αἰεὶ παρὰ Καίσαρι τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως χρηματίζουτες ἄξιοι. οἷς γε καὶ πράξεις ἐνεχείρισε μεγίστας καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Διβύῃ πόλεμον ἀπὶ ὁ στρατεύματα ἔδωκε καὶ τὴν Κέλτικιν

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some people ventured to say that Caesar ought to be called dictator and emperor of the Romans, as he was in fact, or whatever other name they might prefer to that of king, but that he ought to be distinctly named king of the nations that were subject to the Romans. Caesar declined this also, and was wholly engaged in hastening his departure from the city in which he was exposed to such envy.

11. Four days before his intended departure he was slain by his enemies in the senate-house, either from jealousy of his fortune and power, now grown to enormous proportions, or, as they themselves alleged, from a desire to restore the republic of their fathers; for they feared (and in this they knew their man) that if he should conquer these nations also he would indeed be indisputably king. On mature consideration, I conclude that they did actually find an excuse for the conspiracy in the prospect of this additional title, though the difference it could make to them turned on a mere quibble, since in plain fact "dictator" is exactly the same as "king." Chief among the conspirators were two men, Marcus Brutus, surnamed Caepio (son of the Brutus who was put to death during the Sullan revolution), who had sided with Caesar after the disaster of Pharsalus, and Gaius Cassius, the one who had surrendered his triremes to Caesar in the Hellespont, both having been of Pompey's party. Among the conspirators also was Decimus Brutus Albinus, one of Caesar's dearest friends. All of them had been held in honour and trust by Caesar at all times. He had employed them in the greatest affairs. When he went to the war in Africa he gave them the command of armies, putting Decimus Brutus in charge
CAP. επέτρησε, τήν μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεων Δέκμφω, τήν δὲ ἐντὸς Ὀλπεων Βροῦτῳ.

112. Μέλλοντες δὲ ὁμοῦ τότε τῆς πόλεως στρατηγήσειν ὁ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἐσ ἀλλήλους διήριζον περὶ τῆς καλουμένης πολιτικῆς στρατηγίας, ἦ τῶν ἄλλων προτιμᾶται, εἴτε τῷ ὑπότε φιλοτιμώμενοι περὶ αὐτῆς, εἴθε ὑπόκρισις ἦν τοῦ μὴ πάντα συμπράσσειν ἀλλήλους νομί-ζεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτοῖς διαιτῶν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς τὰ μὲν δίκαια Κάσσιος ἀποφαίνει, Βροῦτῳ δὲ αὐτὸς χαρίζοιτο-τοσήδε ἐν ἀπασίν εὐνοία καὶ τιμῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐχρήτο. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς ἐνομιζέτο εἶναι, Σερουλίας τῆς Κάτωνος ἀδελφῆς ἐρασθείσης τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτε ὁ Βροῦτος ἐγένετο. διὸ καὶ νικῶν ἔν Φαρσάλῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς λέγεται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν εἰπεῖν Βροῦτον, ὅπη δύνατον, περισφέων. ἀλλ' εἴεται ἀχάριστος ὁν ὁ Βροῦτος, εἴεται τὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἀμαρτήματα ἄγνοων ἢ ἀπιστῶν ἢ αἰδοῦμενος, εἴεται φιλελεύθερος ὁν ἄγαν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προτιμῶν, εἴθε ὅτι ἐκγονος ὁν Βροῦτον τοῦ πάλαι τοὺς βασιλέας ἐξελάσαντος ἐρεθιζόμενος καὶ ὑνεδίζομενος μάλιστα ἐς τούτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου (πολλὰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀνδριάσι τοῦ πάλαι Βροῦτον καὶ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τοῦ Βροῦτον τοιάδε ἐπεγράφετο λάθρα: “Βροῦτε δωροδοκεῖς; Βροῦτε νεκρὸς εἶ;” ἢ “ὡφελές γε νῦν περιεῖναι” ἢ “ἀνάξιά σου τὰ ἐκγονα” ἢ “οὐδ’ ἐκγονος εἰ σὺ τοῦδε”), ταῦτα καὶ τοιου-
Brutus and Cassius, who had been designated as praetors at the same time, had a controversy with each other as to which of them should be the city praetor, this being the place of highest honour, either because they were really ambitious of the distinction or as a pretence, so that they might not seem to have a common understanding with each other. Caesar, who was chosen umpire between them, is reported to have said to his friends that justice seemed to be on the side of Cassius, but that he must nevertheless favour Brutus. He exhibited the same affection and preference for this man in all things. It was even thought that Brutus was his son, as Caesar was the lover of his mother, Servilia (Cato's sister) about the time of his birth, for which reason, when he won the victory at Pharsalus, it is said that he gave an immediate order to his officers to save Brutus by all means. Whether Brutus was ungrateful, or ignorant of his mother's fault, or disbelieved it, or was ashamed of it; whether he was such an ardent lover of liberty that he preferred his country to everything, or whether, because he was a descendant of that Brutus of the olden time who expelled the kings, he was aroused and shamed to this deed principally by the people, (for there were secretly affixed to the statues of the elder Brutus and also to Brutus' own tribunal such writings as, "Brutus, are you bribed?" "Brutus, are you dead?" "Thou should'st be living at this hour!" "Your posterity is unworthy of you," or, "You are not his descendant,")—at any rate these and many like
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tοτροπα ἄλλα πολλά τὸν νεανίαν ἐξέκαυσεν ἐπὶ
tὸ ἔργον ως ἐαυτοῦ προγονικὸν.

113. Ἀκμάζοντος δ' ἔτι τοῦ περὶ βασιλείας
λόγου καὶ συνόδου μελλοῦσην ἐσέσθαι τῆς βουλῆς
μετ' ὀλίγου, ὁ Κάσσιος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν χειρὰ τῷ
Βροῦτῳ "τί ποιήσομεν," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὸ βου-
λευτήριον, ἂν οἱ κόλακες τοῦ Καίσαρος γνώμην
περὶ βασιλείας προθώσει;" καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος οὐκ
ἔφη παρέσεσθαι τῷ βουλευτήριῳ. ἐπαναρεμένον
dὲ τοῦ Κασσίου: "τί δ', ἂν ἡμᾶς καλῶσιν ὡς
στρατηγοὺς, τί ποιήσομεν, ὡς ἀγαθὲ Βροῦτε";
"ἀμυνῶ τῇ πατρίδι," ἔφη, "μέχρι θανάτου."
καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος αὐτὸν ἀσπασάμενος "τίνα δ',
ἔφη, "οὐ προσλήψῃ τῶν ἀρίστων ὀυτῶν φρονῶν;
ἡ σοὶ δοκοῦσιν οἱ χειροτέχναι καὶ κάπηλοι
καταγράφειν σοῦ τὸ δικαστήριον ἁσήμως μᾶλλον
ἡ οἱ Δρωμαίων ἀρίστοι, παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων
στρατηγῶν θέας αὐτοῦντες ὑππων ἢ θηρίων,
παρὰ δὲ σοῦ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν ὡς σοῦ προγονικῶν
ἐργον;" οἱ μὲν δὴ τάδε ἄρα ἐκ πολλοῦ διανοοῦ-
μενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ φαινόν ἀλλήλους προϋ-
φερον καὶ τῶν ἵδιων ἐκάτερος φίλων ἀπεπειρώντο
καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος, οὕς εὐτολμοτάτους
ἐκατέρων ἔδεσαν. καὶ συνήγειραν ἐκ μὲν τῶν
σφετέρων ἀδελφῶν δύο, Καϊκίλιον τε καὶ Βού-
κολιανόν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥοῦβριον Ῥῆγα καὶ
Κώντον Δεγάριον καὶ Μάρκον Σπόριον καὶ
Σερουλίον Γάλβαν καὶ Σέξτιον Νάσωνα καὶ
Πόντιον Ἀκύλαν, τούσδε μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων
σφίσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Καίσαρος Δέκμον
τε, περὶ οὐ μοι προείρηται, καὶ Γάιον Κάσκαν
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incentives fired the young man to a deed like that of his ancestor.

113. While the talk about the kingship was at its height, and just before there was to be a meeting of the Senate, Cassius met Brutus, and, seizing him by the hand, said, "What shall we do in the senate-house if Caesar's flatterers propose a decree making him king?" Brutus replied that he would not be there. Then Cassius asked him further, "What if we are summoned there as praetors, what shall we do then, my good Brutus?" "I will defend my country to the death," he replied. Cassius embraced him, saying, "If this is your mind, whom of the nobility will you not rally to your standard? Do you think it is artisans and shopkeepers who have written those clandestine messages on your tribunal, or is it rather the noblest Romans, who, though they ask from the other praetors games, horse-races, and combats of wild beasts, ask from you liberty, a boon worthy of your ancestry?" Thus did they disclose to each other what they had been privately thinking about for a long time. Each of them tested those of their own friends, and of Caesar's also, whom they considered the most courageous of either faction. Of their own friends they inveigled two brothers, Caecilius and Bucolianus, and besides these Rubrius Ruga, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Servilius Galba, Sextius Naso, and Pontius Aquila. These were of their own faction. Of Caesar's friends they secured Decimus Brutus, whom I have already men-
καὶ Τρεβώνιον καὶ Τίλλιον καὶ Κιμβρον καὶ Μινούκιον καὶ Βάσιλον.

114. Ὡς δὲ σφίσων ἐδόκουν ἄλις ἔχειν καὶ πλέοσιν ἐκφέρειν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον, συνέθεντο μὲν ἀλλήλοις ἀνευ τε ὄρκων καὶ ἀνευ σφαγῶν, καὶ οὐδεὶς μετέθετο οὔδε προύδωκε, καιρὸν δ’ ἐξήτουν καὶ τόπουν. ὁ μὲν δὴ καιρὸς ὑπερήφανεν ὡς Καίσαρος ἐς τετάρτην ἑμέραν ἔξιόντος ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας, καὶ φυλάκης αὐτὸν αὐτίκα περι- ἐξούσια στρατιωτικῆς. χωρίον δ’ ἐπενόουν τὸ βουλευτήριον ὡς τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προ- μάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτε ἵδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συνεπι- ληψιομένων, δ’ καὶ περὶ Ἡρώμυλον τυραννικὸν ἐκ βασιλικοῦ γενόμενον ἔλεγετο συμβῆναι. δόξειν τε τὸ ἔργον, ὡσπερ ἐκείνο καὶ τόδε ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ γενόμενον, οὐ κατ’ ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως πεπράχθαι ἀκίνδυνον τε, ὡς κοινὸν, ἑσε- σθαι παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρος στρατῷ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν σφίσι μενεῖν, οὐκ ἄγνοομένοις, ὅτι ἢρξαν. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπελέγοντο πάντες ὁμαλῶς: περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρόπου διεφέροντο, οἱ μὲν καὶ Ἀντώνιον συναναίρειν ἀξιοῦντες, ὑπατὸν τε ὄντα σὺν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ φίλον αὐτοῦ δυνατῶ- τατον καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις γνωριμώτατον· ὃ δὲ Βρούτος ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Καίσαρι μόνῳ δόξαν οὐσεσθαι τυραννοκτόνων ὡς βασιλέα ἀναριτίνες, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ ἐχθρῶν ὡς Πομπηίου στασιώταί.

115. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τῷδε μάλιστα ἀναπεισθέντες 436
tioned, also Gaius Casca, Trebonius, Tillius Cimber, and Minucius Basilus.

114. When they thought that they had a sufficient number, and that it would not be wise to divulge the plot to any more, they pledged each other without oaths or sacrifices, yet no one changed his mind or betrayed the secret. They then sought time and place. Time was pressing because Caesar was to depart on his campaign four days hence and then a body-guard of soldiers would surround him. They chose the Senate as the place, believing that, even though the senators did not know of it beforehand, they would join heartily when they saw the deed; and it was said that this happened in the case of Romulus when he changed from a king to a tyrant. They thought that this deed, like that one of old, taking place in open Senate, would seem to be not in the way of a private conspiracy, but in behalf of the country, and that, being in the public interest, there would be no danger from Caesar's army. At the same time they thought the honour would remain theirs because the public would not be ignorant that they took the lead. For these reasons they unanimously chose the Senate as the place, but they were not agreed as to the mode. Some thought that Antony ought to be killed also because he was consul with Caesar, and was his most powerful friend, and the one of most repute with the army; but Brutus said that they would win the glory of tyrannicide from the death of Caesar alone, because that would be the killing of a king. If they should kill his friends also, the deed would be imputed to private enmity and to the Pompeian faction.

115. They listened to this reasoning and awaited the
τὴν προσιοῦσαν αὐτίκα τῇ βουλής σύνοδον ἐφύλασσον, ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ πρὸ μιᾶς τοῦ βουλευτηρίου χωρῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνου ἐς Δέπιδον τὸν ὕππαρχον, ἐπήγετο Δέκμον Βρούτον Ἄλβινον ἐς τὸν πότον καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι προοθηκε, τίς ἄριστος ἀνθρώπῳ θάνατος· αἱρουμένων δὲ ἐτερα ἐτέρων αὐτὸς ἐκ πάντων ἔπηνε τὸν αἰφνίδιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄρει προομαντεύετο ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐλεσ- χήνευε περὶ τῶν ἐς τὴν αὐρίον ἐσομένων· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πότῳ νυκτὸς αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα νωθρὸν ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Καλπουρνία ἐνύπνιον ἀἵματι πολλῷ καταρρέομενον ἰδοῦσα κατεκώλυσε μὴ προελθεῖν. θυμόμενος τε πολλάκις ἦν τὰ σημεῖα φοβερά. καὶ πέμπειν ἐμελλεν Ἀντώνιοι διαλύσοντα τὴν βου- λήν. ἀλλὰ Δέκμος παρὼν ἐπείσε μὴ λαβείν ὑπερψίας διαβολήν, αὐτὸν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπελθόντα διαλύσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκομίζετο φορείω, θεαὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου θεάτρῳ, καὶ βουλευ- τήριον ἐμελλε τόν τις περὶ αὐτὸ οίκων ἔσεσθαι, εἰσθανός ἐπὶ ταῖς θέαις ὑπὲρ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἁμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον ἐωθεν κατὰ τὴν στοάν τὴν πρὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τοῖς δεομένοις σφῶν ὡς στρατηγῶν εὔστα- θέστατα ἐχρημάτιζον, πυνθανόμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν γυγομένων ἱερῶν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πάνω ἠποροῦντο. καὶ τις, αὐτῶν ὄρει ἐχόντων, τῆς Κάσκα χειρὸς λαβὼν εἶπε· "σὺ μὲν οὖν ὡς φίλον ἀπέκρυψας, Βρούτος δ' ἀνίγνεγκέ μοι." καὶ ὁ μὲν Κάσκας ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος ἀφφωνος τεθορύβητο, ὁ δ' ἐπιμειδίασας 438
next meeting of the Senate, and the day before the meeting Caesar went to dine with Lepidus, his master of horse, taking Decimus Brutus Albinus with him to drink wine after dinner, and while the wine went round the conversation Caesar proposed the question, "What is the best kind of death?" Various opinions were given, but Caesar alone expressed preference for a sudden death. In this way he foretold his own end, and conversed about what was to happen on the morrow. After the banquet a certain bodily faintness came over him in the night, and his wife, Calpurnia, had a dream, in which she saw him streaming with blood, for which reason she tried to prevent him from going out in the morning. When he offered sacrifice there were many unfavourable signs. He was about to send Antony to dismiss the Senate when Decimus, who was with him, persuaded him, in order not to incur the charge of disregard for the Senate, to go there and dismiss it himself. Accordingly he was borne thither in a litter. Games were going on in Pompey's theatre, and the Senate was about to assemble in one of the adjoining buildings, as was the custom when the games were taking place. Brutus and Cassius were early at the portico in front of the theatre, very calmly engaging in public business as praetors with those seeking their services. When they heard of the bad omens at Caesar's house and that the Senate was to be dismissed, they were greatly disconcerted. While they were in this state of mind a certain person took Casca by the hand and said, "You kept the secret from me, although I am your friend, but Brutus has told me all." Casca was suddenly conscience-stricken and shuddered, but his friend, smiling, continued,
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ἔφη: "πόθεν οὖν ἦσται σοι τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἀγοραμομίας;" καὶ ὁ Κάσκας ἀνήγεγκεν. αὐτὸν δὲ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον σύννοις τε ὄντας καὶ συλλαλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις τῶν τις βουλευτῶν ἐπίσπάσας, Ποπίλιος Δαίνας, ἔφη συνεύχεσθαι περὶ δὲ ἕχουσι κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ παρῆνει ἐπιταχύως. οἵ δὲ ἐθορυβήθησαν μὲν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως ἐσιώπων.  

116. Φερομένου δὲ ἦδη τοῦ Καίσαρος, τῶν οἰκείων τις αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μαθὼν ἔθει μηνύσων, ὁ ἐμαθεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐσ τοῦρυνίαν ἤλθε καὶ τοσόνδε μόνον εἰπὼν, ὅτι χρῆξοι Καίσαρος ὑπὲρ ἔργων ἐπειγόντων, ἀνέμενεν αὐτὸν ἐπανελθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἄρα τὰ γιγνόμενα πάντα πεπυσμένοι. ὁ δὲ ἐν Κῦδῳ γεγονός αὐτῷ ξένος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐσ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐσδραμὼν εὑρεν ἄρτι ἀναιρούμενον. ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλου καὶ βιβλίου περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπιδοθέν αὐτῷ προθυμομένῳ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ εὐθὺς ἐσιόντε, μετὰ χείρας εὐρέθη τεθνέωτος. ἄρτι δὲ ἐκβαίνοντι τοῦ φορείου Δαίνας, ὁ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τοῦ Κάσσιον πρὸ ὀλίγου συνενζάμενος, ἐντυχὼν διελέγετο ἵδια μετὰ σπουδῆς. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἢ τε ὄψις αὐτίκα τοῦ γιγνομένου κατέπλησσε καὶ τὸ μήκος τῆς ἐντεύξεως, καὶ διένευν ἀλλήλους διαχρήσασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πρὸ συλλήψεως προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τῶν Δαίναν ὄρωντες οὐ μηνύουτι μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τοῦ δεομένῳ καὶ λιπαροῦντι ἐοικότα, ἀνέφερον, ὡς δ'
Where shall you get the money to stand for the aedileship?" Then Casca recovered himself. While Brutus and Cassius were conferring and talking together, Popilius Laena, one of the senators, drew them aside and said that he joined them in his prayers for what they had in mind, and he urged them to make haste. They were confounded, but remained silent from terror.

116. While Caesar was actually being borne to the Senate one of his intimates, who had learned of the conspiracy, ran to his house to tell what he knew. When he arrived there and found only Calpurnia he merely said that he wanted to speak to Caesar about urgent business, and then waited for him to come back from the Senate, because he did not know all the particulars of the affair. Meantime Artemidorus, whose hospitality Caesar had enjoyed at Cnidus, ran to the Senate and found him already in the death-throes. A tablet informing him of the conspiracy was put into Caesar's hand by another person while he was sacrificing in front of the senate-house, but he went in immediately and it was found in his hand after his death. Directly after he stepped out of the litter Popilius Laena, who a little before had joined his prayers with the party of Cassius, accosted Caesar and engaged him aside in earnest conversation. The sight of this proceeding and especially the length of the conversation struck terror into the hearts of the conspirators, and they made signs to each other that they would kill themselves rather than be captured. As the conversation was prolonged they saw that Laena did not seem to be revealing anything to Caesar, but rather to be urging some petition. They recovered themselves and when
CAP. XVI

ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἄσπασάμενον εἶδον, ἀνεθάρρησαν.

ἔθος δ᾽ ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀρχούσιν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν ἐσιοῦσιν
οἰωνίζεσθαι προσιοῦσι. καὶ πάλιν τῶν ἱερῶν
ην τῷ Καίσαρι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνευ καρδίας ἢ,
ὡς ἐτεροί λέγουσιν, ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῖς σπλάγχνοις
ἐλειπε. καὶ τοῦ μάντεως εἰπόντος θανάτου τὸ
σημεῖον εἶναι, γελάσας ἐφὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ καὶ
περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γενέσθαι πολεμοῦντι Πομπηίῳ.
ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ μάντεως, ὅτι καὶ τότε
κινδυνεύεσθε λαμπρῶς καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον
εἰς τὸ σημεῖον, αὕτης αὐτοῦ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐκέλευε
θύεσθαι. καὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδ᾽ ὃς καλλιερουμένου,
τὴν βουλὴν βραδύνουσαν αἱδούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ
tῶν ἱερῶν ὡς φίλου ἐπειγόμενος ἔστει τῶν
ἱερῶν καταφρονήσας: χρήν γὰρ ἃ ἔχρην Καίσαρι
γενέσθαι.

117. Οἱ δὲ 'Ἀντώνιοι μὲν πρὸ θυρῶν ἀποδια-
τρίβειν ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ Τρεβώνιον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ὑπελι-
pontο, Καίσαρα δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου προκαθίσαντα
περιέστησαν οἶα φίλοι σὺν λεληθὸς ξιφιδίοις.
καὶ αὐτῶν Τίλλιος μὲν Κῑμβερ, ἐνυχὼν ἐς
πρόσωπον, ἀδελφῷ φυγάδι κάθοδον ἤτει ἀνατι-
θεμένου δὲ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντος ὅλως τοῦ Κα-
σαρος, ὁ μὲν Κῑμβερ αὐτοῦ τῆς πορφύρας ὡς
ἐτὶ δεόμενος ἐλάβετο καὶ τὸ εἶμα περισπάσας
ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον εἶλκε, βοῶν· "τὰ βραδύνετε
φίλου;" Κάσκας δὲ ἐφεστῶς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ
tὴν σφαγὴν τὸ ἔξιος ἤρεσε πρῶτος, παραλίσθων
δὲ ἐνέτεμε τὸ στήθος. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ τὸ τε ἱμάτιον
ἀπὸ τοῦ Κῑμβερος ἐπισπάσας καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ
they saw him return thanks to Caesar after the conversation they took new courage. It was the custom of the magistrates, when about to enter the Senate, to take the auspices at the entrance. Here again Caesar's first victim was without a heart, or, as some say, the upper part of the entrails was wanting. The soothsayer said that this was a sign of death. Caesar, laughing, said that the same thing had happened to him when he was beginning his campaign against Pompeius in Spain. The soothsayer replied that he had been in very great danger then and that now the omen was more deadly. So Caesar ordered him to sacrifice again. None of the victims were more propitious; but being ashamed to keep the Senate waiting, and being urged by his enemies in the guise of friends, he went on disregarding the omens. For it was fated that Caesar should meet his fate.

117. The conspirators had left Trebonius, one of their number, to engage Antony in conversation at the door. The others, with concealed daggers, stood around Caesar like friends as he sat in his chair. Then one of them, Tillius Cimber, came up in front of him and petitioned him for the recall of his brother, who had been banished. When Caesar answered that the matter must be deferred, Cimber seized hold of his purple robe as though still urging his petition, and pulled it away so as to expose his neck, exclaiming, "Friends, what are you waiting for?" Then first Casca, who was standing over Caesar's head, drove his dagger at his throat, but swerved and wounded him in the breast. Caesar snatched his toga from Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned around, and hurled
Κάσκα λαβόμενος καὶ καταδραμὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἐπιστραφεῖς τὸν Κάσκαν εἵλκυσε σὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ. οὖτω δ’ ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ πλευρὸν ἕτερος, ὥς ἐπὶ συστροφῇ τεταμένον, διελάύει ξυφίδιῳ καὶ Κάσσιος ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιλῆξε καὶ Βροῦτος ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐπάταξε καὶ Βούκολιανὸς ἐς τὸ μετάφρενον, ὡστε τὸν Κάισαρα ἐπὶ μέν τι σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ βοὴ καθάπερ θηρίον ἐς ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βροῦτου πληγῆν, . . . . εἰτε ἀπογνώσκοντα ἤδη, τὸ ἰμάτιον περικαλύφασθαι καὶ πεσεῖν εὐσχημόνως παρὰ ἀνδρίαντι Πομπηίου· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὃς ἐνύβριζον αὐτὸ πεσόντε, μέχρι τριῶν ἐπὶ εἰκοσι πληγῶν πύλλοι τε διωβιζόμενοι μετὰ τῶν ξιφῶν ἀλλήλους ἐπιλῆξαν.

ΧVII

118. Ἐκτελεσθέντος δὲ τοῖς φονεύσαι τοσοῦτῳ ἄγους ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ καὶ ἐς ἀνδρα ἱερὸν καὶ ἀσυλον, φυγὴ τε ἢν ἀνὰ τὸ Βουλευτήριον αὐτίκα καὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, καὶ ἐτρώθησαν τίνες τῶν Βουλευτῶν ἐν τῶδε τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ ἀπέθανον ἕτεροι. πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἀλλὸς ἀστῶν τε καὶ ξένων ἐγίγνετο φόνος, οὐ προβεβουλευμένος, ἀλλ’ οἶδος ἐκ θορύβου πολιτικοῦ καὶ ἀγνωσίας τῶν ἐπιλαβόντων, οἱ τε γὰρ μονομάχοι, ὡπλισμένοι ἐωθεν ὡς ἐπὶ δὴ τινα θέας ἐπίδειξιν, ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου διέθευεν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Βουλευτήριον παραφράγματα,
Casca with great violence. While he was in this position another one stabbed him with a dagger in the side, which was stretched tense by his strained position. Cassius wounded him in the face, Brutus smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus in the back. With rage and outcries Caesar turned now upon one and now upon another like a wild animal, but, after receiving the wound from Brutus he at last despaired and, veiling himself with his robe, composed himself for death and fell at the foot of Pompey's statue. They continued their attack after he had fallen until he had received twenty-three wounds. Several of them while thrusting with their swords wounded each other.

XVII

118. When the murderers had perpetrated their gloomy crime, in a sacred place, on one whose person was sacred and inviolable, there was an immediate flight throughout the curia and throughout the whole city. Some senators were wounded in the tumult and others killed. Many other citizens and strangers were murdered also, not designedly, but as such things happen in public commotions, by the mistakes of those into whose hands they fell. Gladiators, who had been armed early in the morning for that day's spectacles, ran out of the theatre to the screens of

1 Literally, "by reason of twisting."
2 There is a gap in the text.
3 Some sort of barrier at the entrance (cancelli).
καὶ τὸ θέατρον ὕπὸ ἐκπλήξεως σὺν φόβῳ καὶ δρόμῳ διελύετο, τά τε ὄνομα ἤρπάζετο· καὶ τὸς θύρας ἀπαντεῖ ἀπέκλειον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν ἐς ἀμύναν ἡτοιμάζοντο, Ἀντώνιος τε τὴν οἰκίαν ὁχύρω, τεκμαιρόμενος συνεπιβουλεύεσθαι τῷ Καῖσαρι. καὶ Λέπιδος ο θπαρχὸς ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ὅν ἐπύθετο τοῦ γεγονότος, ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νήσου διαδραμὼν, ἐνθα ὡς αὐτῷ τέλος στρατιωτῶν, ἐς τὸ πεδίον αὐτοῖς μετεβίβαζεν ὡς ἐτοιμοτέρους ἐξων ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπ’ Ἀντωνίου. Ἀντωνίῳ γὰρ ἐξίστατο, φίλω τε τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὄντι μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπάτω, καὶ αὐτοῖς σκέπτομένους ὁρμή μὲν ὡς ἀμύνει τῷ Καῖσαρι τοιάδε παθόντι, τὴν δὲ βουλήν πρὸς τῶν ἄνδροφόνων ἐσῳμενὴν ἐξεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐτὶ περιεσκόπουν. ἀμφὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Καῖσαρι στρατιωτικὸν μὲν οὐκ ἦν, οὐ γὰρ δορυφόροις ἥρέσκετο, ἢ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὑπηρεσία μονὴ καὶ αἱ πλέονες ἀρχαὶ καὶ πολὺς ὁμίλος ἄλλος ἄστῳς καὶ ξένων καὶ πολὺς θεράπων καὶ ἐξελεύθερος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας παρεπετόμετοις, ὡς ἀθρόως διαφυγόντων τρεῖς θεράποντες μόνοι παρέμειναν, οὐ τὸ σῶμα ἐς τὸ φορεῖν ἐνθέμενοι διεκόμισαν οὐκαδὲ ἀνωμάλως, οἰα τρεῖς, τὸν πρὸ ὀλίγου γῆς καὶ θαλάτης προστάτην.

119. Οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς ἐβούλοντο μὲν τι εἴπειν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ύδενὸς δὲ παραμέινοντο τὰ ἰμάτια ταῖς λαιαῖς όσπερ ἀσπίδας περιπλεξάμενοι καὶ τὰ ξίφη μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος ἔχοντες ἐβοήδρόμουν βασιλέα καὶ τύραννου ἀνελεῖν. καὶ πίλον
The senate-house. The theatre itself was emptied in haste and panic terror, and the markets were plundered. All citizens closed their doors and prepared for defence on their roofs. Antony fortified his house, apprehending that the conspiracy was against him as well as Caesar. Lepidus, the master of the horse, being in the forum at the time, learned what had been done and ran to the island in the river where he had a legion of soldiers, which he transferred to the Field of Mars in order to be in greater readiness to execute Antony's orders; for he yielded to Antony as a closer friend of Caesar and also as consul. While pondering over the matter they were strongly moved to avenge the death of Caesar, but they feared lest the Senate should espouse the side of the murderers and so they concluded to await events. There had been no military guard around Caesar, for he did not like guards; but the usual attendants of the magistracy, most of the officers, and a large crowd of citizens and strangers, of slaves and freedmen, had accompanied him from his house to the Senate. These had fled en masse, all except three slaves, who placed the body in the litter and, unsteadily enough, as three bearers would, bore homeward him who, a little before, had been master of the earth and sea.

119. The murderers wished to make a speech in the Senate, but as nobody remained there they wrapped their togas around their left arms to serve as shields, and, with swords still reeking with blood, ran, crying out that they had slain a king and tyrant. One of them bore a cap\(^1\) on the end of a spear as

\(^1\) The cap (pileus) was given to enfranchised slaves and ransomed captives as a sign of liberty.
CAP. XVII

τις ἐπὶ δόρατος ἐφέρε, σύμβολον ἐλευθερώσεως ἐπὶ τε τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν παρεκάλουν καὶ Βρούτου τοῦ πάλαι καὶ τῶν τότε σφίσων ὄμωμοσμένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πάλαι βασιλεύσων ἀνεμιμηνσκον. συνέθεοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τινες χρησάμενοι ξιφίδια, οὗ τοῦ ἔργου μὴ μετασχόντες προσεποιοῦντο τὴν δόξαν, Δέντλος τε ὁ Σπινθήρ καὶ Φαώνιος καὶ Ἀκούνιος καὶ Δολοβέλλας καὶ Μοῦρκος καὶ Πατίσκος· οἳ τῆς μὲν δόξης οὐ μετέσχοιν, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τοῖς ἀμαρτούσι συνέτυχον. τοῦ δῆμου δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ προσθέοντος ἦπόρουν καὶ ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τῇ μὲν βουλῇ, καὶ εἰ αὐτίκα ὑπ’ ἁγνοίας καὶ θορύβου διέφυγε, θαρροῦντες ὡμος, συγγενέσι τε σφῶν καὶ φίλοις οὕτως βαρυνομένοι τε τῇ τυραννίδα ὁμοίως, τὸν δὲ δῆμον ύφορόμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους τῷ Κάισαρι πολλοῦς ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε παρόντας, τοὺς μὲν ἄρτι τῆς στρατείας ἀφεμένους καὶ ἐς κληρονομίας διατεταγμένους, τοὺς δὲ προσπυκισμένους μὲν, ἐς δὲ παραπομπὴν τοῦ Κάισαρος ἐξίσωτος ἀφιγμένους. Δέπιδόν τε ἐδεδοῖκεσαν καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Δεπίδῳ στρατὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἀντώνιον ἑπατεύοντα, μὴ ἀντὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ δήμῳ μόνῳ χρώμενος ἐργάσατο τι δεινὸν αὐτοὺς.

120. Οὕτω δ’ ἔχοντες τὸ Καπιτώλιον σὺν τοῖς μονομάχοις ἀνέθορον. καὶ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις ἐδοξεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ πλήθη μισθώματα περιπέμπειν ἠλπιᾷ γὰρ, ἀρξαμένων τινῶν ἐπαινεὶν τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συνεπιλήψεσθαι λογισμῷ τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πολιτείας. ἐτὶ γὰρ φῶντο τὸν δῆμον εἶναι Ῥωμαίοιν ἀκριβῶς, οἶον ἐπὶ τοῦ πάλαι Βρούτου τὴν τότε
a symbol of freedom, and exhorted the people to restore the government of their fathers and recall the memory of the elder Brutus and of those who took the oath together against the ancient kings. With them ran some with drawn swords who had not participated in the deed, but wanted to share the glory, among whom were Lentulus Spinther, Favonius, Aquinus, Dolabella, Murcus, and Patiscus. These did not share the glory, but they suffered punishment with the guilty. As the people did not flock to them they were disconcerted and alarmed. Although the Senate had at first fled through ignorance and alarm, they had confidence in it nevertheless as consisting of their own relatives and friends, and oppressed equally with themselves by the tyranny; but they were suspicious of the plebeians and of Caesar's soldiers, many of whom were then present in the city, some lately dismissed from the service, to whom lands had been allotted; others who had been already settled, but had come in to serve as an escort for Caesar on his departure from the city. The assassins had fears of Lepidus, too, and of the army under him in the city, and also of Antony in his character as consul, lest he should consult the people alone, instead of the Senate, and bring some fearful punishment upon them.

120. In this frame of mind they hastened up to the Capitol with their gladiators. There they took counsel and decided to bribe the populace, hoping that if some would begin to praise the deed others would join in from love of liberty and longing for the republic. They thought that the genuinely Roman people were still as they had learned that they were when the elder Brutus expelled the kings. They did
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XVII

βασιλείαν καθαροῦντος ἐπυνθάνοντο γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ συνίεσαν δύο τάδε ἀλλήλοις ἐναντία προσδοκῶντες, φιλελευθέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ μισθωτοὺς σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι χρησίμως τοὺς παρόντας. ὅν θάτερον εὐχερέστερον ἦν, διεφθαρμένης ἐκ πολλοῦ τῆς πολιτείας. παμμυγές τε γὰρ ἐστιν ἢ ἂν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὸ ξενίας, καὶ ὁ ἐξελεύθερος αὐτοῖς ἰσοπολίτης ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ δουλεύων ἐτι τὸ σχῆμα τοῖς δεσπόταις ὅμοιος· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς βουλευτικῆς ἢ ἄλλη στολῇ τοῖς θεράπουσιν ἐστιν ἐπίκοινος. τὸ τε συνηρέσιον τοῖς πένησι χωρηγοῦμενοι ἐν μόνῃ Ῥώμη τὸν ἄργον καὶ πτωχεύοντα καὶ ταχυεργὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας λεων ἕστιν Ῥώμην ἐπάγεται. τὸ τε πλῆθος τῶν ἀποστρατευμένων, οὐ διαλυόμενον ἐστάς πατρίδας ἐτι ὡς πάλαι καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα δέει τοῦ μη δικαίως πολέμους ἐνίους πεπολεμηκέναι, κοινῇ δὲ ἐς κληρονοχίας ἁδίκους ἀλλοτρίας τε γῆς καὶ ἀλλοτρίων οἰκίων ἐξίων, ἄθροιν τότε ἐστάθμευμεν ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς καὶ τεμένεσιν ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἀρχοντὶ τῆς ἀποικίας, τὰ μὲν ὅντα σφίσιν ὡς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον ἢ ἂν διαπεπρακότες, εὗωνοι δ' ἐστὶ οἱ μισθοῦντο.

121. "Οθεν οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκ τοσοῦντε καὶ τοιῶντε ἄνδρῶν πλῆθος τι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐθὺς ἀγήγερτο· οὐ καίτερ ὄντες ἐμμισθοῦτα μὲν γενόμενα ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρρουν, δεδίστες τὴν Καισαροῦς δόξαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τῶν ἐτέρων ἐσόμενον, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ συμφέροντι κοινῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπεβόων καὶ θαμινὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρεκάλουν, τέχνασμα τοῦτο ἐς τὴν τῶν ἄνδρο-φόνων σωτηρίαν ἐπινοοῦντε· οὐ γὰρ ἔσεσθαι

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not perceive that they were counting on two incompatible things, namely, that people could be lovers of liberty and bribe-takers at the same time. The latter class were much easier to find of the two, because the government had been corrupt for a long time. For the plebeians are now much mixed with foreign blood, freedmen have equal rights of citizenship with them, and slaves are dressed in the same fashion as their masters. Except in the case of the senatorial rank the same costume is common to slaves and to free citizens. Moreover the distribution of corn to the poor, which takes place in Rome only, draws thither the lazy, the beggars, the vagrants of all Italy. The multitude, too, of discharged soldiers who were no longer dispersed one by one to their native places as formerly, through fear lest some of them might have engaged in unjustifiable wars, but were sent in groups to unjust allotments of lands and confiscated houses, was at this time encamped in temples and sacred enclosures under one standard, and one person appointed to lead them to their colony, and as they had already sold their own belongings preparatory to their departure they were in readiness to be bought for any purpose.

121. From so many men of this kind a considerable crowd was drawn speedily and without difficulty to the party of Cassius in the forum. These, although bought, did not dare to praise the murder, because they feared Caesar's reputation and doubted what course the rest of the people might take. So they shouted for peace as being for the public advantage, and with one accord recommended this policy to the magistrates, intending by this device to secure the safety of the murderers; for there could be no peace
CAP. XVII τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ γενομένης αὐτοῦς ἀμνηστίας. ὥδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔχουσι πρῶτος ἐπιφαίνεται Κίννας στρατηγὸς, οἰκείως δὲν ἔξ ἐπιγαμίας τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ παρὰ δύσαν ἐπελθὼν ἐς μέσους τὴν τε ἐσθήτα τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἀπεδύσατο, ὡς παρὰ τυράννου δεδομένης ὑπερορῶν, καὶ τὸν Κάισαρα τύραννον ἐκάλει καὶ τοὺς ἀνέλοντας τυραννοκτόνους, καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐσέμνυνεν ὡς ὁμοίότατον μάλιστα τῷ προγονικῷ καὶ τοὺς ἁνδρᾶς ὡς ἐνεργέτας καλεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ γεραίρειν. καὶ Κίννας μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὐχ ὀρῶτες ἐπιμισγύμνευσαν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ἁνδρᾶς οὐδὲ τι πλέον ἢ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης μόνης αὖθις παρεκάλουν.

122. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, νέος ἄνηρ καὶ περιώνυμος, ὑπατεύειν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐστὶν ἐπίλουπον τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχέμενος, ὅτε οἱ Καίσαρ ἔξορμήσει τὴς πόλεως, τὴν μὲν ὑπατον ἐσθήτα ἡμφύεσατο καὶ τὰ σημεία τῆς ἀρχῆς περιεστήσατο, τὸν δὲ ταύτα οἱ παρασχόντα δεύτερος οὐδ’ ἐλοιδόρει καὶ συνεγινωκέναι τοῖς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ βεβουλευμένοις ὑπεκρίνετο καὶ μόνης ἄκων τῆς χειρὸς ἀπολειφθῆναι (εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσηγήσασθαι τὴν ἡμέραν θέσθαι τῇ πόλει γενέθλιον), τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ μεμισθωμένοι ἀνεθάρρουν ὡς καὶ στρατηγός καὶ ὑπάτων σφίσει συγγνωμόνων ὄντων καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατεκάλουν. οἱ δὲ ἠδοντο μὲν τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἁνδρὰ νέον καὶ γνώριμον καὶ ὑπάτων ἔξευ ἐς ἐναντίωσιν Ἀντωνίου, κατήγεσαν δὲ αὐτῶν μόνοι Κάσσιος τε καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μάρκος, ἡμαγμένοις τῇ χείρᾳ: συγκατήγεγκαν γὰρ δὴ τᾶς
without amnesty to them. While they were thus engaged the praetor Cinna, a relative of Caesar by marriage, made his appearance, advanced unexpectedly into the middle of the forum, laid aside his praetorian robe, as if disdaining the gift of a tyrant, and called Caesar a tyrant and his murderers tyrannicides. He extolled their deed as exactly like that of their ancestors, and ordered that the men themselves should be called from the Capitol as benefactors and rewarded with public honours. So spake Cinna, but when the hirelings saw that the unbought portion of the crowd did not agree with them they did not call for the men in the Capitol, nor did they do anything else but continually demand peace.

122. But after Dolabella, a young man of noble family who had been chosen by Caesar as consul for the remainder of his own year when he was about to leave the city, and who had put on the consular garb and taken the other insignia of the office, came forward next and railed against the man who had advanced him to this dignity and pretended that he was privy to the conspiracy against him, and that his hand alone was unwillingly absent—some say that he even proposed a decree that this day should be consecrated as the birthday of the republic—then indeed the hirelings took new courage, seeing that they had both a praetor and a consul on their side, and demanded that Cassius and his friends be summoned from the Capitol. They were delighted with Dolabella and thought that now they had a young optimate, who was also consul, to oppose against Antony. Only Cassius and Marcus Brutus came down, the latter with his hand still bleeding from the wound he had received when he and Cassius...
CAP. XVII. πληγάς ἔπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα Κάσσιός τε καὶ Βροῦτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλθον ἐς τὸ μέσον, οὐδὲν ταπεινῶν οὐδέτεροις έίπεν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔπὶ καλοῖς ὀμολογουμένοις ἀλλήλους ἐπήνουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμακάριζον καὶ Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐμαρτύρουν, ὅτι τοὺς μονομάχους σφίσων ἐν καιρῷ παράσχοι. τὸν τε δήμον ἐξώτρυνον ὄμοια τοῖς προγόνοις ἐργάσασθαι τοῖς καθελοῦσι τοὺς βασιλέας, οὐκ ἐκ βλας ἀρχοντας ὥσπερ ὁ Καίσαρ, ἀλλ’ ἱρημένους ὕπὸ νόμοις. Σέξτον τε Πομπήιον, τὸν Πομπήιον Μάγνον, τοῦ Καίσαρι περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πεπολεμηκότος, καλεῖν ἥξιον, πολεμούμενον ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς δημάρχους Καισίτιον καὶ Μάρυλλον, οἱ τὴν ἀρχήν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφαιρεθέντες ἠλώντο.

123. Τοιάδε μὲν εἶπον οἱ περὶ τὸν Κάσσιον καὶ ἐπανῆλθον αὐθις ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν πω τοῖς παροῦσι. τῶν δ’ οἰκεῖων σφίσι καὶ συγγενῶν τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς δυνηθέντων ἢρέθησαν οἱ πρεσβεύσοντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐς Δεπιδόν τε καὶ Ἀντωνίου ὀμονοίας πέρι καὶ προνοίας τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ φειδοὺς τῶν ἐσομένων τῇ πατρίδι κακῶν, εἰ μὴ συμφρονοίεν. καὶ ἠδέοντο οἱ πεμφθέντες, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦντες μὲν τὸ πεπραγμένον (οὐ γὰρ ἐθάρρουν ἐν φίλοις Καίσαρος), γενόμενον δ’ ἐνεγκεῖν ἄξιον ἔλεος τε τῶν δεδρακότων αὐτὸ οὐ κατὰ μίσος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ εὐνοία τῆς πατρίδος καὶ
were dealing blows at Caesar. When they reached the forum neither of them said anything which betokened humility. On the contrary, they praised each other, as though the deed were something confessedly honourable, congratulated the city, and bore special testimony to the merits of Decimus Brutus because he had furnished them gladiators at a critical moment. They exhorted the people to be like their ancestors, who had expelled the kings, although the latter were exercising the government not by violence like Caesar, but had been chosen according to law. They advised the recall of Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, the defender of the republic against Caesar), who was still warring against Caesar's lieutenants in Spain. They also recommended that the tribunes, Caesetius and Marullus, who had been deposed by Caesar, should be recalled from exile.

123. After they had thus spoken Cassius and Brutus returned directly to the Capitol, because they had not yet entire confidence in the present posture of affairs. As their friends and relatives were then first enabled to come to them in the temple, they chose from among them messengers to treat on their behalf with Lepidus and Antony for conciliation and the preservation of liberty, and for warding off the evils that would befall the country if they should not come to an agreement. This the messengers besought, not, however, extolling the deed that had been done, for they did not dare to do this in the presence of Caesar's friends, but asking that it be tolerated now that it was done, out of pity for the perpetrators, (who had been actuated, not by hatred towards Caesar, but by love of country), and out of compassion
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οίκτω τῆς πόλεως κεκενωμένης στάσεσιν ἡδη συνεχέσων, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ μέλλουσα στάσις διολέσει. οὖν δὲ γὰρ ὄσιον, εἰ τις αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἔχθρα πρὸς ἐνίους, ἐν τοῖς δηµοσίοις κινδύνοις ἐξερήζειν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τὰ ἱδία καταθέσθαι ἢ, εἰ τις ἄνηκέστως ἔχει, τὰ ἱδία ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀναθέσθαι.

124. Ἄντωνιος δὲ καὶ Λέπιδος ἐβοῦλοντο μὲν ἁμύνειν Καίσαρι, ὡς μοι προείρηται, εἴτε φίλίας ἐνεκα εἴτε τῶν ὁμωμοσμένων, εἴτε καὶ ἄρχης ὅρεγόμενοι καὶ νοµίζοντες εὑµαρέστερα σφίσιν ἀπαντὰ ἐσεσθαι τοιῶνδε καὶ τοσῶνδε ἄνδρῶν ἄθροῶς ἐκποδῶν γενοµένων τοὺς δὲ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτῶν ἐδεδοίκεσαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην βούλην ἐπιρρέπουσαν ἐς ἐκείνους, Δέκµον τε µάλιστα, τῆς ὁµόρου Κελτικῆς ἱρηµένου ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἄρχειν, στρατὸν πολὺν ἑχούσης. ἐδόκει δὴ καραδοκείν ἐτὶ τὰ γενησόµενα καὶ τεχνάξειν εἰ δύναντο περιστάσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν Δέκµον, ἄθυµον ἡδῆ τοῖς ἀτρύτοις πόνοις γεγενηµένην. οὔτω δὲ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἄντωνιος τοὺς εἰπόντας ἡµείψατο. "κατὰ µὲν ἔχθραν ἱδίαν οὖν ἐργασώμεθα· ἐνεκα δὲ τοῦ µύσους καὶ ὅν Καίσαρ πάντες ὑµόςαµεν, φύλακες αὐτῷ τοῦ σώµατος ἡ τιµωροὶ παθόντες τι ἐσεσθαι, εὐφρκῶν ἢν τὸ ἅγιος ἐξελαύνειν καὶ µετ᾽ ὀλυγωτέρων καθαρῶν βιοῦν µᾶλλον ἡ πάντας ἐνόχους ὄντας ταῖς ἁραῖς. ἀλλὰ δὴ ὑµᾶς οῖς οὔτω δοκεῖ, σκεψόµεθα µεθ᾽ ὑµῶν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ"
for the city exhausted by long-continued civil strife, which a new sedition might deprive of the good men still remaining. "If enmity is entertained against certain persons," they said, "it will be an act of impiety to gratify it in a time of public danger. It is far preferable to merge private animosity in the public welfare, or, if anybody were irreconcilable, at least to postpone his private grievances for the present."

124. Antony and Lepidus wished to avenge Caesar, as I have already said, either on the score of friendship, or of the oaths they had sworn, or because they were aiming at the supreme power themselves and thought that their course would be easier if so many men of such rank were put out of the way at once. But they feared the friends and relatives of these men and the leaning of the rest of the Senate toward them, and especially they feared Decimus Brutus, who had been chosen by Caesar governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which had a large army. So they decided to watch a future opportunity and to try if possible to draw over to themselves the army of Decimus, which was already disheartened by its protracted labours. Having come to this decision, Antony replied to the messengers, "We shall do nothing from private enmity, yet in consequence of the crime and of the oaths we have all sworn to Caesar, that we would either protect his person or avenge his death, a solemn regard for our oath requires us to drive out the guilty and to live with a smaller number of innocent men rather than that all should be liable to the divine curse. Yet for our own part, although this seems to us the proper course, we will consider the matter with you in the Senate and we
καὶ νομοῦμεν εὖαγές ἐσεσθαί τῇ πόλει, ὃ τι ἀν κοινῇ δοκιμάσητε.”

125. Ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς οὕτως ἀπεκρίνατο. οἱ δὲ χάριν τε ἦδεσαν καὶ ἀπεχώρουν ἐν ἐλπίδι βεβαίῳ τὰ πάντα θέμενοι τὴν γὰρ θουλὴν σφίσι συμπράξειν ἐς πάντα ἐπεποίθεσαν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὰς μὲν ἄρχας ἐκέλευσε νυκτοφυλακεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ διαστήματος ἐν μέσῳ προκαθημένας ὀσπέρ ἐν ἡμέρας καὶ ἦσαν πυραὶ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀστυ καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἔθεον ἀνὰ τὴν νυκτὰ πᾶσαν ἐς τὰς τῶν θουλευτῶν οἰκίας οἱ τῶν ἄνδροφόνων οἰκεῖοι, παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίου πολείταις. ἀντιπαρέθεον δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν κληρούχων ἡγεμόνες ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς φυλάξει τὰς κληρουχίας τὰς τῇ ἡδη δεδομένας καὶ τὰς ἐπηγγελμένας. ἡδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν ὁ καθαρώτατος λεῶς ἀνεθάρρει, τὴν ὀλγότητα τῶν διδακτάτων πυθόμενοι καὶ ἐς μνήμην τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπεφέρωντο καὶ ταῖς γυμναῖς διηροῦντο. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῆς ἄρχης ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον μετεκομίζετο, εἴτε τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτᾶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἐξ ἐπικυνδύνου τότε οἰκίας ἐς ἀκινδυνοτέραν τὴν Ἀντωνίου μεταφερούσης, εἴτε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κελεύσαντος.

ΧVIII

126. Γυνομένων δὲ τούτων διάγραμμα νυκτὸς ἀνεγινώσκετο Ἀντωνίου τὴν θουλὴν συγκαλοῦντος ἐτο ἀπὸ ἡμέρας ἐς τὸ τῆς Καίσαρος ιερῶν, ἀγχοτάτω
will consider as propitious for the city whatever you may approve in common."

125. Thus did Antony make a safe answer. The messengers returned their thanks and went away full of hope, for they had entire confidence that the Senate would co-operate with them. Antony ordered the magistrates to have the city watched by night, stationing guards at intervals as in the daytime, and there were fires throughout the city. By their aid the friends of the murderers were enabled to traverse the city the whole night, going to the houses of the senators and beseeching them in behalf of these men and of the republic. On the other hand, the leaders of the colonised soldiers ran about uttering threats in case they should fail to hold the lands set apart, either already assigned or promised to them. And now the more honest citizens began to recover courage when they learned how small was the number of the conspirators, and when they remembered Caesar's merits they became much divided in opinion. That same night Caesar's money and his official papers were transferred to Antony's house, either because Calpurnia thought that they would be safer there or because Antony ordered it.

XVIII

126. While these things were taking place Antony, by means of a notice sent round by night, called the Senate to meet before daybreak at the temple
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μάλιστα ὃν τῆς οἰκίας 'Αντωνίου οὖτε γὰρ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐθάρρη κατελθεῖν, ὑποκέιμενον τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τῶν μονομάχων ὄντων ἐκείνωσ συνεργῶν, οὔτε στρατιάν ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διαταράξαν. Δέπιδος δὲ ὁμώς εἰσῆγαγε. πλησιαζόντος δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ τῇ ἄλλῃ βουλευταὶ συνέθεον ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν καὶ Κίννας ὁ στρατηγὸς, ἀνθίς ἐπικείμενος τὴν στρατηγικὴν ἐσθήτα, ἦν ἑκθές ὡς τυράννου δόντος ἐξερρίφει. θεασάμενοι δ' αὐτὸν τινες τῶν ἀδεκάστων καὶ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων τῷ Καίσαρι, δ' ὅργῆς ἔχοντες ὅτι πρῶτος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ περὶ οἰκείοις ὅν αὐτοῦ, ἐκεῖσι πάνιν ἔδημηγόρησε, λίθοις ἐβαλλον καὶ ἐδίωκον· καὶ ἐσ οἰκίαι τινὰ συμφυγόντα, ξύλα συμφέροντες, ἐμπρήσειν ἐμέλλον, εἰ μὴ Δέπιδος μετὰ στρατιάς ἐπέλθων ἑκὼλυσέ.

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἐργὸν παρρησίας ἦρξεν ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ αὐτὸ κατέδεικαν οἱ τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς αὐτοῖ· 127. ἐν δὲ τῷ βουλευτήριῳ βραχὺ μὲν ἦν τὸ καθαρεύον σπουδῆς βιαίοι καὶ ἀγανακτοῦν, οἱ δὲ πλέονες σὺν παρασκευῇ ποικίλῃ τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις συνήργοντοι. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοπίστως ἦξιον καὶ παρεῖναι σφίσι καὶ συνεδρεύειν, ἐξ ὑπευθύνων ἐς κριτὰς μεταφέροντες. καὶ ὁ 'Αντώνιος οὐκ ἐκώλυνεν, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐλευσομένους· οὐδὲ ἤλθον. εἴτε ἐπὶ διαπείρα τῆς βουλῆς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μᾶλα θρασέως τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπήμουν ἀντικρυς καὶ τοὺς ἀνδραῖς ἐκάλουν τυραννοκτόνους καὶ γεραιρεῖν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν γέρα περιήρουν, ὡς οὐδὲ 460
of Tellus, which was very near his own house, because he did not dare to go to the senate-house situated just below the Capitol, where the gladiators were aiding the conspirators, nor did he wish to disturb the city by bringing in the army. Lepidus, however, did that. As daylight was approaching the senators assembled at the temple of Tellus, including the praetor Cinna, clothed again in the robe of office which he had cast off the previous day as the gift of a tyrant. Some of the unbribed people and some of Caesar's veterans, when they saw him were indignant that he, although a relative of Caesar, should have been the first to slander him in a public speech, threw stones at him, pursued him, and when he had taken refuge in a house brought fagots and were about to set it on fire when Lepidus came up with his soldiers and stopped them.

This was the first decided expression of opinion in favour of Caesar. The hirelings, and the murderers themselves, were alarmed by it. 127. In the Senate, however, only a small number were free from sympathy with the act of violence and indignant at the murder, while most of them sought to aid the murderers in various ways. They proposed first to invite them to be present under a pledge of safety and sit in council with them, thus changing them from criminals to judges. Antony did not oppose this because he knew they would not come; and they did not come. Then, in order to test the feeling of the Senate, some senators extolled the deed openly and without disguise, called the men tyrannicides, and proposed that they should be rewarded. Others were opposed to giving rewards, saying that the men did not want them and had not done the
ἐκείνων δειμένων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὰδε αὐτὰ πραξάντων. εὐφημεῖν δὲ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐδικαίουν ὡς εὐεργέτας· οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν ὑπανήρου καὶ φείδεσθαι μόνον αὐτῶν ἦξίουν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν τάδε ἐτέχναζον καὶ περιεφορῶν, ὅ τι πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐνδεξαμένη μάλιστα ἡ βουλή πρός τὰ λουτὰ κατ᾽ ὁλίγον εὐπειρείρητος αὐτοῖς ἔσοιτο· οἱ δὲ καθαρώτεροι τὸ μὲν ἔργον ὡς ἀγος ἄπεστρέφοντο, αἴδοι δὲ μεγάλων οὐκον περισφόξειν αὐτούς οὐκ ἐκόλυνυ, ἡγανάκτουν δὲ, εἰ καὶ τιμήσουσιν ὡς εὐεργέτας. οἱ δὲ ἀντέλεγον μὴ χρὴναι περισφόξου ταθεὶν τῶν περισσῶν ἐς ἀσφάλειαν. ὡς δὲ τις εἴπε τὴν τούτων τιμὴν ὑβριν Καίσαρι φέρειν, οὐκ εἰὼν ἔτι τὸν τεθνεῶτα τῶν περιόντων προτιθέναι. ἔτερου δὲ ἐγκρατῶς εἰπόντος, ὅτι χρὴ δύο τῶνδε πάντως τὸ ἐτερον, ἢ Καίσαρα τύραννον προαποφαίνειν ἢ τούτους ἐς ἐλέουν περισφόξειν, τούτου μόνον δεξάμενοι τὸ λεχθὲν οἱ ἔτεροι ὑτοῦν σφίσι ψῆφον ἀναδοθῆναι. περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπὶ ὅρκῳ, καὶ εἰ καθαρῶς ἔθελουσι κρῖναι, μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεάσασται τὰ ἐς ἀνάγκης ἐνεφισμένα ἀρχοντί ἦδη, ὅν οὐδὲν ἐκόντας οὐδὲ πρὶν ἢ δεῖσαι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀνηρημένου τε Πομπηίου καὶ ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ μυρίων ἄλλων, ψηφίσασθαι.

128. 'Ο δὲ 'Ἀντώνιος ἐφορῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ
deed for the sake of reward, but claiming that they should merely be thanked as public benefactors. Still others secretly tried to get rid of the vote of thanks and thought that it would be sufficient to grant them impunity.

Such were the devices to which they resorted, trying to discover which of these courses the Senate would be inclined to accept first, hoping that after a little that body would be more easily led on by them to the other measures. The honester portion revolted at the murder as impious, but out of respect for the distinguished families of the murderers would not oppose the granting of impunity, yet they were indignant at the proposal to honour them as public benefactors. Others argued that if impunity were granted it would not be fitting to refuse the most ample means of safety. When one speaker said that honouring them would be dishonouring Caesar, it was answered that it was not permissible to prefer the interests of the dead to those of the living. Another vigorously put it in the form of a dilemma: they must either decree Caesar a tyrant or protect the murderers as an act of clemency. Caesar’s enemies seized upon this last proposition only, and asked that an opportunity be given them of expressing themselves by vote concerning the character of Caesar, under oath, stipulating that, if they voluntarily should give their unbiassed judgment, no one should invoke the gods against them for having previously voted Caesar’s decrees under compulsion—never willingly, and never until they were in fear for their own lives, after the death of Pompey and of numberless others besides Pompey.

128. When Antony, who had been looking on
CAP. έφεδρεύων, ἐπειδὴ λόγων ὑλὴν οὐκ ἀπορον οὐδὲ ἀναμφίλογον εἴδεν ἐςφερομένην, ἔγγο τὸ ἐνθύμημα αὐτῶν οἰκείω φόβῳ καὶ φροντίδι περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαχέαι. εἶδος οὖν τῶν βουλευτῶν αὐτῶν πολὺ πλήθος ἦν τὰς ἄρχας τὰς ἐν ἀστεὶ καὶ ἦς ἱερωσύνας καὶ ἔθνων ἡ στρατοπέδων ἤγεμονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἥρημένους (ὅς γὰρ ἐπὶ χρώμων στρατείαν ἐξιῶν ἐπὶ πενταετές ἤρητο), σωτὴν ὡς ὑπάτος ἐπικηρύξας ἐφη "τοῖς αὐτούσι περὶ Καίσαρος ψήφον ἀνάγκη τάδε προειδέναι, ὅτι ἄρχοντος μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰρετοῦ προστάτου γενομένου τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δεδογμένα πάντα κύρια μενεῖ, δόξαντος δ' ἐπὶ βία τυραννίσαι τὸ τε σῶμα ἀταφὸν τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεροίρεται καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα πάντα ἀκυροῦται. ἐστι δὲ, ὡς ὅρῳ περιλαβεῖν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀφικνούμενα γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν οὐδέ βουλομένοις ἥμιν ὑπακούσεται καὶ δείξω μετ' ὀλίγον. δ' ἐστὶ μόνον ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ὅτι καὶ περὶ μόνων ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, τοῦτο ἡμῖν προθήκων πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἄν ἐν τῷ εὐμαρεῖ τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν δυσχερεστέρων προλάβοιτε. ἤμεις γὰρ αὐτοὶ σχεδὸν ἀπαντεῖ οἱ μὲν ἢξαμεν ὑπὸ τῷ Καίσαρι, οὐ δὲ ἐτὶ ἄρχομεν αἰρετοὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον γενομένοι, οὐ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἄρχειν κεχειροτονημέθα: ἐς γὰρ πενταετες, ὡς ἵστε, καὶ τὰ ἀστικὰ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ ἐτήσια τὰς τῶν ἔθνων ἡ στρατοπέδων ἤγεμονίας διεσάζοτο. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ἤμεις ἐκόντες ἀποθήκευσεθε (ἐστὲ γὰρ ἤμεις τοῦδε μάλιστα κύριοι), τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ἦμας ἄξιων κρίναν: καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐποίσω." 129. Ὅ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς οὐ περ
and waiting his turn, saw that a large volume of incontestable argument was being brought forward, he resolved to make chaos of their logic by exciting personal fear and anxiety for themselves. Knowing that a great number of these very senators had been designated by Caesar for city magistracies, priestly offices, and the command of provinces and armies (for, as he was going on a long expedition, he had appointed them for five years), Antony proclaimed silence as consul and said: "Those who are asking for a vote on the character of Caesar must first know that if he was a magistrate and if he was an elected ruler of the State all his acts and decrees will remain in full force; but if it is decided that he usurped the government by violence, his body should be cast out unburied and all his acts annulled. These acts, to speak briefly, embrace the whole earth and sea, and most of them will stand whether we like them or not, as I shall presently show. Those things which alone belong to us to consider, because they concern us alone, I will suggest to you first, so that you may gain a conception of the more difficult questions from a consideration of the easier ones. Almost all of us have held office under Caesar; or do so still, having been chosen thereto by him; or will do so soon, having been designated in advance by him; for, as you know, he had disposed of the city offices, the yearly magistracies, and the command of provinces and armies for five years. If you are willing to resign these offices (for this is entirely in your power), I will put that question to you first and then I will take up the remaining ones."

129. Having lighted this kind of firebrand among
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Kaīsaros, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δαλὸν ἐξάψας ἦσὺχαζεν· οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἀνεπήδων ἀθρόοι μετὰ βοῆς, οὐκ ἀξιούντες ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις ἄλλαις οὔδ' ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ βεβαιῶς ἔχειν, ἡ ἔλαβον. τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἡλικίας τι νεώτερον ἢ ἄλλη πρὸς χειροτονίαν ἐναντίωσις ὑποῦσα ἀνηρέθιζε. καὶ τῶν ἀυτῶν οὔ παρὸς ἐξήρχε Δολοβέλλας· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ δυνατὸν ἐφαίνετο κατ' ἐννομον χειροτονίαν ὑπατεύσαι, πέντε καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐναντῶν ὄντι. ὣξεία δὴ τοῦ χθές ὑποκριναμένου μετασχείν τῶν γεγονότων ἐγίνετο μεταβολή, λοιδορομένου τοῖς πολλοῖς, εἶ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους τιμῶν ἀξιούντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας σφῶν ἀτιμώσουσιν ἐς εὐπρέπειαν τῆς ἐκείνων σωτηρίας. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τε τὸν Δολοβέλλαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιήλπιζον χάριν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου λαβόντες ἐς τάς αὐτὰς ἄρχας ἀποφαίνειν αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ ἄρχοντων ἄλληγην, ἀλλὰ μόνης ἔσεσθαι χειροτονίας ἐπὶ τὸ νομιμῶτερον ἐκ τοῦ μοναρχικοῦ· ὁ καὶ κόσμον αὐτοῖς οἴσειν ἐν τε μοναρχία καὶ δημοκρατία τὰ ὄμοια προτιμωμένοις. καὶ τούτων ἔτι λεγομένων ἐνιοῦ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὰς ἔσθήτας ἐπὶ ἑνέδρα τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ἀπετίθεντο, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὰς ἀντιληψόμενοι νομιμώτερον. τοῖς δὲ ἡ τε ἑνέδρα κατεφαίνετο, καὶ οὐδὲ κυρίους ἐτὶ τῆς τῆς χειροτονίας έσομένους ἤδεσαν.

130. Ὄδε δὲ ἐτὶ ἑχόντων, ὁ 'Αντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἐκ τοῦ θουλευτηρίου προῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοῦς ἐκ πολλοῦ συνίδραμόντες ἐκάλουν.

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them, not in reference to Caesar, but to them- selves, Antony relapsed into silence. They rose immediately en masse, and with loud clamour protested against new elections or submitting their claims to the people. They preferred to keep a firm hold on what they possessed. Some were opposed to new elections because they were not of lawful age, or from some other unavowed reason, and among these was the consul Dolabella himself, who could not legally stand for an election to that office as he was only twenty-five years old. Although he had pretended yesterday that he had a share in the conspiracy, a sudden change came over him, and now he reviled the majority for seeking to confer honour on murderers and dishonouring their own magistrates under the pretext of securing the safety of the former. Some encouraged Dolabella himself and the other magistrates to believe that they would obtain for them the same positions from the people’s gratitude without any change of officers, but simply by the more legal method of election in place of monarchical appointment, and that it would be an additional honour to them to hold the same places under the monarchy and the republic. While these speakers were still talking some of the praetors, in order to ensnare the opposing faction, laid aside their robes of office as if they were about to exchange them for a more legal title to their places, in common with the others; but the others did not fall into the trap. They knew that these men could not control the future election.

130. While affairs were proceeding thus, Antony and Lepidus went out of the Senate, having been called for by a crowd that had been assembling for
CAP. XVIII ώς δὲ ὤφθησαν ἐκ μετεώρου καὶ σιγῆ κεκραγότων μόλις ἐγίγνετο, εἰς μέν τις ἑβόησεν, εἴτε κατὰ γνώμην ἠδίαν εἴτε παρεσκευασμένος: "φυλάσσεσθε παθεῖν ὀμοία." καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτῷ παραλύσας τι τοῦ χιτωνίσκου θώρακα ἐντὸς ἐπεδείκνυεν, ὑπερεβίζων ἀρα τοὺς ὀρῶντας ὡς οὐκ ἐνὸν σῳζεσθαι χωρίς ὀπλών οὐδὲ ὑπάτως. ἐπιβολοντὸν δὲ ἐτέρων τὸ πεπραγμένον ἐπεξίεναι καὶ τῶν πλεύνων περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης παρακαλοῦντων, τοὺς μὲν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐφὶ "περὶ τοῦτον σκοπὸν, ὡς ἦσται τε καὶ γενομένη διαμενεῖ· δυσεύρετον γὰρ ἢδη τὸ ἄσφαλες αὐτῆς, ὅτι μηδὲ Καίσαρα ἤνησαν ὄρκοι τοσοίδε καὶ ἀραῖ." ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπεξίεναι παρακαλοῦντας ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπίνει μὲν ὡς εὐορκότερα καὶ εὐσεβέστερα αἱρομένους καὶ "αὐτὸς αὐ," ἔφη, "συνετασσόμεν ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πρῶτος ἐβόων, εἰ μὴ ὑπατος ἢн, ὃ τοῦ λεγομένου συμφέρειν μᾶλλον ἥ τοῦ δικαίου μέλει· ὡδε γὰρ ἡμῖν οἱ ἐνδον παραίνοσιν. οὔτω δὲ ποι καὶ Καίσαρ αὐτός, οὐς εἰλε πολέμῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, διὰ τὸ συμφέρον τῆς πόλεως περισσώσας ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανεν." 131. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ὁ Ἀντώνιον παρὰ μέρος τεχνάξοντος οἱ ἀμυνεὶν τοὺς γεγονόσιν ἀξιοῦντες Δεπίδου ἥξιον ἀμύνειν. Δεπίδου δὲ τι μέλλοντος λέγειν, οἱ πόρρω συνεστώτες κατελθεῖν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἥξιον, ἵνα ὀμαλῶς ἀπαντησεῖς ἐπακούσειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἦει, νομίζων ἢδη τὸ πλήθος τρέπεσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμβόλα παρελθὼν ἐστενε καὶ ἐκλαιεῖ ἐν περιόπτῳ μέχρι πολλοῦ, ἀνενεγκών δὲ 468
some time. When they were perceived in an elevated place, and the shouters had been with difficulty silenced, one of the mob, either of his own volition or because he was prompted, called out, "Have a care lest you suffer a like fate." Antony loosened his tunic and showed him a coat-of-mail inside, thus exciting the beholders, as though it were impossible even for consuls to be safe without arms. Some cried out that the deed must be avenged, but a greater number demanded peace. To those who called for peace Antony said, "That is what we are striving for, that it may come and be permanent, but it is hard to get security for it when so many oaths and solemnities were of no avail in the case of Caesar." Then, turning to those who demanded vengeance, he praised them as more observant of the obligations of oaths and religion, and added, "I myself would join you and would be the first to call for vengeance if I were not the consul, who must care for what is said to be for the common good rather than for what is just. So these people who are inside tell us. So Caesar himself perhaps thought when, for the good of the country, he spared those citizens whom he captured in war, and was slain by them."

131. When Antony had in this way worked upon both parties by turns, those who wanted to have vengeance on the murderers asked Lepidus to execute it. As Lepidus was about to speak those who were standing at a distance asked him to come down to the forum where all could hear him equally well. So he went directly there, thinking that the crowd was now changing its mind, and when he had taken his place on the rostra he groaned and wept in plain sight for some time. Then recovering himself, he
said, "Yesterday I stood with Caesar here, where now I am compelled to ask what you wish me to do about Caesar's murder." Many cried out, "Avenge Caesar." The hirelings shouted on the other side, "Peace for the republic." To the latter he replied, "Agreed, but what kind of a peace do you mean? By what sort of oaths shall it be confirmed? We all swore the national oaths to Caesar and we have trampled on them—we who are considered the most distinguished of the oath-takers." Then, turning to those who called for vengeance, he said, "Caesar, that truly sacred and revered man, has gone from us, but we hesitate to deprive the republic of those who still remain. Our senators," he added, "are considering these matters, and this is the opinion of the majority." They shouted again, "Avenge him yourself." "I should like to," he replied, "and my oath permits me to do it even alone, but it is not fitting that you and I alone should wish it, or alone refuse it."

132. While Lepidus was employing such devices the hirelings, who knew that he was ambitious, praised him and offered him Caesar's place as pontifex maximus. He was delighted. "Mention this to me later," he said, "if you consider me worthy of it," whereupon the hirelings, encouraged by their offer of the priesthood, insisted still more strongly on peace. "Although it is contrary to religion and law," he said, "I will do what you wish." So saying he returned to the Senate, where Dolabella had consumed all the intervening time in unseemly talk about his own office. Antony, who
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άσχημόνως. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἀναμένων ἅμα τὰ ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ γιγνόμενα, σὺν γέλωτι αὐτοῦ ἐφεώρα· καὶ γὰρ ἦσθην διαφόρω. ὡς δὲ ἄλις ἐσχε τῆς ὁφέως καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τι γεγένητο θερμότερον, τοὺς μὲν ὅν τὸν ἀνδρᾶς ἐγνω περισσάζειν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης, ἐπικρύπτων τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ὡς ἐν βαρυτάτῃ χάριτι περισσάζον, τὰ δὲ τῶν Καίσαρι πεπραγμένα κυροῦν συμβόλω καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα συντελεῖν.

133. Σιωτήν τε κατακηρύξας αὖθις ἐλεγεν· "ἐγὼ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτῶν πολιτῶν, ὁ ἀνδρὲς ὁμότιμοι, σκεπτομένοι ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐπεθεγγύμην" περὶ δὲ Καίσαρος ἀντὶ ἐκείνων ψῆφου αἰτούσιν ἐν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔργων προυθῆκα μέχρι νῦν, καὶ τοσοῦτος ἡμῖν τὸ ἐν ἀγώνας ἥγειρεν, ὅν τὸ ἀλόγως· εἰ γὰρ ἀποθησόμεθα τὰς ἀρχὰς, ὁμολογήσομεν ἀνδρὲς τοσοίδε καὶ τοιοίδε ἀναξίως αὐτῶν τετυχηκέναι. ὃσα δ’ ὅν μηδὲ ἐπακούσεται ῥαδίως, ἐπισκέψασθε νῦν αὐτὰ καὶ συναρμαθείτε κατὰ τε πόλεις καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείαι καὶ δυνάστας. πάντα γὰρ δὴ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅσα ἔξ ὕσσ ἐπὶ δύσιν ὁ Καίσαρ ἡμῖν ἐχειρώσατο δυνάμει καὶ κράτεις, συνεστήσατο, νόμοις καὶ χάρισι καὶ φιλανθρωπίαις βεβαιωσάμενος· ὦν τίνας ὑποστήσεσθαι δοκεῖτε ἀφαρουμένους, ἄ ἐλαβον, εἰ μὴ πάντα ἐμπλήσαι πολέμων ἑθέλετε, οὐ τῇ πατρίδι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτη μάλιστα οὐσὴ τοὺς ἐναγεῖς περισσάζειν ἄξιοντε; "Καὶ τὰ μὲν πορρωτέρω τοῖς τε δεινοῖς ἐτί καὶ τοῖς φόβοις ἀφεστηκότα ἑάσω· ἀ δὲ οὐκ ἄγχοι μόνον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ σύνοικα ἀνὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτήν, τοὺς τὰ νικητήρια λαβόντας καὶ κατὰ
was waiting to see what the people would do, looked at Dolabella with derision, for the two were at variance with each other. After enjoying the spectacle sufficiently and perceiving that the people had not done anything rashly, he decided, under compulsion, to extend protection to the murderers (concealing the necessity, however, and pretending to act in this way as a matter of the greatest favour), and at the same time to have Caesar’s acts ratified and his plans carried into effect by common agreement.

133. Accordingly he commanded silence again and spoke as follows: “While you, my compeers, have been considering the case of the offending citizens, I have not joined in the debate. When you called for a vote on Caesar instead of on them, I had brought forward, until this moment, only one of Caesar’s acts. This one threw you into these many present controversies, and not without reason, for if we resign our offices we shall confess that we (so many and of such high rank as we are) came by them undeservedly. Consider the matters that cannot be easily controlled by us. Reckon them up by cities and provinces, by kings and princes. Almost all of these, from the rising to the setting sun, Caesar either subdued for us by force and arms, or organised by his laws, or confirmed in their allegiance by his favours and kindness. Which of these powers do you think will consent to be deprived of what they have received, unless you mean to fill the world with new wars—you who propose to spare these wretches for the sake of your exhausted country?

“But, omitting the more distant dangers and apprehensions, we have others not only near at hand, but even of our own household throughout Italy itself—men who, after receiving the rewards of victory, are
134. "Δεομένοις γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρτόντων ἀντιπαρέθεον ἐκεῖνοι μετὰ ἀπειλῆς· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Καῖσαρος συρόμενον καὶ αἰκιζόμενον καὶ ἀταφὸν ῥιπτούμενον (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν νόμων τοῖς τυράννοις ἐπιτέτακται) περιόψεσθαι νομίζετε τοὺς ἐστρατευμένους αὐτῶ; καὶ τὰ Κελτῶν καὶ Βρεττανῶν νομεῖν, ἃ εἰλικρίνειν, ἐξειν βέβαια τοῦ δόντος ὑβριζομένου; τί δὲ τὸν ἰήμον αὐτῶν ἐργάσεσθαι; τί δὲ τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας; πόσον δὲ ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι φθόνον παρά τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν, ἐνυβρίζουσιν ἐς τὸν ὑμῖν τήν ἡγεμονίαν μέχρις ὁκεανοῦ, ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγιωστὸν προσαγόντα; καὶ οὐκ ἐν αὐτία καὶ καταγρώσει μᾶλλον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοσῆς ᾦ ἡμῶν ἀνωμαλίαν, εἰ τοὺς μὲν ὑπατον ἐν Βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἱερὸν ἄνδρα ἐν ἱερῷ χωρίῳ, Βουλῆς ἁγιαρμενής, ὑπὸ ὑφεσι θεῶν κατακα- νόντας τιμῶν ἢξιόσωμεν, ἀτιμοῦν δὲ τὸν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίωσι δὲ ἄρετὴν τίμοιν; τούτων μὲν οὐν ὡς οὔτε ὅσιών οὔτε ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ὅντων προλέγων πάμπαν ἀπέχεσθαι· γνώμην δὲ ἐσφέρω τὰ μὲν πεπραγμένα καὶ βεβουλευμένα τῷ Καῖσαρι πάντα κυροῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἀμαρτόντας ἐπαινεῖν μὲν οὐδείς τρόπῳ (οὔ γὰρ ὅσιον οὔδὲ δίκαιον, οὔδὲ σύμφωνον ἐτὶ τῷ κυροῖν τῷ Καῖσαρι πεπραγμένα), περισσότερον δὲ εἰς ἐλέους μόνον, εἰ ἐθέλοιτε, διὰ τοὺς οἰκείους αὐτῶν
here in great numbers with arms in their hands just as when on service, men assigned to colonies in their old organisation by Caesar (many thousands of whom are still in the city), and what think you they will do if they are deprived of what they have received, or expect to receive, in town and country? The past night showed you a sample.

134. "They were coursing the streets with threats against you who were supplicating in behalf of the murderers; and do you think that Caesar's fellow-soldiers will overlook his body being dragged through the streets, dishonoured, and cast out unburied? For our laws prescribe such treatment for tyrants. Will they consider the rewards they have received for their victories in Gaul and Britain secure, when he who gave them is treated with contumely? What will the Roman people themselves do? What the Italians? What ill-will of gods and men will attend you if you put ignominy upon one who advanced your dominion to shores of the ocean hitherto unknown? Will not such inconsistency on our part be rather held in reprobation and condemnation if we vote to confer honour on those who have slain a consul in the senate-house, an inviolable man in an inviolable place, in full senate, under the eyes of the gods, and if we dishonour one whom even our enemies honour for his bravery? I warn you to abstain from these proceedings as sacrilegious and beyond our power. I move that all the acts and intentions of Caesar be ratified and that the authors of the crime be by no means applauded (for that would be neither pious, nor just, nor consistent with the ratification of Caesar's acts), but be spared, if you please, as an act of clemency only, for the sake of their families and
CAP. ΧVIII kal φίλους, ei de kal tode autò oide laphbáneiv úpèr ékeínon ómologótev en xaráitos méreiv.

135. Toiaúta eipóntos toû Ἀντώνιου σὺν ἀνατάσει τε και ὄρμη βαρυτέρα, γίγνεται δόγμα, ἡσυχαζόντων ἦδη και ἀγαπώντων ἀπάντων, φόνου μὲν οὐκ εἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ τῷ Καῖσαρι, κύρια δὲ εἶναι τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ ἐγνωσμένα, “ἐπεὶ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει.” εβιάσαντο γὰρ τόδε ἐς ἀσφαλείαν οἱ τῶν περισφοξομένων οἰκεῖοι προστεθῆναι μάλιστα, ὡς οὐ δικαίως φυλασσόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ χρείαν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτοῖς ἐς τούτο ἐνέδωκεν. ἐγνωσμένων δὲ τούτων, ὅσοι τῶν κληρούχων ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν, ἡξίουν ἴδιον περὶ σφῶν ἐπὶ τῷ κοινῷ δόγμα ἐτερον γενέσθαι, βεβαιοῦν αὐτῶν τὰς κληρονομίας. καὶ οὐκ ἐκώλυεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἐπιδεικνύς τῇ βουλῇ τὸν φόβον. γίγνεται μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐτερον αὐ περὶ τῶν ἐξίοντων ἐπὶ τᾶς ἀποικίας ὁμοίων. Δεύκιον δὲ Πεύσωνα, ὅτι τὰς διαθήκας τὸν Καῖσαρ παρετίθετο, τούτοις ἦδη τὸν τρόπον τῆς βουλῆς διαλελυμένης τινὲς περιστάντες παρεκάλουν μῆτε τᾶς διαθήκας προφέρειν μῆτε θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα φανερῶς, μὴ τι νεώτερον ἐτερον ἐκ τούτων γένοιτο. καὶ οὐ πειθόμενον ἠπείλουν ἐσαγγέλλειν, ὅτι τὸν δῆμον οὐσίαν τηλικαύτην ἀφαιροῖτο γυγισμένην κοινὴν, αὖθις ἀρα ἐνσημαίνομενοι τὴν τυραννίδα.
friends, if the latter will accept it in this sense in Chap. XVIII behalf of the murderers and acknowledge it in the light of a favour."

135. When Antony had said these things with intense feeling and impetuosity, all the others remaining silent and agreeing, a decree was passed: that there should be no prosecution for the murder of Caesar, but all his acts and decrees should be confirmed, "because this policy is advantageous to the commonwealth." The friends of the murderers insisted that those last words should be added for their security, implying that Caesar's acts were confirmed as a measure of utility and not of justice; and in this matter Antony yielded to them. When this decree had been voted the leaders of the colonists who were present asked for another act special to themselves, in addition to the general one, in order to secure them in possession of their colonies. Antony did not oppose this, but rather intimidated the Senate into passing it. So this was adopted, and another like it concerning the colonists who had been already sent out. The Senate was thereupon dismissed, and a number of senators collected around Lucius Piso, whom Caesar had made the custodian of his will, and urged him not to make the will public, and not to give the body a public funeral, lest some new disturbance should arise therefrom. As he would not yield they threatened him with a public prosecution for defrauding the people of such an amount of wealth which ought to go into the public treasury; thus giving new signs that they were suspicious of a tyranny.
136. Ἐκβοήσας οὖν ὁ Πείσων ὅτι μέγιστων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐτὶ παροῦσάν ὦ τὴν βουλήν ἀξιώσας συναγαγεῖν, ἐίπεν· "οἱ τύραννοι λέγοντες ἐνα ἀνηρηκέναι τοσοίδε ἥμων ἀνθ' ἐίδος ἥδη τυραννοῦσιν οἵ θάπτειν με καλύουσι τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὰς διαθήκας ἀπειλοῦσι προφέροντι καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν δημεύουσιν αὕθις ὡς τυράννου. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτοι αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα κεκύρωται ἅ δὲ ἔφ᾽ ἐαυτῷ κατέλιπεν, ἀκυροῦσιν, οὐ Βρούτος ἔτι οὐδ᾽ οἱ κακεῖνοι ἐς τόνδε τὸν ὀλέθρον ἐκριπτίσαντες. τῆς μὲν οὖν ταφῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε κύριοι, τῶν δὲ διαθηκῶν ἐγὼ καὶ οὕποτε ἃ ἐπιστεύθην προδόσω, πρὶν καμὲ τις ἐπανέληθ. θορύβου δὲ καὶ ἀγανακτήσεως γενομένης παρὰ πάντων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τι καὶ ἐλπιζόντων ἐκ τῶν διαθηκῶν αὐτοῖς ἐσεσθαί, τάς τε διαθήκας ἐς τὸ μέσον ἐδοξὲ προφέρειν καὶ θάπτειν τῶν ἄνδρα δημοσία. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο η ὁ βουλὴ διελύθη.

137. Βρούτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γεγονότων ἐς τὸ πλῆθος περιέπεμπον καὶ παρεκάλουν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνέλθειν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. συνδραμόντων δὲ ὁξέως πολλῶν ὁ Βρούτος ἐλεγεν· "ἐνταῦθα ὑμῖν ἐντυγχάνομεν, ὡς πολίται, οἱ χθὲς κατ᾽ ἀγορὰν ἐντυχόντες, οὔτε ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγόντες (οὐ γὰρ ἤμαρτομεν) οὔτε ὡς ἐπὶ κρημνῶν, οὐ τὰ καθ᾽ ἐαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπομεν ὑμῖν. ἀλλὰ τὸ
136. Then Piso called out with a loud voice and demanded that the consuls should reconvene the senators, who were still present, which was done, and then he said: "These men who talk of having killed a tyrant are already so many tyrants over us in place of one. They forbid me to bury the Pontifex Maximus and they threaten me when I produce his will. Moreover, they intend to confiscate his property as that of a tyrant. They have ratified Caesar's acts as regards themselves, but they annul those which relate to himself. It is no longer Brutus or Cassius who do this, but those who instigated them to the murder. Of his burial you are the masters. Of his will I am, and never will I betray what has been entrusted to me unless somebody kills me also." This speech excited clamour and indignation on all sides, and especially among those who hoped that they should obtain something from the will. It was finally decreed that the will should be read in public and that Caesar should have a public funeral. Thereupon the Senate adjourned.

137. When Brutus and Cassius learned what had been done they sent messengers to the plebeians, whom they invited to come up to them at the Capitol. Presently a large number came together and Brutus addressed them as follows: "Here, citizens, we meet you, we who yesterday met together with you in the forum. We have come hither, not as taking refuge in a sanctuary (for we have done nothing wrong), nor in a citadel (for as regards our own affairs we entrust ourselves to
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. XIX

Κίννα πάθος, ὃς ὑπερτερον τε καὶ ἀλογώτερον αὐτῷ
gενόμενου, οὕτως ἦν ἄγκασεν. ἦσθόμην δὲ τῶν
ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόντων ἡμᾶς ἐς ἑπιορκίαν καὶ ἐς
αἰτίαν ἀπορίας εἰρήνης ἀσφαλοὺς. ὥ δὲ περὶ
tούτων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ἐν ὑμῖν ἔροῦμεν, ὥς πολίται,
μεθ' ὧν καὶ τάλλα δημοκρατουμένων πράξαμεν.
ἐπειδὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐπὶ τὴν
πατρίδα ἠλάσε σὺν ὁπλοὶς πολεμίοις καὶ
Πομπήιος μὲν ὁ δημοκρατικόντατος ὑμῶν ἔπαθεν,
οἷς ἐπαθεῖν, ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ πλήθος ἄλλο πολιτῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἐς τε Διβύην καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐλαυνόμενοι
dιωλώλεσαν, εἰκότως αὐτῷ δεδιότι καὶ βέβαιον
ἔχοντι τὴν τυραννίδα ἀμνηστίαν αἰτοῦντε ἐδομεν
καὶ ἀφόσαμεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ὀμνύναι
προσέταττεν οὐ τὰ παρελθόντα μόνον οἰσεῖν
ἐγκρατῶς, ἀλλὰ δουλεύεσθαι ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐκόντας,
tὸ ἀν ἐπραξαν οἱ νῦν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἡμῖν; ἐγὼ
μὲν γὰρ ὄντας γε Ῥωμαίους οἱμαὶ πολλαῖς
ἀποθανεῖν ἀν ἐλέσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ δουλεύειν ἐκόντας
ἐπὶ ὀρκῳ.

138. "Εἰ μὲν δὴ μηδὲν ἔτι ἔς δουλεύαν εἰργάζετο
ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἑπιορκήσαμεν· εἰ δὲ οὕτε τὰς ἀρχὰς
tὰς ἐν ἄστει οὕτε τὰς τῶν ἔθνων ἡγεμονίας οὕτε
στρατείας ἢ ἱερωσύνας ἢ κληρονομίας της
ἀλλα ὑμῖν ἀπέδωκεν οὐδὲ προεβουλεύεσθαι ἢ βουλῇ
ὑπὲρ οὐδενὸς οὐδ' ὁ δήμος ἐπεκύρου, ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ὁ
Καῖσαρ ἦν ἀπασίω ἐξ ἑπιτάγματος καὶ οὐδὲ κόρος
αὐτῷ τοῦ κακοῦ τὸς ἐγκήνετο, οἷος ἐγένετο Σύλλα,
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καθελὼν ἀπέδωκεν υμῖν
τὴν πολιτείαν, ὥ δ' ἐπὶ ἄλλην στρατείαν χρόνιον
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THE CIVIL WARS, BOOK II

you), but the sudden and unexpected attack made upon Cinna compelled us to do so. I know that our enemies accuse us of perjury and say that we render a lasting peace difficult. What we have to reply to these accusations we will say in your presence, citizens, with whom in this as in all other respects enjoying democratic government, we shall act. After Gaius Caesar advanced from Gaul with hostile arms against his country, and Pompey, the strongest supporters of democracy among you, suffered as he did, and after him a great number of other good citizens, who had been driven into Africa and Spain, had perished, Caesar was naturally apprehensive, although his power was firmly entrenched, and we granted him amnesty at his request and confirmed it by oath. If he had required us to swear not only to condone the past, but to be willing slaves for the future, what would our present enemies have done? For my part I think that, being Romans, they would have chosen to die many times rather than take an oath of voluntary servitude.

138. "If Caesar was doing no more against your liberty then are we perjured. But if he restored to you neither the magistracies of the city nor those of the provinces, neither the command of armies, the priestly offices, the leadership of colonies, nor any other posts of honour; if he neither consulted the Senate about anything nor asked the authority of the people, but if Caesar's command was all in all; if he was not even ever satiated with our misfortunes as Sulla was (for Sulla, when he had destroyed his enemies, restored to you the government of the commonwealth, but Caesar, as he was going away for another long military expedition, anticipated by his
CAP. ΑΠΠΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΣ ΠΕΝΤΑΕΤΕΣ ΥΜΏΝ ΤΑ ΆΡΧΑΙΡΕΣΙΑ ΠΡΟΕ- ΛΆΜΒΑΝΕ, ΠΟΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΉΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ, ΉΣ ΟΥΔΈ ΕΛΠΙΣ ΥΠΕΦΑΙΝΕΤΟ ΕΤΙ; ΤΙ ΔΕ ΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΤΆΤΑΙ ΚΑΙΝΗΣΤΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΆΡΥΛΛΟΣ; ΌΥΧ ΙΕΡΆΝ ΚΑΙ ΆΣΥΛΟΝ ΆΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΆΡΧΗΝ ΕΞΗΛΑΥΝΟΝΤΟ ΣΩΝ ΎΒΡΕΙ; ΚΑΙ Ο ΜΈΝ ΝΟΜΌΣ Ο ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΓΩΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΌΡΚΟΣ ΟΥΔΈ ΕΠΆΓΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΙΚΗΝ ΕΤΙ ΟΥΣΙ ΔΗΜΆΡΧΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΤΡΈΠΟΥΣΙΝ Ό ΔΕ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΞΗΛΆΣΕΝ, ΟΥΔΈ ΔΙΚΗΝ ΕΠΆΓΑΓΩΝ.

"ΠΌΤΕΡΟΙ ΟΥΝ ΕΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΆΣΥΛΟΥΣ ΉΜΆΡΤΑΝΟΥ; Ή ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΜΈΝ ΙΕΡΌΣ ΚΑΙ ΆΣΥΛΟΣ, ΌΤΩ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΟΥΧ ΕΚΌΝΤΕΣ, ΆΛΛ' ΎΠ' ΑΝΆΓΚΗΣ ΟΥΔΈ ΠΡΙΝ ΕΠΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΌΝ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ ΣΩΝ ΌΠΛΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΣΟΥΣΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΣΔΕ ΆΓΑΘΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ ΚΑΤΑΚΑΝΕΙΝ, ΕΘΈΜΕΘΑ; ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΔΗΜΆΡΧΩΝ ΆΡΧΗΝ ΟΥΧ ΙΕΡΆΝ ΚΑΙ ΆΣΥΛΟΝ ΟΙ ΠΑΤΈΡΕΣ ΗΜΏΝ ΕΝ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΧΩΡΊΣ ΑΝΆΓΚΗΣ ΩΜΟΣΑΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΗΡΆΣΑΝΤΟ ΕΣ ΑΓΕΙ ΕΣΕΣΘΑΙ; ΠΟΥ ΔΕ ΟΙ ΦΌΡΟΙ ΤῈΣ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΙ ΣΥΝΕΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ; ΤΙΣ Δ' ΗΜΏΝ ΑΚΌΝΤΩΝ ΉΜΟΙΓΕ ΤΑ ΤΑΜΙΕΙΑ; ΤΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΝΆΎΣΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΡΆ- ΤΩΝ ΕΚΒΈΙ ΧΡΗΜΆΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΈΡΩ ΔΗΜΆΡΧΩ ΚΩΛΥΟΝΤΙ ΘΆΝΑΤΟΝ ΉΠΈΙΛΕΙ;

"139. ἈΛΛΑ ΤῈΣ, ΦΑΣΙΝ, ΕΤΙ ΌΡΚΟΣ ΕΣ ΆΣΦΑΛΕΙΑΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ ἈΝ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ; ΕΙ ΜΈΝ ΟΥ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΗΣΕΙ ΤῈΣ, ΟΥΔΈ ΌΡΚΩΝ ΔΕΙ ΟΥΔΈ ΓΆΡ ΤΟῈΣ ΠΑΤΡΆΣΙΝ ΗΜΏΝ ΕΔΈΗΣΕΝ ΟΥΔΈΠΟΤΕ; ΕΙ Δ' ΕΠΙΘΥΜΗΣΕΙ ΤῈΣ ἈΛΛῈΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΔΟΣ, ΟΥΔΈΝ ΠΙΣΤΌΝ ΕΣΤΙ 'ΡΩΜΑΪΟΙΣ ΠΡΌΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΕΥΟΡΚΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΆΔΕ ΠΡΟΛΈΓΟΜΕΝ ΕΤΙ ΟΝΤΕΣ ΥΠΌ ΤῈΥ ΚΙΝΔΥΝῈΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΕΡΟΪΜΕΝ ΥΠΈΡ ΤῈΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΑΙΕΪ ΚΑΙ ΓΆΡ ΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΆΣΦΑΛΕΙ ΤΙΜῈ ΠΑΡΆ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ ΤῈΝ
appointments your elections for five years), what sort of freedom was this in which not a ray of hope could be any longer discerned? What shall I say of the defenders of the people, Caesetius and Marullus? Were not the holders of a sacred and inviolable office ignominiously banished? Although the law and the oath prescribed by our ancestors forbid calling the tribunes to account during their term of office, Caesar banished them even without a trial.

"Have we then, or has he, done violence to inviolable persons? Or shall Caesar indeed be sacred and inviolable, upon whom we conferred that distinction not of our own free will, but by compulsion, and not until he had invaded his country with arms and killed a great number of our noblest and best citizens, whereas our fathers in a democracy and without compulsion took an oath that the office of tribune should be sacred and inviolable, and declare with maledictions that it should remain so for ever? What has become of the public tribute during his supremacy? What of the accounts? Who opened the public treasury without our consent? Who laid hands upon part of the consecrated money? Who threatened with death another tribune who opposed him?

139. "'But what kind of oath after this will be a guarantee of peace?' they ask. If there is no tyrant there will be no need of oaths. Our fathers never needed any. If anybody else seeks to establish tyranny, no faith, no oath, will ever bind Romans to the tyrant. This we say, while still in danger; this we will continue to say for ever for our country's sake. We, who held places of honour securely in the suite of Caesar, had a higher regard for our
PATRÍDA TΗΣ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΠΡΟΕΤΙΜΗΣΑΜΕΝ. ΔΙΑΒΑΛΛΟΥΣΙ Ω ΗΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΙΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΥΧΙΑΙΣ, ΕΡΕΘΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΥΜΑΣ. ΕΙ ΔΗ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΙΣΜΕΝΩΝ Η ΟΙΚΙΣΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΠΑΡΕΣΤΕ, ΧΑΡΙΣΑΣΘΕ ΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΗΝΑΣΘΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ."

140. 'ΕΠΙΣΗΜΗΝΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ "ΕΥ ΓΕ," ΕΙΠΕΝ, "Ω ΑΝΔΡΕΣ, ΤΟΙΣ ΆΛΛΟΙΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΕ ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ. ΧΡΗ ΔΕ ΥΜΑΣ, ΤΑ ΕΙΚΟΤΑ ΤΙΜΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ, ΤΑ ΙΣΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΠΕΜΠΟΥΣΑΝ ΑΝΤΙΓΕΡΑΙΡΕΙΝ. ΥΜΑΣ ΔΕ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΘΩΚΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΚΕΛΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΟΥΣ ΤΩ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΔΕΙ ΤΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΩΝ ΤΥΧΕΙΝ. Ο ΔΕ ΥΜΑΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΌΡΚΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΛΑΒΩΝ ΕΠΗΓΑΓΕ ΜΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΜΑΛ' ΆΒΟΥΛΟΥΝΤΑΣ, ΕΠΗΓΑΓΕ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΕΣ ΔΙΒΥΨΗΝ ΟΙΚΝΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΟΜΟΙΩΣ. ΕΙ ΜΗΝ ΔΕ ΜΟΝΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΥΜΩΝ ΕΠΕΡΑΚΤΟ, ΗΔΕΙΣΘΕ ΑΛ ΙΣΩΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΑΙΤΕΙΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑ' ΕΤΕΙ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΦΘΟΝΟΣ Η ΧΡΟΝΟΣ Η ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΗ ΛΗΘΗ ΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΚΕΛΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΟΙΣ ΥΜΩΝ ΈΡΓΑ ΣΒΕΣΕΙ, ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΥΜΩΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΤΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑ. ΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΛΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΟΥ, ΟΙΚΕΙΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΆΝΔΡΩΝ Η ΑΝΑΜΑΡΤΗΤΩΝ ΟΥ ΠΟΤΕ ΓΗΝ ΑΦΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΟΥΔ' ΕΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΕΠΙΝΕΜΟΥΝ ΤΑ ΑΛΛΌΤΡΙΑ ΟΥΔ' ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕΙΝ ΆΜΕΙΒΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΙ' ΑΔΙΚΗΜΑΤΩΝ.

"ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ΟΤΕ ΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΙΕΝ, ΟΥΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΠΑΣΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ ΑΦΗΡΟΥΝΤΟ, ΆΛΛΑ ΕΜΕΡΙΖΟΝΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ, ΦΥΛΑΚΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΠΟΛΕΜΗΚΟΤΩΝ' ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΆΡΚΟΥΣΗΣ ΕΝΙΟΤΕ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΡΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΝ

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country than for our offices. They slander us about the colonies and so excite you against us. If there are any present who have been settled in colonies, or are about to be settled, you will gratify me by making yourselves known."

140. A large number did so, whereupon Brutus continued, "It is a good thing, my men, that you have done to come here with the others. You ought, since you receive due honours and bounties from your country, to give equal honour in return to her who sends you forth. The Roman people gave you to Caesar to fight against the Gauls and Britons, and your valiant deeds call for recognition and recompense. But Caesar, taking advantage of your military oath, led you against your country much against your desire. He led you against our best citizens in Africa, in like manner against your will. If this were all that you had done you would perhaps be ashamed to ask reward for such exploits, but since neither envy, nor time, nor the forgetfulness of men can extinguish the glory of your deeds in Gaul and Britain, you have the rewards due to them, such as the people gave to those who served in the army of old, yet not by taking land from unoffending fellow-citizens, nor by dividing other people's property with newcomers, nor by considering it proper to requite services by means of acts of injustice.

"When our ancestors overcame their enemies they did not take from them all their land. They shared it with them and colonized a portion of it with Roman soldiers, who were to serve as guards over the vanquished. If the conquered territory was not sufficient for the colonies, they added some of the public domain or bought other land with the public
CAP. XIX. ἔπενεμον ἡ ἐωνούντο ἑτέραιν. οὔτω μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁ δῆμος συνοκίζειν ἀλύπως ἀπασί. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Καίσαρ, οἱ σὺν ὁπλοὺς ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐμβαλόντες, ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τῇ πατρίδι φρούρων καὶ δορυφόρων δεόμενοι, οὔτε διέλυσαν ὑμᾶς ἐς τὰς πατρίδας, οὔτε γῆν ὑμῖν ἐωνούντο ἡ τὴν τῶν δεδημευμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐπένεμον, οὔτε τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀφαιρουμένοις ἐς παρηγορίαν ἐδίδοσαν, πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ταμειῶν ἔχουσες, πολλὰ δὲ ἑκ τῶν δεδημευμένων, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὐδὲν ἀμαρτοῦσαν οὐδὲ ἢδικοῦσαν πολέμου νόμῳ καὶ ληστηρίου νόμῳ τὴν τε γῆν ἄφηροντο καὶ οἰκίας καὶ τάφους καὶ ιερά, ὅν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους πολεμίους ἄφηρομεθα, ἀλλὰ δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνῃν καρπῶν ἐπετάσσομεν.

141. "Οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὡμοεθνῶν διένεμον, τῶν ἐπὶ Κελτοὺς ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάντων καὶ προπεμψάντων καὶ εὐξαμένων πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων νικητηρίων. καὶ συνοκίζων ὑμᾶς ἐς ταύτα ἀθρόους ὑπὸ σημείου καὶ συντάξει στρατιωτικῇ, μήτε εἰρηνεύειν δυναμένους μήτε ἄδειας ἐναι τῶν ἐξελαθέντων· ο γὰρ ἀλώμενος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἄφηρημένος ἔμελλεν ὑμῖν περιπολῶν ἐφεδρεύειν καιροφυλακῶν. τούτῳ δὴ ἦν, ὅπερ οἱ τύραννοι μάλιστα ἐβούλουστο, οὐ γῆν ὑμᾶς λαβεῖν, ἦν δὴ καὶ ἐτέρωθεν ἐξέχων παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως ἔχθρους ἐφεδρεύοντας ἔχουτε ἀεὶ βέβαιοι φύλακες ἢτε τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ταύτα ὑμῖν συναδικούσης· εὖ νοια γὰρ ἐς τυράννους γίγνεται.
money. In this way the people established you in colonies without harm to anybody. But Sulla and Caesar, who invaded their country like a foreign land, and needed guards and garrisons against their own country, did not dismiss you to your homes, nor buy land for you, nor divide among you the property of citizens which they confiscated, nor did they make compensation for the relief of those who were despoiled, although those who despoiled them had plenty of money from the treasury and plenty from confiscated estates. By the law of war,—nay, by the practice of robbery,—they took from Italians who had committed no offence, who had done no wrong, their land and houses, tombs and temples, which we were not accustomed to take away even from foreign enemies, but merely to impose on them a tenth of their produce by way of tax.

141. "They divided among you the property of your own people, the very men who sent you with Caesar to the Gallic war, and who offered up their prayers at your festival of victory. They colonized you in that way collectively, under your standards and in your military organization, so that you could neither enjoy peace nor be free from fear of those whom you displaced. The man who was driven out and deprived of his goods was sure to be watching his opportunity to step into your shoes. This was the very thing that the tyrants sought to accomplish,—not to provide you with land, which they could have obtained for you elsewhere; but that you, because always beset by lurking enemies, might be the firm bulwark of a government that was committing wrongs in common with you. A common interest between tyrants and their satellites grows out of
CAP. XIX

dορυφόρον ἐκ τοῦ συναδικείν καὶ συνδεδείναι. καὶ
tοῦτο, ὃ θεοί, συνοικισμοῦ ἐκάλουν, ὃ θρήνος
ὁμοφύλων ἄνδρῶν ἐπὶ καὶ ἀνάστασις οὐδὲν
ἀδικοῦντων.

"Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐξεπέτηδες ἔχθροὺς
ἐποίουν τοῖς ὁμοεθνείσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ σφετέρου συμ-
φέροντος. ἦμείς δὲ, οὖς οἱ νῦν τῆς πατρίδος
προστάται φασίν ἐλέω περισσοῖς, τὴν τέ γῆν
ὑμῖν τῆν ἀυτὴν ἐσσαει βεβαιοῦμεν καὶ βεβαιώ-
σομεν καὶ μάρτυρα τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ποιούμεθα.
καὶ ἔχετε καὶ ἔχετε, ἀ εἰλήφατε καὶ οὐ μή τις
ὑμᾶς ἀφέληται ταύτα, οὐ Βροῦτος, οὐ Κάσσιος,
οὐχ οἴδε πάντες, οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐλευθερίας
προεκινδυνεύσαμεν. ἦ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ μόνον ἐστὶν
ἐπίμεμπτον, ἰασόμεθα ἦμείς, διαλακτήριον ὑμῖν
ἀμα ἐσ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς ἐσόμενον καὶ ἠδιστὸν ἡδη
πυθομένοις. οἷς τὴν τιμὴν τῆς τῆς γῆς τοῖς
ἀφηρημένοις ἦμείς ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων
ἐνθὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἀφορμῆς ἀποδόσαμεν, ὡν μὴ
βέβαιον ἔχετε μόνον ὑμεῖς τὴν κληρούχιαν, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ ἄφθονον."

142. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Βροῦτον λέγοντος ἀκροώμενοι
τε ἐτί πάντες καὶ διαλυόμενοι κατὰ σφάς ἐπῆνοιν
ὡς δικαίωτα, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὃς ἀκαταπλήκ-
tους δὴ καὶ μάλιστα φιλοδήμους ἐν θαύματι
ἐποιούντο, καὶ ἐς εὑροιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετετίθεντο
καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ἐμελλον.
ἀμα δὲ ἤμερα οἱ μὲν ὑπατοι τὸ πλ.θος ἐς ἐκκλη-
sίαν συνεκάλουν, καὶ ἁνεγινώσκετο αὐτοῖς τὰ
δόξαντα, καὶ Κικέρων πολὺ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐγκώ-
μον ἐπέλεγεν οἱ δὲ ἡδόμενοι κατεκάλουν ἐκ τοῦ
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common crimes and common fears. And this, ye gods, they called colonization, which was crowned by the lamentations of a kindred people and the expulsion of innocent men from their homes.

“They purposely made you enemies to your countrymen for their own advantage. We, the defenders of the republic, to whom our opponents say they grant safety out of pity, confirm this very same land to you and will confirm it for ever; and to this promise we call to witness the god of this temple. You have and shall keep what you have received. No man assuredly shall take it from you, neither Brutus, nor Cassius, nor any of us who have incurred danger for your freedom. The one thing which is faulty in this business we will remedy, and that remedy will at once reconcile you with your fellow-countrymen and prove most agreeable to them as soon as they hear of it. We shall at once pay them out of the public money the price of this land of which they have been deprived; so that not only shall your colony be secure, but it shall not even be exposed to hatred.”

142. While Brutus was still speaking in this sort, and as the assembly dissolved, his discourse was approved by all as being entirely just. He and his associates were admired as men of intrepidity, and as peculiarly the friends of the people. The latter were once more favourably inclined toward them, and promised to co-operate with them on the following day. At daybreak the consuls called the people to an assembly and communicated to them the decisions of the Senate, and Cicero pronounced a long encomium on the decree of amnesty. The people were delighted with it and invited Cassius and his friends to
ιεροῦ τοῦ ἁμφί τοῦ Κάσσιον. καὶ οἶδε ἀναπέμπειν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοσῷ δὴ ὡμηρὰ ἐκέλευον, καὶ ἀνεπήμπτοντο οἱ παῖδες Ἀυτωνίου τε καὶ Δεπίδου.

ὁ φθέντων δὲ τῶν ἁμφὶ τὸν Βρούτον κρότος ἦν καὶ βοὴ, καὶ τῶν ἐπάτων εἰπεῖν τι βουλομένων οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοι δεξιόσασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ συναλλαγῆμα πρότερον ἐκέλευον. καὶ γίγνεται μὲν οὕτω, καὶ διεσέίτο μᾶλιστα τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἡ γνώμη ὑπὸ δέους ἢ φθόνου, ὡς τῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς ὑπεροισοῦντων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ.

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143. Διαθήκαι δὲ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁφθησαν εἰρημέναι, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὰς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκέλευον ἀναγινώσκειν. θετὸς μὲν δὴ τῷ Καίσαρι παῖς ἐγίγνετο ἐν αὐταῖς ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς θυγατριδοῦς Ὀκτάουιος, τῷ δὴ δήμῳ δὲ ἦσαν εὐδιαίτημα οἱ κύποι δεδομένοι καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα Ρωμαίοι τῶν ὑπατῶν ἔτι ἐν ἄστει πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα Ἀττικαὶ δραχμαί. καὶ ὑπεσαλεύετο ἀθίς ἐς ὀργήν ὁ δήμος, τυράννων μὲν κατηγορίας προπετυμένοι, διαθήκας δὲ φιλοπόλιδος ἄνδρος ὀρῶντες. οἴκτιστον δὲ ἐφάνη μᾶλιστα αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τῶν ἄνδροφόνων Δέκμος ὁ Βρούτος ἐν τοῖς δευτέροις κληρονόμοις ἐγέραττο παῖς· ἐδος γὰρ τι Ρωμαίοις παραγράφειν τοῖς κληρονόμοις ἐτέρους, εἰ μὴ κληρονομότες οἱ πρότεροι. ἐφ' ὧ δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον συνεταράσσοντο καὶ δεινόν καὶ ἀθέμιστον ἡγούντο καὶ Δέκμον ἐπιβουλεῦσαι Καίσαρι, παῖδα 490
come down from the Capitol. The latter asked that hostages be sent to them in the meantime, and, accordingly, the sons of Antony and Lepidus were sent. When Brutus and his associates made their appearance they were received with shouts and applause, and when the consuls desired to say something the people would not allow them to do so, but demanded that they should first shake hands with these men and make peace with them, and this was done. The minds of the consuls were much disturbed by fear or envy, for they thought that the conspirators might get the upper hand of them in other political matters.

XX

143. Caesar's will was now produced and the people ordered that it be read at once. In it Octavian, the grandson of his sister, was adopted by Caesar. His gardens were given to the people as a place of recreation, and to every Roman still living in the city he gave seventy-five Attic drachmas. The people were again somewhat stirred to anger when they saw the will of this lover of his country, whom they had before heard accused of tyranny. Most of all did it seem pitiful to them that Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers, should have been named by him for adoption in the second degree; for it was customary for the Romans to name alternate heirs in case of the failure of the first. Whereupon there was still greater disturbance among the people, who considered it shocking and sacrilegious that Decimus should have conspired against Caesar when he had
CAP. αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Πείσωνος τὸ σῶμα φέροντος ἐς τὴν ἁγορὰν πλῆθος τε ἀπειρον ἐς φρουρὰν συνέδραμον σὺν ὁπλοῖς, καὶ μετὰ βοής καὶ πομπῆς δαψίλους ἐπὶ τὰ ἐμβολα προντεθή, οἰμωγή τε καὶ θρήνος ἦν αὕτης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ τὰ ὁπλα ἐπατάγουν οἱ ὠπλισμένοι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τῆς ἀμυνστίας ἐγένοντο. καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ὁ δὲ έχοντας ἰδὼν οὐ μεθήκεν, ἀλλὰ ἥρμενευν εἰπεῖν τὸν ἐπιτάφιον οία ὑπάτος ὑπάτου καὶ φίλος φίλου καὶ συγγενῆς συγγενοῦς (ἤν γὰρ δὴ Καίσαρι κατὰ μητέρα συγγενῆς) ἐτέχναζεν αὕτης καὶ ἐλεγεν ὅδε.

144. "Οὐκ ἄξιον, ὥς πολίται, τοσοῦτο ἄνδρός ἐπιτάφιον ἐπαινοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον, ἐνὸς ὄντος, ἢ παρὰ τῆς πατρίδος ὅλης αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. ὅσα δὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀγάμενοι πάντες ὁμάλως, ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ μετὰ αὐτῆς ὁ δήμος, ἔτι περιόντι ἐγείρσασθε, ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐκ Ἀντώνιον τάδε φωνήν εἶναι τιθέμενος ἀναγνώσομαι." καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ σοβαρῷ καὶ σκυ- θρωπῷ, τῇ φωνῇ δὲ ἐνσημαυνόμενος ἐκαστα καὶ ἐφιστάμενος, οἷς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι ἐξεθείαζον, ίερὸν καὶ ἁσυλλο ή πατέρα πατρίδος ἡ ἐνεργείην ἡ προστάτην οἴον οὐχ ἐτερον ὁμομᾶ- ξοντες. ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὴν ὅψιν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐσ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιστρέφων ἐν παραβολῇ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐργον ἐπεδείκνυ. ἐπεφθέγγετο δὲ ποῦ τι καὶ βραχὺ ἐκάστῳ, μεμημεμένοι οἴκτω καὶ ἀγανακτίσει, ἐνθαμὲν τὸ ψηφίσμα εὐποι 'πατέρα πατρίδος,' ἐπι- λέγων: "τοῦτο ἐπίεικείας ἐστὶ μαρτυρία," ἐνθα 492
been adopted as his son. When Piso brought Caesar's body into the forum a countless multitude ran together with arms to guard it, and with acclamations and magnificent pageantry placed it on the rostra. Wailing and lamentation were renewed for a long time, the armed men clashed their shields, and gradually they began to repent themselves of the amnesty. Antony, seeing how things were going, did not abandon his purpose, but, having been chosen to deliver the funeral oration, as a consul for a consul, a friend for a friend, a relative for a relative (for he was related to Caesar on his mother's side), resumed his artful design, and spoke as follows:—

144. “It is not fitting, citizens, that the funeral oration of so great a man should be pronounced by me alone, but rather by his whole country. The decrees which all of us, in equal admiration of his merit, voted to him while he was alive—the Senate and the people acting together—I will read, so that I may voice your sentiments rather than my own.” Then he began to read with a severe and gloomy countenance, pronouncing each sentence distinctly and dwelling especially on those decrees which declared Caesar to be superhuman, sacred, and, inviolable, and which named him the father, or the benefactor, or the peerless protector of his country. With each decree Antony turned his face and his hand toward Caesar's corpse, illustrating his discourse by his action, and at each appellation he added some brief remark full of grief and indignation; as, for example, where the decree spoke of Caesar as 'the father of his country' he added "this was a testimonial of his clemency"; and again, where he was made 'sacred and inviolable' and 'everybody else
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δ' ἦν 'ιερὸς καὶ ἄσυλος' καὶ 'ἀπαθὴς καὶ ὅστις αὐτῷ καὶ ἑτερος προσφύγοι, "οὐχ ἑτερος," ἐφη, "τῶδε προσφεύγων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὡμῶν ὁ ἄσυλος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνήρτηται, οὐ βιωσάμενος οἷα τύραννος λαβεῖν τάσδε τὰς τιμὰς, ἃς οὔδε ἦτησεν. ἀνε-λευθερώτατοι δὲ ἅρα ἡμεῖς, οὔ τοι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὔδε ἄιτούσι δίδομεν. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἡμῶν ὑπεραπο-λογεῖσθε ὠς οὐκ ἀνελευθέρων, ὁ πιστὸς πολίται, τοιαύτη καὶ νῦν πρὸς τεθνεῶτα χρώμενοι τιμή."

145. Καὶ αὐθεὶς ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς ὅρκους, ἢ μὴν φυλάξειν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸ Καίσαρος σῶμα παντὶ σθένει πάντας ἢ, εἰ τις ἐπιβουλεύσειν, ἐξώλεις εἶναι τοὺς ο_wheel TAV AII νὰπ τὸ τὸς ἀμύνατας αὐτῷ. ἐφ' ὅτω δὴ μάλιστα τὴν φωνὴν ἐπιτείνας καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἡς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνασχών, "ἐγὼ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὁ θεὸς πάρτι καὶ θεοὶ, ἐτοιμὸς ἁμύνειν ὡς ὁμοσα καὶ ἡρασάμην ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις δοκεῖ συνοίσειν τὰ ἐγνωσμένα, συνενεγκεῖν εὐχομαι." θορύβου δ' ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἔπι τῶδε μάλιστα προφανῶς ἐς αὐτὴν εἰρημένω γενομένω, ἐπικατα-ψήχων αὐτὴν ὁ 'Ἀντώνιος καὶ παλινωδῶς ἐφη· "ἐουίκεν, δ' πολίται, τὰ γεγενημένα ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐδενὸς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δαιμόνων ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ χρὴ τὸ παρὸν σκοπεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ γεγενημένον, ὡς ἐν ἀκμῇ μεγάλων ἐστὶν κινδύνου ἡμῶν τὰ μέλλοντα ἢ τὰ ὄντα μὴ ἐς τὰς προτέρας στάσεις ὑπαχθῶμεν καὶ ἐκτριφθῆ πᾶν, ὁ τὶ λοιπὸν ἐστὶν εὐγενείς τῇ πόλει. προπέμπωμεν οὖν τὸν ἱερὸν τόνδε ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐδαίμονας, τὸν νεομιμημένον ὅμων αὐτῷ καὶ θρήνον ἐπάδονες," 494
was to be held unharmed who should find refuge with him'—"Nobody," said Antony, "who found refuge with him was harmed, but he, whom you declared sacred and inviolable, was killed, although he did not extort these honours from you as a tyrant, and did not even ask for them. Most lacking the spirit of free men are we if we give such honours to the unworthy who do not ask for them. But you, faithful citizens, vindicate us from this charge of lacking the spirit of free men by paying such honours as you now pay to the dead."

145. Antony resumed his reading and recited the oaths by which all were pledged to guard Caesar and Caesar's body with all their strength, and all were devoted to perdition who should not avenge him against any conspiracy. Here, lifting up his voice and extending his hand toward the Capitol, he exclaimed, "Jupiter, guardian of this city, and ye other gods, I stand ready to avenge him as I have sworn and vowed, but since those who are of equal rank with me have considered the decree of amnesty beneficial, I pray that it may prove so." A commotion arose among the senators in consequence of this exclamation, which seemed to have special reference to them. So Antony soothed them again and recanted, saying, "It seems to me, fellow-citizens, that this deed is not the work of human beings, but of some evil spirit. It becomes us to consider the present rather than the past, since the greatest danger approaches, if it is not already here, lest we be drawn into our former civil commotions and lose whatever remains of noble birth in the city. Let us then conduct this sacred one to the abode of the blest, chanting over him our accustomed hymn and lamentation."
CAP. 146. Τοιάδε εἶπὼν τὴν ἐσθήτα οἷά τις ἔνθους ἀνεσύρατο, καὶ περίξωσάμενος ἐς τὸ τῶν χειρῶν εὑκολον, τὸ λέχος ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνής περιέστη κατακύπττων τε ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνίσχων, πρῶτα μὲν ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον ὤμεν καὶ ἐς πίστιν θεοῦ γενέσεως τὰς χειρὰς ἀνέτεινεν, ἐπιλέγων ὁμοῦ σὺν δρόμῳ φωνῆς πολέμους αὐτῶν καὶ μάχας καὶ νίκας καὶ ἑθυν, ὅσα προσποιῆσει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ λάφυρα, ὅσα πέμψειεν, ἐν θαύματι αὐτῶν ἕκαστα ποιούμενος καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπιβοῶν: "μόνος ὥς ἀήττητος ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐς χειρὰς αὐτῶ συνελθότων. σὺ δ', ἔφη, "καὶ μόνος ἐκ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν υβρισμένη τῇ πατρίδι ἐπήμυνας, ἄγρια ἑθυν τὰ μόνα ἐς 'Ρώμην ἐμβαλόντα καὶ μόνα ἐμπρήσαντα αὐτὴν ἐς γόνυ βαλὼν." πολλά τε ἄλλα ἐπιθειάσας τὴν φωνὴν ἐς τὸ θρηνῶδες ἐκ τοῦ λαμπροτέρου μετεποίει καὶ ὡς φίλον ἀδίκα παθόντα ὀδύρετο καὶ ἐκλαίει καὶ ἱράτου τὴν ἔαυτον ψυχὴν ἐθέλειν ἀντιδοῦναι τῆς Καίσαρος.

Εὐφορώτατα δὲ ἐς τὸ πάθος ἐκφερόμενος τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγύμνων καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐπὶ κοντοῦ φερομένην ἀνέσειε, λελακισμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ πεφυμένην αὐματὶ αὐτοκράτορος. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ δήμος οἶα χορὸς αὐτῷ πενθιμωτάτα συνωδύρετο καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πάθους αὐθίς ὀργῆς ἐνεπίμπλατο. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐτεροὶ θρήνοι μετὰ ἀδήσης κατὰ πάτριον ἔθος ὑπὸ χορῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἠδοντο καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐθίς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος κατέλεγον καὶ ποῦ τῶν θρήνων αὐτὸς ὁ Καίσαρ 496
146. Having spoken thus, he gathered up his garments like one inspired, girded himself so that he might have the free use of his hands, took his position in front of the bier as in a play, bending down to it and rising again, and first hymned him as a celestial deity, raising his hands to heaven in order to testify to Caesar's divine birth. At the same time with rapid speech he recited his wars, his battles, his victories, the nations he had brought under his country's sway, and the spoils he had sent home, extolling each exploit as miraculous, and all the time exclaiming, "Thou alone hast come forth unvanquished from all the battles thou hast fought. Thou alone hast avenged thy country of the outrage put upon it 300 years ago, bringing to their knees those savage tribes, the only ones that ever broke into and burned the city of Rome." Many other things Antony said in a kind of divine frenzy, and then lowered his voice from its high pitch to a sorrowful tone, and mourned and wept as for a friend who had suffered unjustly, and solemnly vowed that he was willing to give his own life in exchange for Caesar's.

Carried away by an easy transition to extreme passion he uncovered the body of Caesar, lifted his robe on the point of a spear and shook it aloft, pierced with dagger-thrusts and red with the dictator's blood. Whereupon the people, like a chorus in a play, mourned with him in the most sorrowful manner, and from sorrow became filled again with anger. After the discourse other lamentations were chanted with funeral music according to the national custom, by the people in chorus, to the dead; and his deeds and his sad fate were again recited. Somewhere from the midst of these lamentations Caesar
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147. Ωδε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐχοσίων ἦδη καὶ χειρῶν ἐγγὺς οὖσιν ἀνέσχε τις ὑπὲρ τὸ λέχος ἀνδρείκελον αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκ κηροῦ πεποιημένου· τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα, ὡς ὑπεικ ἐπὶ λέχους, οὐχ ἐωρᾶτο. τὸ δὲ ἀνδρείκελον ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπεστρέφετο πάντη, καὶ σφαγαί τρεῖς καὶ εἰκοσιν ὀφθησαν ἀνὰ τε τὸ σῶμα πᾶν καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ πρόσωπον θηριωδῶς ἐς αὐτὸν γενόμεναι. τίνδε οὖν τὴν ὄψιν ὁ δῆμος οἰκτίστην σφίσι φανεῖσαν οὐκέτι ἐνεγκὼν ἀνώμωξάν τε καὶ διαζώσαμεν τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἔνθα ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνήρτετο, κατέφλεξαν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους ἐκφυγόντας πρὸ πολλοῦ περιθέοντες ἐξητούν, οὐτω δὴ μανιωδῶς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς τε καὶ λύπης, ὡστε τὸν δημαρχοῦντα Κίνναν ἐξ ὀμονυμίας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κίννα, τοῦ δημηγορῆσαντος ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρί, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενοί τε περὶ τῆς ὀμονυμίας οὐδ' ἀκούσαι, διεσπασαν θηριωδῶς, καὶ οὐδὲν

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himself was supposed to speak, recounting by name his enemies on whom he had conferred benefits, and of the murderers themselves exclaiming, as it were in amazement, "Oh that I should have spared these men to slay me!" The people could endure it no longer. It seemed to them monstrous that all the murderers who, with the single exception of Decimus Brutus, had been made prisoners while belonging to the faction of Pompey, and who, instead of being punished, had been advanced by Caesar to the magistracies of Rome and to the command of provinces and armies, should have conspired against him; and that Decimus should have been deemed by him worthy of adoption as his son.

147. While they were in this temper and were already near to violence, somebody raised above the bier an image of Caesar himself made of wax. The body itself, as it lay on its back on the couch, could not be seen. The image was turned round and round by a mechanical device, showing the twenty-three wounds in all parts of the body and on the face, that had been dealt to him so brutally. The people could no longer bear the pitiful sight presented to them. They groaned, and, girding up their loins, they burned the senate-chamber where Caesar was slain, and ran hither and thither searching for the murderers, who had fled some time previously. They were so mad with rage and grief that meeting the tribune Cinna, on account of his similarity of name to the praetor Cinna who had made a speech against Caesar, not waiting to hear any explanation about the similarity of name, they tore him in pieces.

1 A quotation from the Latin poet Pacuvius. Suetonius gives the original;

"Men' servasse, ut essent qui me perderent."
CAP. αὐτοῦ μέρος ἐς ταφὴν εὑρέθη. πῦρ δ’ ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων οἰκίας ἐφερον, καὶ καρτερῶς αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων τε ἀμυνομένων καὶ τῶν γειτοῖνων δεομένων τού μὲν πυρὸς ἀπέσχοιτο, ὅπλα δ’ ἦπεὶλησαν ἐς τὴν ἐπιούσαν οἶσειν.

148. Καὶ οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς ἐξέφυγον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαλαβόντες, ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐπὶ τὸ λέχος τοῦ Καύσαρος ἐπανελθόν ἐφερον αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς εὐαγίς θάψαι τε ἐν ἰερῷ καὶ μετὰ θεῶν θέσθαι. κωλυόμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐς τὴν ἄγοραν αὐθίς ἔθεσαν, ἔνθα τὸ πάλαι Ῥωμαίοις ἐστὶ βασίλειον, καὶ ξύλα αὐτῷ καὶ βάθρα, ὅσα πολλὰ ἦν ἐν ἄγορᾷ, καὶ εἰ τι τοιουτότροπον ἄλλο συνενεγκόντες, καὶ τὴν πομπὴν δαψιλεστάτην οὕσαν ἐπιβαλόντες, στεφάνους τε ἐνιοὺ παρ’ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀριστεία πολλὰ ἐπιθέντες, ἐξῆγαν καὶ τὴν νῦκτα πανδημεὶ τῇ πυρᾷ παρέμενον, ἔνθα βωμὸς πρώτος ἔτεθη, νῦν δ’ ἐστὶ νεὼς αὐτοῦ Καύσαρος, θείων τιμῶν ἄξιομένου. ὁ γὰρ τοι θετὸς αὐτῷ παῖς Ὀκτάοιος, τὸ τε ὄνομα ἐς τὸν Καύσαρα μεταβαλὼν καὶ κατ’ ἱχνος ἐκείνου τῇ πολιτείᾳ προσιόν, τὴν τε ἄρχῃ τὴν ἐπικρατούσαν ἐτί νῦν, ἐρριξωμένην ὑπ’ ἐκείνου, μειζονὸς ἐκρατύνατο καὶ τὸν πατέρα τιμῶν ἵσοθέων ἥξιωσεν· ὅν δὴ καὶ νῦν, ἕξ ἐκείνου πρώτον, Ῥωμαίοι τὸν ἐκάστοτε τὴν ἄρχῃ τῇνδε ἄρχοντα, ἣν μὴ τὺχῃ τυραννικὸς ὁν ἥ ἐπίμεμπτος, ἀποθανόντα ἥξιούσιν, οἱ πρότερον οὐδὲ περίοντας αὐτοὺς ἐφερον καλεῖν βασιλέας.

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like wild beasts so that no part of him was ever found for burial. They carried fire to the houses of the other murderers, but the domestics valiantly fought them off and the neighbours besought them to desist. So the people abstained from the use of fire, but they threatened to come back with arms on the following day.

148. The murderers fled from the city secretly. The people returned to Caesar's bier and bore it as a consecrated thing to the Capitol in order to bury it in the temple and place it among the gods. Being prevented from doing so by the priests, they placed it again in the forum where stands the ancient palace of the kings of Rome. There they collected together pieces of wood and benches, of which there were many in the forum, and anything else they could find of that sort, for a funeral pile, throwing on it the adornments of the procession, some of which were very costly. Some of them cast their own crowns upon it and many military gifts. Then they set fire to it, and the entire people remained by the funeral pile throughout the night. There an altar was first erected, but now there stands the temple of Caesar himself, as he was deemed worthy of divine honours; for Octavian, his son by adoption, who took the name of Caesar, and, following in his footsteps in political matters, greatly strengthened the government which was founded by Caesar, and remains to this day, decreed divine honours to his father. From this example the Romans now pay like honours to each emperor at his death if he has not reigned in a tyrannical manner or made himself odious, although at first they could not bear to call them kings even while alive.
CAP. 149. Οὔτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καῖσαρ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν ἡμέραις αἰς καλοῦσιν εἰδοῖς Μαρτίαις, Ἀνθε- στρεφόντος μάλιστα μέσου, ἦν τινα ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ὁ μάντις οὐ περιοίσειν προύλεγεν: ὁ δὲ ἐπι- σκόπτων αὐτοῦ ἐφη περὶ τὴν ἕω, “πάρεισιν αἰ eἰδοῖ.” καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν καταπλαγεῖσά ἀπεκρίνατο: “ἀλλὰ οὐ παρεληλύθασιν,” ὁ δὲ καὶ τοιώδε γραμμένων αὐτὸς σὺν τοσῷδε τοῦ μάντεως θύρῃ γενομένων καὶ σημείῶν ὑπὲρ ὑπερὶῶν προῆλθε καὶ ἐτελεύτησε: ἐτῶς ἄγων ἐκτὸν ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, ἄνηρ ἐπιτυχεστατος ἐς πάντα καὶ δαιμόνιος καὶ μεγαλοπρῶγων καὶ εἰκότως ἔξομοιομενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. ἀμφο γὰρ ἐγενέσθην φιλοτιμοτάτω τε πάντων καὶ πολεμι- κωτάτῳ καὶ τὰ δόξαντα ἐπελθεῖν ταχυτάτῳ πρὸς τε κινδύνους παραβολωτάτῳ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀφειστήτῳ καὶ οὗ στρατηγία πεποιθότε μᾶλλον Ἦ τόλμῃ καὶ τύχῃ. ὅν ὁ μὲν ἀνυδρόν τε πολλήν ἐς Ἀμμωνος ὀδευεν ὀφρα καύματος, καὶ τὸν Παμ- φύλιον κόλπον τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνακοπείσης διέ- τρεχε δαιμόνιως, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος αὐτῷ τοῦ δαί- μονος κατέχοντος, ἐστε παρέλθοι, καὶ καθ’ ὁδὸν ὀδεύοντι ὕπνοτος. ἀπλῶτον τε θαλάσσης ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀπεπείρασε, καὶ ἐπὶ κλίμακα πρῶτος ἀνέβη καὶ ἐς πολεμίων τείχος ἐσθλατο μόνος καὶ τρισκαίδεκα τραύματα ὑπέστη. καὶ ἀκτ- τητος αἰεὶ γενομένος ἐν ἕ σκεδῶν ἢ δύο ἔργοις
149. So died Gaius Caesar on the Ides of March, which correspond nearly with the middle of the Greek month Anthesterion, which day the soothsayer predicted that he should not survive. Caesar jokingly said to him early in the morning, “Well, the Ides have come,” and the latter, nothing daunted, answered, “But not gone.” Despising such prophecies, uttered with so much confidence by the soothsayer, and other prodigies that I have previously mentioned, Caesar went on his way and met his death, being fifty-six years of age, a man most fortunate in all things, superhuman, of grand designs, and fit to be compared with Alexander. Both were men of the greatest ambition, both were most skilled in the art of war, most rapid in executing their decisions, most reckless of danger, least sparing of themselves, and relying as much on audacity and luck as on military skill. Alexander made a long journey through the desert in the hot season to visit the oracle of Ammon and crossed the Gulf of Pamphylia beating back a head sea most fortunately, for his good fortune restrained the waves for him until he had passed over, and sent him rain on his journey by land. On his way to India he ventured upon an unknown sea. Once he was the first to ascend the scaling ladders and leaped over the wall among his enemies alone, and in this condition received thirteen wounds. Yet he was never defeated, and he finished almost every war in one or two battles. He conquered

1 Mommsen maintains, contrary to the testimony of Suetonius, Plutarch, and Appian, that Caesar was fifty-eight instead of fifty-six years old at the time of his death.
CAP. έκαστον πόλεμον ἐξήνυσε, τῆς μὲν Ἑυρώπης πολλὰ βάρβαρα ἐλῶν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα χειρωσάμενος, δυσαρκτότατον ἔθνος καὶ φιλελεύθερον καὶ οὐδενὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πλὴν Φιλίππω κατ’ εὐπρέπειαι ἐς ἡγεμονίαν πολέμου δόξασαν ὑπακούειν ἐπὶ ὀλόγον; τὴν δὲ Ἀσίαν σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ὅλην ἐτέ δραμε. καὶ ὡς λόγῳ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχην καὶ δύναμιν εἰπεῖν, ὅσην εἴδε γῆν, ἐκτῆσατο καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἐνθυμούμενος τε καὶ διανοούμενος ἀπέθανε.

150. Καῖσαρι δὲ ἡ τε Ἰόνιος θάλασσα εἰς, χειμῶνος μέσον πλωτῆ καὶ εὐδίος γεγομένη, καὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον ὀκεανὸν ἐπὶ Βρεττανοὺς διέπλευσεν οὕτω γεγομένον ἐν πείρᾳ, κρημνοῖς τε τῶν Βρεττανῶν τοὺς κυβερνήτας ἐποκελλουντας ἐκέλευε τὰς ναῦς περιαγμύναι. καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον κλύδωνα μόνος ἐν σκάφει σμικρῷ νυκτὸς ἐβιάζετο καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐκέλευε προχέαι τὰ ἱστία καὶ θαρρεῖν τῇ Καῖσαρος τύχη μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἐς τε πολεμίους προεπίδησε μόνος ἐκ πάντων δεδιότων πολλάκις, καὶ τριακοστάκις αὐτός ἐν Κελτῶς μόνοις παρετάξατο, μέχρι τετρακόσια αὐτῶν ἐξειρώσατο ἔθνη, οὕτω δὴ τὶ Ἑρμαῖοις ἐπίφοβα, ὡς νόμῳ τῷ περὶ ἀστρατείας ἱερέων καὶ γερόντων ἐγγραφῆναι ἐπὶ ἧν εἰ μὴ Κελτικὸς πόλεμος ἐπίοι. τότε δὲ καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἱερέας στρατεύεσθαι. περὶ τε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολεμὸν καὶ ἀποληφθεῖς ἐπὶ γεφύρας μόνος καὶ κακοπαθῶν τὴν πορφύραν ἀπέρριψε καὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξῆλατο καὶ ξητούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῷ μυχῷ διευήχετο λαυθάνων ἐπὶ πολὺ, μόνην ἐκ διαστήματος ἀνίσχων τὴν ἀναπνοῆν, μέχρι φίλια νη
many foreign nations in Europe and made himself master of Greece, a people hard to control, fond of freedom, who boasted that they had never obeyed anybody before him, except Philip for a little while under the guise of his leadership in war; and he also overran almost the whole of Asia. To sum up Alexander's fortune and power in a word, he acquired as much of the earth as he had seen, and died while he was considering and devising means to capture the rest.

150. So too the Adriatic Sea yielded to Caesar, becoming navigable and quiet in mid-winter. He also crossed the western ocean to Britain, which had never been attempted before, and he ordered his pilots to break their ships in pieces by running them on the rocks of the British coast. He was exposed to the violence of another tempest when alone in a small boat by night, and he ordered the pilot to spread his sails and to keep in mind Caesar's fortune rather than the waves of the sea. He often dashed against the enemy single-handed when all others were afraid. He fought thirty pitched battles in Gaul alone, where he conquered forty nations so formidable to the Romans previously that in the law which exempted priests and old men from military enrolment a formal exception was made 'in case of a Gallic inroad'; for then both priests and old men were required to serve. Once in the course of the Alexandrian war, when he was left alone on a bridge in extreme peril, he threw off his purple garment, leaped into the sea, and, being sought by the enemy, swam under water a long distance, coming to the surface only at intervals to take breath, until he...
CAP. προσπελάσας ὥρεξε τὰς χείρας καὶ έαυτὸν ἔδειξε καὶ περιεσώθη.

'Ες δὲ τὰ ἐμφύλια τάδε ἤ διὰ δέος, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, ἢ ἀρχής ἐπιθυμία συμπεσών, στρατηγοίς τοῖς καθ' ἀυτὸν ἀρίστοις συνηνέχθη καὶ στρατοῖς πολλοῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις, οὐ βαρ-βάρων ἐτί, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀκμαζόντων μάλιστα εὐπραξίας καὶ τύχαις· καὶ ἀπάντων ἔκρατησε, διὰ μιᾶς καὶ ὁδὲ πείρας ἐκάστων ἤ διὰ δύο, οὐ μὴν ἀηττήτου καθάπερ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ γενομένου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἦττοντο λαμπρῶς, ὃθ' ἡ μεγάλη σφάς συμφορὰ κατέλαβε Κόττα καὶ Τιτυρίου στρατηγούντων, καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Πετρήνος αὐτοῦς καὶ Ἀφράνιος συνέκλεισαν οἷα πολιορκομένους, ἐν τῇ Δυρραχίῳ καὶ Λιβύη λαμπρῶς ἐφευρότατος καὶ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Πομπήιον τοῦ νέου κατεπλάγησαν. ὁ δὲ Καϊσαρ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀκατάπληκτος καὶ ἐς παντὸς πολέμου τέλος ἀηττήτους· τὴν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἱσχύν, γῆς ἤδη καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκ δύσεων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην κρατοῦσαν, ἐχειρώσατο βία καὶ φιλανθρωπία πολὺ βεβαιότερον καὶ πολὺ ἐγκρατέστερον Σύλλα βασιλέα τοῦ αὐτὸν ὑπέφηνεν ἀκόντων, εἰ καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν οὐκ ἐδέχετο· καὶ πολέμους ἄλλους καὶ ὁδὲ διανοούμενος ἀνηρέθη.

151. Συνέβη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ὀμοίως πρόθυμα μὲν ἐς ἄμφος καὶ μετὰ εὐνοίας γενέσθαι καὶ ἐς μάχας θηριώδεσιν ἑοικότα, δυσπεθῆ δὲ πολλάκις ἐκατέρω καὶ πολύσταστα διὰ τοὺς πόνους. ἀποθανόντας γε μὴν ὀμοίως ὕδυραντο καὶ ἐπεπόθησαν καὶ θείων τιμῶν ἥξιόσαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα εὐφυεῖς.
came near a friendly ship, when he stretched out his hands and made himself known, and was saved.

In these civil wars, in which he engaged either through apprehension, as he says, or ambition, he was brought in conflict with the first generals of the age and with many large armies, not now of barbarians, but of Romans in the highest state of efficiency and good fortune, and, like Alexander, he overcame them all by one or two engagements with each. His forces, however, were not, like Alexander's, always victorious, for they were defeated by the Gauls most disastrously under the command of his lieutenants, Cotta and Titurius; and in Spain Petreius and Afranius shut them up like an army besieged. At Dyrrachium and in Africa they were put to flight, and in Spain they were terrified by the younger Pompeius. But Caesar himself was always undaunted and was victorious at the end of every war. He grasped, partly by force, partly by goodwill, the Roman power which ruled the earth and sea from the setting sun to the river Euphrates, and held it much more firmly and strongly than Sulla had done, and he showed himself to be a king in spite of opposition, even though he did not accept the title. And, like Alexander, he expired while planning new wars.

151. Their armies were equally zealous and devoted to both, and in battles they fought with the greatest ferocity, but were often disobedient and mutinous on account of the severity of their tasks. Yet they equally mourned and longed for their commanders when they were dead, and paid them divine honours. Both were well-formed and handsome in
CAP. XXI

ἀμφω καὶ καλοὶ. καὶ τὸ γένος ἐκ Δίως ἠστήν ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν Αἰακίδης τε καὶ Ὁρακλείδης, ὁ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀγχύσου τε καὶ Ἀφροδίτης. φιλονικότεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐξερήσουσιν ὄντες ταχύτατοι πρὸς διαλύσεις ἦσαν καὶ συγγνώμονες τοῖς ἀλούσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ συγγνώμῃ καὶ εὐεργέται καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ κρατήσαι μόνον ἐνθυμοῦμενοι.

Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτον συγκεκρίσθω, καίπερ ὅμως ἐκ ἄσης δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν ὀρμήσαντος αὐτῶν ἐκατέρω, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἐκ Βασιλείας ἡσκημένης ὑπὸ Φιλίππω, τοῦ δ' ἐξ ἰδιωτείας, εὐγενοῦς μὲν καὶ περιφανοῦς, χρημάτων δὲ πάνυ ἐνδεός.

152. Ἡγένοντο δὲ καὶ σημείων τῶν ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐκάτερος ὑπερόπτης καὶ τοϊς μάντεσι τῇ τελευτῇ προειποῦσιν ὄμως ἐχαλάτησιν, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτὰ ὦμοιὰ τε πολλάκις καὶ ἐς τὸ ὦμοιον ἁμφοῖν συνηνεχθῆ ἐγένετο γὰρ ἐκατέρω διὸς ἀλοβᾶ, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα κίνδυνον σφαλερὸν ὑπέδειξεν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις, ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τεῖχος ἀναβάντι πρὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τῆς κλάμακος συντριβείσης ἀποληφθέντι τε ἄνω, καὶ υπὸ τόλμης ἐς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξαλομένῳ καὶ πληγέντι τὰ στέρνα χαλέπως καὶ ἐς τὸν τράχηλον ὑπέρῳ βαρυτάτῳ, καὶ πιπτοῦντι ἥδη καὶ περισσώθεντι μόλις υπὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναρρηξάντων τὰς πύλας ὑπὸ δέους, Καίσαρι δὲ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, τοῦ στρατοῦ περιφόβου τε ὄντος ἐπὶ Πομπηίῳ τῷ νέῳ καὶ ὀκνοῦντος ἐς μάχην ἴέναι, προδραμόντι πάντων ἐς τὸ μεταίχμιον καὶ διακόσια ἀναδεξαμένῳ δόρατα ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα, μέχρι 508
person, and both were descended from Jupiter, Alexander through Aeacus and Hercules, Caesar through Anchises and Venus. Both were as prompt to fight their adversaries as they were ready to make peace and grant pardon to the vanquished, and after pardon to confer benefits; for they desired only to conquer.

Thus far let the parallel hold good, although they did not both start toward empire from the same footing; Alexander from the monarchy founded by Philip, Caesar from a private station, being indeed well born and illustrious but wholly without wealth.

152. Both of them despised the prodigies relating to themselves, but they did not deal harshly with the soothsayers who predicted their death; for more than once the very same prodigies confronted both, pointing to the same end. Twice in the case of each the victims were without a lobe to the liver, and the first time it indicated a dangerous risk. It happened to Alexander when he was among the Oxydracae and while he was leading his Macedonians in scaling the enemy's wall. The ladder broke, leaving him alone on the top. Taking counsel of his courage, he leaped inside the town against his enemies, and was struck severely in the breast and on the neck by a very heavy club, so that he fell down, and was rescued with difficulty by the Macedonians, who broke down the gates in their alarm for him. It happened to Caesar in Spain while his army was in great fear of the younger Pompeius, and hesitated to join battle. Caesar dashed in advance of all into the space between the armies, and received 200 darts on his shield until
CAP. XXI

καὶ τόνδε ὁ στρατὸς ἐπιδραμὼν ὑπὸ αἴδους καὶ φόβου περιέσωσεν. οὕτω μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ πρῶτα ἄλοβα ἐς κίνδυνον ἤλθε τανάτου, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ ἐς τὸν τάνατον αὐτῶν. Πειθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὁ μίντις Ἀπολλοδώρῳ δεδοικότι Ἀλέξανδρὸν τε καὶ Ἡφαιστίωνα θυώμενος ἐπιμελεῖ ἡ δεδηνέα, ἐκποιοῦν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτικά ἔσεσθαι καὶ τελευτήσαντος εὐθύς Ἡφαιστίωνος ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἔδεισε, μὴ τις ἐπιβουλῇ γένοιτο κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐξήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὰ μαντεύματα. ὁ δὲ ἐπιμελεῖσαι καὶ Πειθαγόραν αὐτῶν ἔρετο, ὁ τυ λέγοι τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ δὲ ἐπόντος, ὅτι τὰ ὑστατά λέγει, αὕθιος ἐπιμελεῖσαι καὶ ἐπῆνεσεν ὁμοὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος τε τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τὸν μάντιν τῆς παρρησίας.

153. Καίσαρι δ' ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν βουλευτήριον ἐσίστητι, καθά μοι πρὸ βραχεός εἰρήται, τὰ αὐτὰ σημεῖα γίγνεται καὶ χλευάσας ἐφη τοιαύτα οἱ καὶ περὶ Ἰβηρίαν γεγονέναι. τοῦ δὲ μάντεως εἰπόντος καὶ τότε αὐτῶν κινδυνεύσαι καὶ νῦν ἐπιθανατώτερον ἔχειν τὸ σημεῖον, ἐνδοὺς τι πρὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἔθυετο ὁμοὶ αὕθιος, μέχρι βραδυνόντων αὐτῶ τῶν ἱερῶν δυσχεράνασ ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἀνηρέθη. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρῳ συνεπεσεν. ἐπανιόντα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰνῶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πλησιάζοντα ἢδη παρεκάλουν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὴν εὐσοδὸν ἐπισχεῖν ἐν τῷ παρῷτι. τοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἱαμβείου εἰπόντος, ὅτι "μᾶντις ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς," δεύτερα γοῦν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι παρεκάλουν μὴ ἐς δύσιν ὅρωτα μετὰ

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his army, moved by shame and fear for his safety, rushed forward and rescued him. Thus in the case of each the first inauspicious victims presaged danger of death; the second presaged death itself. As Peithagoras, the soothsayer, was inspecting the entrails, he told Apollodorus, who was in fear of Alexander and Hephestion, not to be afraid of them, because they would both be out of the way very soon. Hephestion died immediately, and Apollodorus, being apprehensive lest some conspiracy might exist against Alexander, communicated the prophecy to him. Alexander smiled, and asked Peithagoras himself what the prodigy meant. When the latter replied that it meant fatality, he smiled again. Nevertheless, he commended Apollodorus for his good-will and the soothsayer for his freedom of speech.

153. As Caesar was entering the Senate for the last time, as I have shortly before related, the same omens were observed, but he said, jestingly, that the same thing had happened to him in Spain. When the soothsayer replied that he was in danger then too, and that the omen was now more deadly, he yielded somewhat to the warning and sacrificed again, and continued to do so until he became vexed with the priests for delaying him, and went in and was murdered. The same kind of thing happened to Alexander. As he was returning from India to Babylon with his army, and was nearing the latter place, the Chaldeans urged him to postpone his entrance for the present. He replied with the iambic verse, “He is the best prophet who can guess right.”

1 A fragment of Euripides.
CAP. XXI

τῆς στρατιάς ἐσελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιοδεύσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν λαβεῖν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνύσχοντα. ὁ δὲ ἐσ
tοῦτῳ μὲν ἐνδούναι λέγεται καὶ ἐπιχειρῆσαι
περιοδεύσαι, λίμνῃ δὲ καὶ ἔλει δυσχεραίνων
καταφρονῆσαι καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου μαντεύματος καὶ
ἐσελθεῖν ἐς δύσιν ὅρῶν. ἐσελθὼν γε μὴν καὶ
πλέων κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ ποταμὸν
Παλλακότταν, ὃς τὸν Εὐφράτην ὑπολαμβάνων
ἐς ἐλη καὶ λίμνας ἐκφέρει καὶ κωλύει
τὴν Ἀσυρίδα γῆν ἄρδειν,—ἐπινοοῦντα δὴ
tοῦτον διατείχισαι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο
ἐκπλέοντα φασίν ἐπιτωθάσαι τοῖς Χαλδαίοις, ὅτι
σῶσι ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἑσέλθοι τε καὶ ἐκπλέοι.
ἐμελλε δ' ἐπανελθὼν αὐτίκα ἐν αὐτῇ τεθνήσεσθαι.
ἐπετώθασε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ὁμοία. τοῦ γὰρ
μάντεως αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευτῆς προει-
pόντος, ὅτι μὴ περιοίσει τὰς Μαρτίας εἴδους,
ἐλθούσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἔφη, τὸν μᾶντιν χλενάζων,
ὅτι πάρεσιν αἱ εἰδοῖ καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ὁμοὺς ἀπέ-
θανεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ καὶ σημεῖα τὰ περὶ σφῶν
ἐξελύσασαν ὁμοίως, καὶ τοῖς προειπούσιν αὐτὰ
μάντεσιν οὐκ ἐχαλέπηναν, καὶ ἐάλωσαν ὁμοὺς ὑπὸ
tῶν λόγω τῶν μαντευμάτων.

154. Ἐγένωτο δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς,
τῆς τε πατρίου καὶ Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ξένης, φιλο-
καλοὶ, τὰ μὲν Ἰνδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἑξετάζων τοὺς
Βραχμάνας, οὗ δοκοῦσιν Ἰνδῶν εἶναι μετεωρο-
λόγοι τε καὶ σοφοὶ καθὰ Περσῶν οἱ Μάγοι,
march his army into the city while looking toward the setting sun, but to go around and enter facing the east. It is said that he yielded to this suggestion and started to go around, but being impeded by a lake and marshy ground, he disregarded this second prophecy also, and entered the city looking toward the west. Not long after entering he went down the Euphrates in a boat to the river Pallacotta, which takes its water from the Euphrates and carries it away in marshes and ponds and thus hinders the irrigation of the Assyrian country. While he was considering how he should dam this stream, and while he was sailing out to it for this purpose, it is said that he jeered at the Chaldeans because he had gone into Babylon and sailed out of it safely. But yet the moment he returned back to it he was to die. Caesar jeered at the prophecies in like manner, for the soothsayer predicted the day of his death, saying that he should not survive the Ides of March, and when the day came Caesar mocked him, saying, "The Ides have come"; and yet the same day he died. Thus both alike made light of the prophecies concerning themselves, and were not angry at the soothsayers who uttered them, and yet they became the victims of the prophecies.  

154. Both were students of the science and arts of their own country, of Greece, and of foreign nations. As to those of India, Alexander interrogated the Brahmins who seem to be the astronomers and learned men of that country, like the Magi among the  

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1 Apparently a metaphor from the law-courts; "the sentence of the prophecies was duly carried out."

2 ἐπιστήμην τῆς ἀρετῆς: literally, "the science of excellence," which is by no means clear. [Should we not read ἄστρικης "astronomy"?]
CAP. ΧΧΙ. τὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡτε ἐν Αἰγυπτῳ γενόμενος καθίστατο Κλεοπάτραν. ὅθεν ἀρα καὶ τῶν εἰρηνικῶν πολλὰ 'Ῥωμαίοις διωρθώσατο καὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνώμαλον ἐτὶ ὠντα διὰ τοὺς ἔσθ' ὁτε μὴνας ἐμβολίμους (κατὰ γὰρ σελήνην αὐτοὺς ἦριθμείτο) ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου δρόμον μετέβαλεν, ὡς ἦγον Αἰγυπτίου. συνέβη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπιβουλευσάντων μηδένα διαιφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδὶ ἔσυναί δίκην ἄξιαν, καθάπερ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τοὺς Φιλπποὺς ἀνελόντας. ὅπως δὲ ἔδωσαν, αἱ ἔξης βιβλίοι δεικνύοντο.
Persians. Caesar likewise interrogated the Egyptians while he was there restoring Cleopatra to the throne, by which means he made many improvements among the peaceful arts for the Romans. He changed the calendar, which was still in disorder by reason of the intercalary months till then in use, for the Romans reckoned the year by the moon. Caesar changed it to the sun's course, as the Egyptians reckoned it.\(^1\)

It happened in his case that not one of the conspirators against him escaped, but all were brought to condign punishment by his adopted son, just as the murderers of Philip were by Alexander. How they were punished the succeeding books will show.

\(^1\) Caesar also, at this time, changed the beginning of the year from the first of March to the first of January, because the latter was the date for changing the supreme magistrates.
Γ

1. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ Γάιος Καίσαρ πλείστου Ὄρωμαίοις ἄξιος ἐσ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἀνήρητο καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμον τέθαπτο, ἀπάντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν σφαγέων δίκην δόντων, ὡπόσοι οἱ περιφανέστατοι μάλιστα ἔδοσαν, ἦδε ἡ βίβλος καὶ ἡ μετὰ τήν ἐπίδειξιν, ἐπιλαμβάνουσα καὶ ὥσα ἄλλα Ὄρωμαίοις ἐμφύλια ἐσ ἀλλήλους ἐγίγνετο ὀμοῦ.

2. Ἀυτῶν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ δὲ αἰτίας εἶχεν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιταφίοις τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος ἐρεθίσθη ὑπερεῖδε τῆς ἀρτι ἐπεψηφισμένης ἀμυνστίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων σὺν πυρὶ ἔδραμον· ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν χαλεπαίνουσαν ἐνὶ τούτῳ πολιτεύματι ἐσ εὕνοιαν ἑαυτοῦ μετέβαλεν. Ἄρματος ἦν ὁ Ψευδομάριος· Μαρίον γὰρ ὑπεκρίνετο νῦνος εἶναι καὶ διὰ Μάριον ὑπερήφασκε τῷ δήμῳ. γεγυνόμενος οὖν κατὰ τήν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν συγγενής τῷ Καίσαρι, ὑπερήληγε μάλιστα αὐτοῦ τεθνεῶτος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπωκοδόμη τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ χεῖρα θραυστέρων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε καὶ φοβηρὸς ἦν ἀεὶ τοῖς σφαγεύσιν· ὡς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διεπεφεύγεσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὥσιν παρ' αὐτοῦ.
1. Thus was Gaius Caesar, who had been foremost in extending the Roman sway, slain by his enemies and buried by the people. All of his murderers were brought to punishment. How the most distinguished of them were punished this book and the next one will show, and the other civil wars waged by the Romans will likewise be included in them.

2. The Senate blamed Antony for his funeral oration over Caesar, by which, chiefly, the people were incited to disregard the decree of amnesty lately passed, and to scour the city in order to fire the houses of the murderers. But he changed it from bad to good feeling toward himself by one capital stroke of policy. There was a certain pseudo-Marius in Rome named Amatius. He pretended to be a grandson of Marius, and for this reason was very popular with the masses. Being, according to this pretence, a relative of Caesar, he was pained beyond measure by the latter's death, and erected an altar on the site of his funeral pyre. He collected a band of reckless men and make himself a perpetual terror to the murderers. Some of these had fled from the city, and those who had accepted the command of

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Καίσαρος εἰλήφεσαν ἡγεμονίας ἑθνῶν, ἀπεληλύθεσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡγεμονίας, Βροῦτος μὲν ὁ Δέκμος ἐς τὴν ὀμορφὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας Κελτικῆν, Τρεβῶνιος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν περὶ Ἰωνίαν, Τύλλιος δὲ Κύμβερ ἐς Βιβυνίαν. Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος ὁ Μάρκος, ὃν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τῇ Βουλῇ διέφερεν, ἦρημο τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὸ μέλλον ἐτὸς ἡγεμονεύειν, Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος καὶ Μακεδονίας ὁ Βροῦτος, ἐτὶ δὲ ὀντες ἀστικοὶ στρατηγοὶ... ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ διατάγμασιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς κληρούχους ἑθεράπευσαν, ὥσις τε ἄλλοις ἐπενόησαν, καὶ τὰ κληρουχήματα συγχωροῦντες αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν, τοῦ νόμου κωλύοντος ἐντὸς εἰκοσὶ ἑτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι.

3. Τούτοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀμάτιος, ὅτε συντύχοι, καὶ ἐνεδρέεσθε εὐλέγετο. τῷ δὲ οὗν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἐνέδρας ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιβαίνων οἱ ὑπάτοις συλλαμβάνει καὶ κτείνει τὸν Ἀματίον χωρίς δίκης, μάλα θρασεός καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τὸ μὲν έργον ἐθαύμαζεν ός μέγα καὶ παράνομον, τὴν δὲ χρείαν αὐτοῦ προσεποίησαν ἢδιστα: ὡς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ποτὲ χωρίς τοιάσδε τόλμης ἀσφαλῆ τὰ κατὰ Βροῦτον καὶ Κάσσιον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀματίου στασιῶσαται καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δήμος ἐπ' ἐκείνους πόθῳ τε τοῦ Ἀματίου καὶ ἀγανακτήσας τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτὸ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπεπράξαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τιμῶμενος, οὐκ ἤξιον σφῶν καταφρονεῖν τὴν ἀγορὰν ὅλῳ καταλαβόντες ἐβόων καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφήμουν καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκέλευσον ἀντὶ Ἀματίου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκθέσαν καὶ δύνει ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Καίσαρι πρῶτος. ἐξελαυνό.
provinces from Caesar himself had gone away to take charge of the same, Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul, Trebonius to Western Asia Minor, and Tillius Cimber to Bithynia. Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who were the special favourites of the Senate, had also been chosen by Caesar as governors for the following year, the former of Syria, and the latter of Macedonia. But being still city praetors, they [remained at Rome]\(^1\) necessarily, and in their official capacity they conciliated the colonists by various decrees, and among others by one enabling them to sell their allotments, the law hitherto forbidding the alienation of the land till the end of twenty years.

3. It was said that Amatius was only waiting an opportunity to entrap Brutus and Cassius. On this rumour, Antony, making capital out of the plot, and using his consular authority, arrested Amatius and boldly put him to death without a trial. The senators were astonished at this deed as an act of violence and contrary to law, but they readily condoned its expediency, because they thought that the situation of Brutus and Cassius would never be safe without such boldness. The followers of Amatius, and the plebeians generally, missing Amatius and feeling indignation at the deed, and especially because it had been done by Antony, whom the people had honoured, determined that they would not be scorned in that way. With shouts they took possession of the forum, exclaiming violently against Antony, and called on the magistrates to dedicate the altar in place of Amatius, and to offer the first sacrifices on it to Caesar. Having

\(^1\) The verb is missing.
CAP. μενοὶ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιπεμφθέντων ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον τῇ ἡγανάκτουν καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν καὶ ἐδρασ ἐνιοὶ τῶν Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντων ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἀνηρμέμεναν. ὡς δὲ τις αὐτοῖς ἤφη καὶ τὸ ἐργαστήριον, ἐνθα οἱ ἀνδριάντες ἀνεσκευάζοντο, δείξειν, εὐθὺς ἐξποντο καὶ ἱδόντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἐς ἐτέρων ἐπιπεμφθέντων ἐς Ἀντωνίου ἀμυνόμενοι τῇ ἀνηρέθησαν ἐνιοὶ καὶ συλληφθέντες ἐτεροὶ ἐκρεμώθησαν, ὡςοι θεράπουντες ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐλεύθεροι κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ κατερρίφθησαν.

4. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τάραχος ἐπέπαυτο, μύσος δὲ ἀρρητὸν ἐξ ἀρρήτου εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγγεγρητο. ἡ βουλὴ δ' ἔχαριον ὡς οὐκ ἄν ἐτέρως ἐν ἅδεει περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Βροῦτον γενόμενοι. ὡς δὲ καὶ Σέξτον Πομπῆίον ὁ Ἀντώνιος, τὸν Πομπηίου Μάγνου περιποθῆτον πᾶσιν ἔτι ὄντος, εἰσηγηθατο καλεῖν ἐξ 'Ἰβηρίας, πολεμούμενου ἔτι πρὸς τῶν Καίσαρος στρατηγῶν, ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὐσίας δεδημευμένης ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτῷ δοθῆναι μυριάδας Ἀττικῶν δραχμῶν πεντακισχιλίας, εἶναι δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶν ἦδη τῆς θαλάσσης, καθὼς ἤν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν αὐτίκα ταῖς πανταχὸς χρῆσαι εἰς τὰ ἐπείγοντα, θαυμάζουσα ἔκαστα ἡ βουλὴ μετὰ προθυμίας ἔξεδέχετο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔπι ὅλην εὐφήμουν ἡμέραν. οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει Μάγνου γενέσθαι δημοκρατικότερος, θευν οὐδὲ περιποθήτοτερος ἦν. οἱ τε Κάσσιος καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος, ἐκ τῆς στάσεως ὄντες τῆς Μάγνου καὶ πᾶσι τότε τιμιοτάτῳ, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐδόκουν ἔξειν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ τὴν γνώμην ὑπὸ ἐπεπράχθεσαν ἐγκρατή, 522
been driven out of the forum by soldiers sent by chap. Antony, they became still more indignant, and vociferated more loudly, and some of them showed places where Caesar's statues had been torn from their pedestals. One man told them that he could show the shop where the statues were being broken up. The others followed, and having witnessed the fact, they set fire to the place. Finally, Antony sent more soldiers and some of those who resisted were killed, others were captured, and of these the slaves were crucified and the freemen thrown over the Tarpeian rock.

4. So this tumult was quieted; but the extreme fondness of the plebeians for Antony was turned into extreme hatred. The Senate was delighted, because it believed that it could not rest secure otherwise about Brutus and his associates. Antony also moved that Sextus Pompeius (the son of Pompey the Great, who was still much beloved by all) should be recalled from Spain, where he was still attacked by Caesar's lieutenants, and that he should be paid 50 millions of Attic drachmas out of the public treasury for his father's confiscated property and be appointed commander of the sea, as his father had been, with charge of all the Roman ships, wherever situated, which were needed for immediate service. The astonished Senate accepted each of these decrees with alacrity and applauded Antony the whole day; for nobody, in their estimation, was more devoted to the republic than the elder Pompey, and hence nobody was more regretted. Cassius and Brutus, who were of Pompey's faction, and most honoured by all at that time, thought that they would be entirely safe. They thought that what
καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τέλος ἐπάξεσθαι, τῆς μοίρας σφῶν ἀνισχούσης. ἀ καὶ Κικέρων συνεχῶς ἐπάνει τῶν Ἀντώνιον καὶ ἡ βουλή συγγνώσκουσα αὐτῷ διὰ σφᾶς ἐπίβουλεύοντα τὸν δήμον ἔδωκε φρουράν περιστήσασθαι περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἐκ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων καὶ ἐπιδημούντων εὖαυτῷ καταλέγοντα.

5. Ὅ δε, εἴτε εἰς τούτο αὐτὸ πάντα πεπραχῶς εἴτε τὴν συντυχίαν ὡς εὐχρηστὸν ἀσπασάμενος τὴν φρουράν κατέλεγεν, αἱεὶ προστίθεις μέχρι ἐς ἐξακισχίλιους, οὖκ ἐκ τῶν γινομένων ὅπλιτῶν, οὐς εὐμαρῶς ἄν ἐν ταῖς χρείαις ζῆτο ἐξειν καὶ ἐτέρωθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντας λοχαγοὺς ὡς ἡγεμονικοὺς τε καὶ ἐμπειροπολέμους καὶ οἱ γυνώριμους ἐκ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ὑπὸ Καῖσαρι ταξιάρχους δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πρέποντα κόσμουν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐπιστήσας ἤγεν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φανερῶν βουλευμάτων. ὡ δὲ βουλὴ τὸ τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπίλεξιν ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ τιθέμενοι συνεβούλευσαν τὴν φρουρὰν ὡς ἐπίφθονον ἐς τὸ ἄρκοιν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. ὡ δὲ ὑπισχυεῖτο ποιήσειν, ὅταν σβέσῃ τοῦ δήμου τὸ παράχοδες. ἐψηφισμένων δ’ εἶναι κύρια, ὅσα Καῖσαρ πέπρακτο τε καὶ γενέσθαι βεβούλευτο, τὰ ὑπομνήματα τῶν βεβουλευμένων ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἔχων καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ Καῖσαρος Φαβέριον ἐς πάντα οἱ πειθόμενοι, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰ τοιάδε αἰτήματα ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔξιων ἀνετίθετο, πολλὰ ἐς πολλῶν χάριν προσετίθει καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο πόλεσι
they had done would be confirmed, and the republic be at last restored, and their party successful. Wherefore Cicero praised Antony continually, and the Senate, perceiving that the plebeians were making plots against him on its account, allowed him a guard for his personal safety, chosen by himself from the veterans who were sojourning in the city.

5. Antony, either because he had done everything for this very purpose, or seizing the happy chance as very useful to him, enlisted his guard and kept adding to it till it amounted to 6000 men. They were not common soldiers. He thought that he should easily get the latter when he needed them otherwise. These were composed wholly of centurions, as being fit for command, and of long experience in war, and his own acquaintances through his service under Caesar. He appointed tribunes over them, chosen from their own number and adorned with military decoration, and these he held in honour and made sharers of such of his plans as he made known. The Senate began to be suspicious of the number of his guards, and of his care in choosing them, and advised him to reduce them to a moderate number so as to avoid invidious remarks. He promised to do so as soon as the disorder among the plebeians should be quieted. It had been decreed that all the things done by Caesar, and all that he intended to do, should be ratified. The memoranda of Caesar’s intentions were in Antony’s possession, and Caesar’s secretary, Faberius, was obedient to him in every way since Caesar himself, on the point of his departure, had placed all petitions of this kind in Antony’s discretion. Antony made many additions in order to secure the favour of many persons. He
CAP. καὶ δυνάσταις καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ φρουροῖς: καὶ ἐπεγράφετο μὲν πάσι τὰ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, τὴν δὲ χαίρειν ὦι λαβόντες ἦδεσαν Ἀντώνιον τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ ἔστὶ τὸ βουλευτῆριον πολλοὺς κατέλεγε καὶ ἄλλα τῇ βουλῇ δι' ἀρεσκείας ἐπρασσέν, ὦνα μὴ φθοροῖεν ἐτί τῆς φρουρᾶς.

6. Καὶ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, ὦ δὲ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος, οὐτὲ τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἐξεστρατευμένων εἰρηναίον φανέντος, οὐτὲ τὴν ἐνέδραν Ἀματίου καὶ παρ’ ἐτέρῳ ἀν αὐτοῖς ἀδύνατον ἡγούμενοι γενέσθαι, οὐτὲ τὸ ποικίλον Ἀντώνιον φέροντες ἀφόβως, ἦδη καὶ στρατιὰν ἔχοντος, οὐτὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν βεβαιομένην ἐργοὺς ὀρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστὸ τοῦ ὑφορόμενον τὸν Ἀντώνιον, Δέκμῳ μάλιστα ἐπεποίθεσαν, ἔχοντι ἐν πλευραῖς τρία τέλη στρατοῦ, καὶ πρὸς Τρεβῶνιον ἐς τὴν Ἄσιαν καὶ πρὸς Τίλλιον ἐς Βιθυνίαν κρύφα ἐπεμπὼν χρήματα ἅγειρειν ἀφανῶς καὶ στρατὸν περιβλέπεσθαι. αὐτοὶ τε ἡπείγοντο τῶν δεδομένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἑθνῶν λαβέσθαι. τοῦ χρόνου δὲ οὗτω συγχωροῦντος αὐτοῖς, ἀπρεπὲς ἡγούμενοι, τὴν ἐν ἀστεὶ στρατηγίαιν προλιπόντες ἀτελῆ, δόξαν ὑποπτὸν φιλαρχίας ἑθνῶν ἐνέγκασθαι, ἤροντο ὁμως ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τὸ ἐν μέσῳ διάστημα διατρίψασι ποι μᾶλλον ἰδιωτεύοντες ἢ ἐν ἀστεὶ στρατηγεῖν, οὕτῃ ἀφόβως ἔχοντες οὐτε τὰ εἰκότα ἐφ’ οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεπράχεσαν τιμῶμενοι. οὕτω δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐχοσιν ἡ βουλὴ συνειδοῦ ἢ 526
made gifts to cities, to princes, and to his own guards, and although all were advised that these were Caesar's memoranda, yet the recipients knew that the favour was due to Antony. In the same way he enrolled many new names in the list of senators and did many other things to please the Senate, in order that it might not bear him ill-will in reference to his guards.

6. While Antony was busy with these matters, Brutus and Cassius, seeing nobody among either the plebeians or the veterans inclined to be at peace with them, and considering that any other person might lay plots against them like that of Amatius, became distrustful of the fickleness of Antony, who now had an army under his command, and seeing that the republic, too, was not confirmed by deeds, they suspected Antony for that reason also; and so they reposed most confidence in Decimus Brutus, who had three legions near by, and also sent secretly to Trebonius in Asia and to Tillius in Bithynia, asking them to collect money quietly and to prepare an army. They were anxious, too, themselves to enter upon the government of the provinces assigned to them by Caesar, but as the time for doing so had not yet come, they thought that it would be indecorous for them to leave their service as city praetors unfinished, and that they would incur the suspicions of an undue longing for power over the provinces. They preferred, nevertheless, to spend the remainder of their year as private citizens somewhere, as a matter of necessity, rather than serve as praetors in the city where they were not safe, and were not held in honour corresponding to the benefits they had conferred upon their country. While they were in this state of mind, the Senate,
ΑΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

ΟΑΡ. τὴν γνώμην ἔδωκε σίτου τῇ πόλει φροντίσαι, ἓξ ὅσης δύνατος γῆς, μέχρις αὐτοὺς ὁ χρόνος τῶν ἑθῶν τῆς στρατηγίας καταλάβων.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν οὖτως ἔπραξεν, ἵνα μὴ ποτὲ Βροῦτος ἢ Κάσσιος φεύγειν δοκοῦν τοσότεροι αὐτῶν φροντίς ἢν ἀμα καὶ αἰδώς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σφαγεῖσι διὰ τούσδε μάλιστα συνελάμβανοι. 7. ἔξελθοντων δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Βροῦτον, ἐπὶ δυναστείας ὅν ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἦδη μοναρχικῆς ἀρχῆς ἑθὼς καὶ στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ περιέβλεπε· καὶ Συρίας μὲν ἐπεθύμεις μάλιστα, οὐκ ἤγγροι δὲ ὅν δὲ ὑπονοιᾶς καὶ μᾶλλον ἐσόμενος, εἰ τι αἰτοῖς καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ κρύφα Δολοβέλλαν τὸν ἐτερον ὑπατον ἐπήλειφεν εἰς ἐναντίωσιν ἡ βούλη, διάφορον αἰεὶ τῷ Ἀντώνιῳ γενόμενον. αὐτὸν οὖν τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, νέον τε καὶ φιλότιμον εἰδώς, ἐπεισεν αἰτεῖν Συρίαν ἀντὶ Κασσίου καὶ τὸν ἐς Παρθανίους κατειλεγμένου στρατίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Παρθανίους, αἰτεῖν δὲ οὐ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν), ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νόμων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἧσθε εἰς αὐτίκα προντηθεὶς τὸν νόμον, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αἰτιωμένης αὐτὸν παραλύειν τὰ δόξαντα τῷ Καίσαρι τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ Παρθανίους πόλεμον οὐδενὶ ἐφή ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐπιτετράφθαι, Κασσίουν δὲ τὸν Συρίας ἄξιοθέντα αὐτὸν τι τῶν Καίσαρος πρότερον ἀλλάξαι, δόντα πωλεῖν τὰ κληρουχῆματα τοῖς λαβοὺσι πρὸ τῶν νενομισμένων εἰκοσιν ἑτῶν καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ αἰδεῖσθαι Συρίας οὐκ ἄξιομενος, Δολοβέλλας ὁν, 528
holding the same opinion as themselves, gave them charge of the supply of corn for the city from all parts of the world, until the time should arrive for them to take command of their provinces.

This was done in order that Brutus and Cassius might not at any time seem to have run away. So great was the anxiety and regard for them that the Senate cared for the other murderers chiefly on their account. 7. After Brutus and Cassius had left the city, Antony, being in possession of something like monarchical power, cast about for the government of a province and an army for himself. He desired that of Syria most of all, but he was not ignorant of the fact that he was under suspicion and that he would be more so if he should ask for it; for the Senate had secretly encouraged Dolabella, the other consul, to oppose Antony, as he had always been at variance with him. Antony, knowing that this young Dolabella was himself ambitious, persuaded him to solicit the province of Syria and the army enlisted against the Parthians, to be used against the Parthians, in place of Cassius, and to ask it, not from the Senate, which had not the power to grant it, but from the people by a law. Dolabella was delighted, and immediately brought forward the law. The Senate accused him of nullifying the decrees of Caesar. He replied that Caesar had not assigned the war against the Parthians to anybody, and that Cassius, who had been assigned to the command of Syria, had himself been the first to alter the decrees of Caesar by authorizing colonists to sell their allotments before the expiration of the legal period of twenty years. He said also it would be an indignity to himself if he, being Dolabella, were not chosen for
CAP. πρὸ καςίου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τῶν δημάρχων τινὰ Ἀσπρήναν ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ψεύσασθαι περὶ διοσκυρίας, ἐλπίσαντες τι καὶ Ἀντώνιον συμπράξειν, ὕπατον τὸ ὀντα καὶ τῶν σημείων ἱερεὰ καὶ διάφορον ἔτι νομιζόμενον εἶναι τῷ Δολοβέλλα. ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεὶ τῆς χειροτονίας οὕσης ὁ Ἀσπρήνας ἔφη διοσκυρίαι ἀπαισίου γεγονέναι, ἔθους ὀντος ἐτέρους ἐπὶ τούτῳ πέμπεσθαι, πάνιν χαλέψαμενος τῷ Ἀσπρήνα τοῦ ψεύσματος τὰς φυλὰς ἐκέλευε χειροτονεῖν περὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλα.

8. Καὶ γίνεται μὲν οὕτῳ Συρίας ἡγεμὼν Δολοβέλλας καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Παρθιανός καὶ στρατιάς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος κατειλημμένης, ὥστε τοῖς περὶ Μακεδονίαν προεληλύθει, καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸτε πρῶτον ἐγνωστὸ συμπράσσων τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ. γεγενημένων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῆς βουλῆς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἦτε Μακεδονίαν, εὖ εἶδος, ὅτι αἰδεύονται, μετὰ Συρίαν δοθείσαν Δολοβέλλα, ἀντειπεὶν περὶ Μακεδονίας Ἀντωνίῳ, καὶ τοῦτα γυμνῆς στρατοῦ γενομένης. καὶ ἔδοσαν μὲν ἄκοντες καὶ ἐν θαύματι ἐχοντες, ὅπως τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ στρατῶν προμεθῆκεν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τῷ Δολοβέλλᾳ, ἡγάπων δὲ ὀμοὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἔχειν τοὺς στρατῶν Ἀντωνίου μᾶλλον. ἐν καίρῳ δὲ αὐτοὶ τῶν Ἀντώνιος τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κάσσιον ἀντίτουν ἐτερα ἔθνη, καὶ ἔδοθη Κυρήνῃ τε καὶ Κρήτῃ, ὡς δὲ ἐτέρως δοκεῖ, τάδε μὲν ἀμφότερα Κασσίῳ, Βιθυνίᾳ δὲ Βρούτῳ.
Syria instead of Cassius. The Senate then persuaded one of the tribunes, named Asprenas, to give a false report of the signs in the sky during the comitia, having some hope that Antony, too, who was both consul and augur, and was supposed to be still at variance with Dolabella, would co-operate with him. But when the voting came on, and Asprenas said that the signs in the sky were unfavourable, as it was not his business to attend to this, Antony, angry at his lying, ordered that the tribes should go on with the voting on the subject of Dolabella.

8. Thus Dolabella became governor of Syria and general of the war against the Parthians and of the forces enlisted for that purpose by Caesar, together with those that had gone in advance to Macedonia. Then it became known for the first time that Antony was co-operating with Dolabella. After this business had been transacted by the people, Antony solicited the province of Macedonia from the Senate, well knowing that after Syria had been given to Dolabella, they would be ashamed to deny Macedonia to himself, especially as it was a province without an army. They gave it to him unwillingly, at the same time wondering why Antony should let Dolabella have the army, but glad nevertheless that the latter had it rather than the former. They themselves took the opportunity to ask of Antony other provinces for Brutus and Cassius, and there were assigned to them Cyrenaica and Crete; or, as some say, both of these to Cassius and Bithynia to Brutus.
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

II

CAP. 9. Τα μεν δη γινόμενα εν 'Ρώμη τουάδε ἦν·'Οκτάουοις δὲ ὁ τῆς ἁδελφῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατριδοὺς ἵππαρχος μὲν αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος γεγένητο πρὸς ἐν ἔτος, εξ οὖ την ἁδελφήν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐσ τοὺς φίλους περιφέρων ἐτήσιον ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι, μειράκιον δὲ ἐτι ὁν ἐσ Ἀπολλωνίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰονίου παιδεύεσθαι τε καὶ ὑσκεῖσθαι τὰ πολέμια ἐπέμπετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὡς ἐσ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐψόμενος αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία ἰππέων ἤλα παραλλάξ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπιοῦσαι συνεγύ- μναζον καὶ τῶν ἠγεμόνων τοῦ στρατοῦ τινες ὡς συγγενεὶς Καίσαρος θαμινά ἐπεφοίτων. γυνώσι τε ἐν τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ εὔνοια παρὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ τις ἐνεγίγνετο, σὺν χάριτι δεξιομένῳ πάντας. ἐκτον δέ ἔχοντι μῆνα ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνία ἀγγέλ- λεται περὶ ἐσπέραν ὁ Καίσαρ ἀνηρμένος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ πρὸς τῶν φιλτάτων καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δυνατωτάτων τότε μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδενὸς ἀπαγγελθέντος πω δέος αὐτῶν ἐπείχε καὶ ἀγνοια, εἴτε κοινῶν εἴη τῆς βουλῆς τὸ ἔργον εἴτε καὶ τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἵδιον, καὶ εἰ δίκην ἡ ἡ τῶς πλείοις δεδόκοιεν ἢ καὶ τοῦδε εἶεν, ἢ καὶ τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶις συνήδοιτο.

10. 'Εφ' οίς οἱ φίλοι ἐκ 'Ρώμης ὑπετίθεντο ταῦτα, ὡστε οἱ μὲν ἐς φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος
9. Such was the state of affairs at Rome. We turn now to Octavian, the son of the daughter of Caesar's sister, who had been appointed master of Caesar's horse for one year, for Caesar at times made this a yearly office, passing it round among his friends. Being still a young man, he had been sent by Caesar to Apollonia on the Adriatic to be educated and trained in the art of war, so that he might accompany Caesar on his expeditions. Troops of horse from Macedonia were sent to him by turns for the purpose of drill, and certain army officers visited him frequently as a relative of Caesar. As he received all with kindness, an acquaintance and good feeling grew up by means of them between himself and the army. At the end of a six months' sojourn in Apollonia, it was announced to him one evening that Caesar had been killed in the senate-house by those who were dearest to him, and were then his most powerful subordinates. As the rest of the story was untold he was overcome by fear, not knowing whether the deed had been committed by the Senate as a whole or was confined to the immediate actors; nor whether the majority of the Senate had already punished them, or were actually accomplices, or whether the people were pleased with what had been done.

10. Thereupon [his friends in Rome advised as follows:] some urged him to take refuge with the

1 His name was originally C. Octavius. When taking the names C. Julius Caesar he added Octavianus, as shewing his original gens. For clearness the name Octavian is employed in translation. 2 These words are perhaps an insertion.

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CAP. αὐτὸν ἥξιον ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατῶν καταφυγεῖν καὶ, ὅτε μάθοι μὴ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον, ἑπιθαρρήσαντα τοὺς ἔχθροις ἁμύνειν τῷ Καίσαρι καὶ ἰσαν οἱ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντα φυλάξειν ὑπεδέχοντο· ἦ δὲ μῆτηρ καὶ Φιλίππος, ὃς εἶχεν αὐτὴν, ἀπὸ Ρώμης ἐγραφὸν μῆτε ἐπαίρεσθαι μῆτε θαρρεῖν τῶν μεμνημένων, οἰα Καίσαρ ὁ παντὸς ἔχθροῦ κρατήσας ὑπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων μάλιστα πάθοι, τὰ δὲ ἰδιωτικῶτερα ὡς ἐν τοῖς παρούσις ἀκινδυνώτερα αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς ἐς 'Ρώμην ἐπείγεσθαι φυλασσόμενον. ὥς Ὅκταοιοι εὔνους διὰ τὴν ἔτη ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶ θανάτῳ γενομένων, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατοῦ δεξιωθέμενος διέπλει τὸν Ἰόνιον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον (οὕτω γὰρ των τοῦ ἐκεῖθε στρατοῦ πεῖραν εἰληφώς πάντα ἐφυλάσσετο), ἀλλ' ἐς ἑτέραν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου πόλιν, ἓκτος οὕσαν ὃδοι, ἢ ὄνομα Λουπίαι. ἐνταῦθα οὖν ἐνυπῆζον διατρίβων.

11. Ὡς δὲ οἱ τὰ τε ἀκριβέστερα περὶ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τοῦ δημοσίου πάθους τῶν τε διαθηκῶν καὶ τῶν ἔψηφισμένων ἤλθε τὰ ἀντίγραφα, οἱ μὲν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἥξιον τοὺς ἔχθροὺς Καίσαρος δεδιέναι, νῦν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμον ὄντα, καὶ παρῆκον ἄμα τὸ κλήμα τῇ θεσίν ἀπείπασθαι· οὐδὲ καὶ ταῦτα οἱ καὶ τὸ μή τιμωρεῖν αὐτὸν Καίσαρι αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντεσίον ἦει, προπέμψας καὶ διερευνηθέμενος, μή τις ἐκ τῶν φονέων ἐγκαθέζοιτο ἐνέδρα. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατὸς οἰα Καίσαρος νῦν δεξιουμένος ἀπήντα, θαρρήσας ἐθνε καὶ εὐθὺς ἄνωμάζετο.
army in Macedonia to ensure his personal safety, and when he should learn that the murder was only a private transaction to take courage against his enemies and avenge Caesar; and there were high officers who promised to protect him if he would come. But his mother and his stepfather, Philippus, wrote to him from Rome not to be too confident and not to attempt anything rash, but to bear in mind what Caesar, after conquering every enemy, had suffered at the hands of his closest friends; that it would be safer under present circumstances to choose a private life and hasten to them at Rome, but with caution. Octavian yielded to them because he did not know what had happened after Caesar's death. He took leave of the army officers and crossed the Adriatic, not to Brundusium (for as he had made no test of the army at that place he avoided all risk), but to another town not far from it and out of the direct route, named Lupiae. There he took lodgings and remained for a while.

11. When more accurate information about the murder and the public grief had reached him, together with copies of Caesar's will and the decrees of the Senate, his relatives still more cautioned him to beware of the enemies of Caesar, as he was the latter's adopted son and heir. They even advised him to renounce the adoption, together with the inheritance. But he thought that to do so, and not to avenge Caesar, would be disgraceful. So he went to Brundusium, first sending in advance to see that none of the murderers had laid any trap for him. When the army there advanced to meet him, and received him as Caesar's son, he took courage, offered sacrifice, and immediately assumed the name of
Καίσαρ. ἔθος γάρ τι Ἄρωμαίος τοὺς θετοὺς τὰ τῶν θεμέλων ὀνόματα ἐπιλαμβάνειν. ὅ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πατρῴον ὀλος ἐνήλλαξεν, ἀντὶ Ὀκταούιον παῖδος Ὀκταούιον Καίσαρ εἶναι καὶ Καίσαρος νῦν, καὶ διετέλεσον οὕτω χρώμενος. εὐθὺς τε ἐς αὐτὸν ἄθροι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὡς ἐς Καίσαρος νῦν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων συνέθεον, οἱ μὲν ἐκ φιλίας Καίσαρος, οἱ δὲ ἐξελεύθεροι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτεροὶ συστητῶνται σὺν αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν ἀποσκευαῖς ἡ χρήματα φέροντες ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, οἱ δὲ ἐτερα χρήματα καὶ φόρους ἐξ ἑθνῶν ἄλλων ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον.

12. Ὡ δὲ καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφικνομένων καὶ τῇ Καίσαρος αὐτοῦ δόξῃ τε καὶ τῇ πάντων εἰς ἐκείνου εὐνοία θαρρῶν ὁδεγεῖν ἐς Ἄρωμην σὺν ἀξιολόγῳ πλῆθει, αὐξομένῳ μᾶλλον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας οἱ χρεμάρρω, φανερὰς μὲν ἐπι- βουλῆς ὁμ ἀμείνου διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, ἐνέδρας δὲ δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ μάλιστα υφορώμενος, ἀρτιγινώστων οἱ τῶν συνόντων σχεδοῦ ὀντῶν ἀπάντων. τὰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐ πάντῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὃν ὀμαλά· οἱ δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι στρατευσάμενοι τε καὶ ἐς κληρουχίας διηρημένοι συνέτρεχον ἐκ τῶν ἀτοικίων ἐπὶ χύριτι τοῦ μειρακίου καὶ τὸν Καί- σαρα ὠλοφύρωτο καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐβλασφή- μουν οὐκ ἐπεξιῶτα τηλικοῦτω μῦσει καὶ σφᾶς ἐλεγον, εἰ τις ἥγοιτο, ἀμυνεῖν. οὖς ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἀνατιθέμενος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀπέπεμ- πεν. ὅτι δ’ αὐτῷ περὶ Ταρρακίνας, ἀπὸ τετρα- κοσίων ποὺ Ἄρωμης σταδίων, ἀγγέλλεται Κάσσιτος τε καὶ Ἐρώτος ἀφηρημένοι πρὸς τῶν ὑπότων 536
Caesar; for it is customary among the Romans for the adopted son to take the name of the adoptive father. He not only assumed it, but he changed his own name and his patronymic completely, calling himself Caesar the son of Caesar, instead of Octavian the son of Octavius, and he continued to do so ever after. Directly multitudes of men from all sides flocked to him as Caesar’s son, some from friendship to Caesar, others his freedmen and slaves, and with them soldiers besides, who were either engaged in conveying supplies and money to the army in Macedonia, or bringing other money and tribute from other countries to Brundusium.

12. Encouraged by the numbers who were joining him, and by the glory of Caesar, and by the goodwill of all toward himself, he journeyed to Rome with a notable crowd which, like a torrent, grew larger and larger each day. Although he was safe from any open attacks by reason of the multitude surrounding him, he was all the more on his guard against secret ones, because almost all of those accompanying him were new acquaintances. Some of the towns were not altogether favourable to him, but Caesar’s veterans, who had been distributed in colonies, flocked from their settlements to greet the young man. They bewailed Caesar, and cursed Antony for not proceeding against the monstrous crime, and said that they would avenge it if anybody would lead them. Octavian praised them, but postponed the matter for the present and sent them away. When he had arrived at Tarracina, about 400 stades from Rome, he received news that Cassius and Brutus had been deprived of Syria and

VOL. III.
CAP. II

Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς παρηγορίαν βραχύτερα ἑτερα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην ἀντειληφότες, φυγάδων τέ τινων καθόδοι καὶ Πομπηίου μετάκλησις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπομνημάτων ἐς τε τὴν βουλῆν ἐγγραφαί τινων καὶ ἑτέρα πολλὰ γιγνύμενα.

13. Ὁσ δ' ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀφίκετο, ἡ μὲν μήτηρ αὐθίς καὶ Φιλιππος ὡςοι τε ἄλλοι κηδεμόνες ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐδεδοκέσαν τὴν τε τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀλλοτρίωσιν καὶ τὸ δόγμα, μη ἐἶναι δίκας ἐπὶ Καίσαρι φόνον, καὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίου τότε δυναστεύοντος ἐς αὐτὸν ὑπεροψίαν, οὕτε ἀφικομένου πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρος υἱὸν ἐλθόντα οὕτε προσπέμψαντος αὐτῷ· ο δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράνυεν, αὐτὸς ἀπαντήσειν ἐς τὸν Ἀντωνίου εἰπὼν οἷα νεώτερος ἐς πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἴδιώτης ἐς ὑπατον καὶ τὴν βουλῆν θεραπεύεσθαι τὰ εἰκότα. καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἐφ' ἡ γενέσθαι μηδενός πῳ τοὺς ἀνδροφόνους διώκοντος· ἀλλ' ὅποτε θαρρήσας τις διώκοι, καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐπικουρήσειν καὶ τὴν βουλῆν ὡς ἐννομῷ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς δικαίῳ καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιου ἴσως. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς θέσεως ὑπερίδοι, ἐς τε τὸν Καίσαρα ἀμαρτήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀδικήσειν εἰς τὴν διανομήν.

Ἀπερρήγην τε λήγων τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι μὴ κινδυνεύειν οἱ καλὸν εἰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυγατέραι, εἰ προκριθείς ἐκ πάντων ἐς τοσάυτα ύπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀντάξιος αὐτοῦ φαίνοντο φιλοκινδυνοτάτου γεγονότος. τά τε τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, υπόγυμα οἱ τότε 538
Macedonia by the consuls, and had received the smaller provinces of Cyrenaica and Crete by way of compensation; that certain exiles had returned; that Sextus Pompeius had been recalled; that some new members had been added to the Senate in accordance with Caesar's memoranda, and that many other things were happening.

13. When he arrived at the city his mother and Philippus and the others who were interested in him were anxious about the estrangement of the Senate from Caesar, and the decree that his murderers should not be punished, and the contempt shown him by Antony, who was then all-powerful, and had neither gone to meet Caesar's son when he was coming nor sent anybody to him. Octavian quieted their fears, saying that he would call on Antony, as the younger man on the older and the private citizen on the consul, and that he would show proper respect for the Senate. As for the decree, he said that it had been passed because nobody had prosecuted the murderers; whenever anybody should have courage to prosecute, the people and the Senate would lend their aid to him as enforcing the law, and the gods would do so for the justice of his cause, and Antony himself equally. If he (Octavian) should reject the inheritance and the adoption, he would be false to Caesar and would wrong the people who had a share in the will.

As he was finishing his remarks he burst out that honour demanded that he should not only incur danger, but even death, if, after he had been preferred before all others in this way by Caesar, he would show himself worthy of one who had himself braved every danger. Then he repeated the words of Achilles,
CAP. οὔτα μάλιστα, ἐς τὴν μητέρα ὠσπερ ἐς τὴν Θέτιν ἐπιστρεφόμενος ἔλεγεν:

"Ἀντίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀρ' ἐμελλὼν ἐταίρῳ κτεινομένῳ ἔπαμύνειν,"

cαὶ τόδε εἰπὼν 'Αχίλληι μὲν ἐφή κόσμον ἀθάνατον ἐκ πάντων εἶναι τούτο τὸ ἔπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα· αὐτὸς δ' ἀνεκάλει τὸν Καίσαρα ὅπερ ἐταίρον, ἀλλὰ πατέρα, οὐδὲ συστρατιώτην, ἀλλ' αὐτοκράτορα, οὐδὲ πολέμου νόμῳ πεσόντα, ἀλλ' ἀθεμίστως ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ κατεκατένατα.

14. Ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ἡ μήτηρ, ἐς ἡδονήν ἐκ τοῦ δέους ὑπαχθεῖσα, ἢπσάξετο ὡς μόνον Ἀξίου Καίσαρος καὶ λέγειν ἔτι ἐπισχοῦσα ἐπέυπερχεν ἐς τὰ ἐγνωσμένα σὺν τῇ τύχῃ. παρήνει γε μὴν ἐτι τέχνη καὶ ἀνεξικακία μᾶλλον ἡ φανερὰ θρασύτητι πρὸς χρήσθαι. καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπανέσας καὶ πράξειν ὑποσχόμενος οὕτως, αὐτίκα τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐς τοὺς φίλους περιέπεμπεν, ἐς ἐω συγκαλῶν ἐκαστὸν ἐς τὴν ἀγορᾶν μετὰ πλήθους. ἐνθα Γάιον Ἄντωνιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἄντωνίου, στρατηγοῦντα τῆς πόλεως, ὑπαντιάσας ἐφή δέχεσθαι τὴν θέσιν τοῦ Καίσαρος· ἐδὸς γὰρ τε Ἡρωμαίοις τοὺς θετοὺς ἐπὶ μάρτυση γίγνεσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀπογραψάμενοι δὲ τῶν δημοσίων τὸ ῥῆμα, εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἔχωρει. ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐς κῆποις, οὕς ὁ Καίσαρ αὐτῷ δεδώρητο Πομπηίου γενομένους. διατριβῆς δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς θύρας πλείους γενομένης ὁ μὲν Καίσαρ καὶ τάδε ἐς ὑποψίαν

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which were then fresh in his mind, turning to his mother as if she were Thetis;—

"Would I might die this hour, who failed to save My comrade slain!" 1

After saying this he added that these words of Achilles, and especially the deed that followed, had of all things given him immortal renown; and he invoked Caesar not as a friend, but a father; not as a fellow-soldier, but a commander-in-chief; not as one who had fallen by the law of war, but as the victim of sacrilegious murder in the senate-house.

14. Thereupon his mother's anxiety was changed to joy, and she embraced him as alone worthy of Caesar. She checked his speaking and urged him to prosecute his designs with the favour of fortune. She advised him, however, to use art and patience rather than open boldness. Octavian approved of this policy and promised to adopt it in action, and forthwith sent around to his friends the same evening, asking them to come to the forum early in the morning and bring a crowd with them. There presenting himself to Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, who was the city praetor, he said that he accepted the adoption of Caesar; for it is a Roman custom that adoptions are confirmed by witnesses before the praetors. When the public scribes had taken down his declaration, Octavian went from the forum straightway to Antony. The latter was in the gardens that Caesar had given to him, which had formerly been Pompey's. As Octavian was kept waiting at the vestibule for

1 Iliad xviii. 98 (Lord Derby's translation).
CAP. Π 'Αντωνίου τῆς ἀλλοτριώσεως ἐτύθετο, εἰς κληθέντος δὲ ποτὲ ἦσαν προσαγορεύσεις τε καὶ περὶ ἀλλήλων πῦρματα εἰκότα.

’Ως δὲ ἤδη λέγειν ἔδει περὶ ὅν ἦσαν ἐν χρείᾳ, ὁ Καίσαρ εἰπεν. 15. "ἐγὼ δὲ, πάτερ Ἀυτώνιε (πατέρα γὰρ εἶναι σὲ μοι δικαίουσιν αἶ τε Καίσαρος ἐς σὲ ἐνεργεσίας καὶ ἡ σῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χάρις), τῶν σοι πεπραγμένων ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνῳ τὰ μὲν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ χάριν αὐτῶν ὀφλίζω, τὰ δ’ ἐπιμέμφομαι, καὶ λεξεῖται μετὰ παρρησίας, ἐς ἤν ἡ λύπη με προάγει. κτεινομένω μὲν οὐ παρῆς, τῶν φονέων σε περισσαπάντων περὶ θύρας, ἐπεὶ περιέσφεξαν αὖ αὐτὸν ἡ συνεκινδύνεις ὁμοία παθεῖν· ὅν εἰ θάτερον ἐμελλεν ἐσεθαί, καλῶς, ὃτι μὴ παρῆς. ψηφιζομένων δὲ τινῶν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τυ- ράννῳ γέρα ἀντείπας ἐγκρατῶς· καὶ τούδε σοι χάριν οἴδα λαμπράν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγνως συνανε- λείν σε βεβουλευμένους, οὐχ, ὡς ἰμεῖς ἤγούμεθα, τιμωρῶν ἐσόμενον Καίσαρι, ἀλλ’, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέ- γουσι, τῆς τυραννίδος διάδοχον. ἀμα δ’ οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι τυραννοκτόνοι, εἰ μὴ καὶ φονεῖς ἦσαν· διὸ καὶ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον συνεφυγον ὡς ἐς ἱερὸν ἀμαρτόντες ικέται ἢ ὡς ἐς ἄκροπολιν ἐχθροί. πόθεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀμνηστία καὶ τὸ ἀνεύθυνον τοῦ
some time, he interpreted the fact as a sign of Anthony's displeasure, but when he was admitted there were greetings and mutual inquiries proper to the occasion.

When the time came to speak of the business in hand, Octavian said: 15. "Father Antony (for the benefits that Caesar conferred upon you and your gratitude toward him warrant me in giving you that title), for some of the things that you have done since his death I praise you and owe you thanks; for others I blame you. I shall speak freely of what my sorrow prompts me to speak. When Caesar was killed you were not present, as the murderers detained you at the door; otherwise you would have saved him or incurred the danger of sharing the same fate with him. If the latter would have befallen you, then it is well that you were not present. When certain senators proposed rewards to the murderers as tyrannicides you strongly opposed them. For this I give you hearty thanks, although you knew that they intended to kill you also;¹ not as I think, because you were likely to avenge Caesar, but, as they themselves say, lest you should be his successor in the tyranny. Slayers of a 'tyrant' they may or may not have been; murderers they certainly were;² and that is why they took refuge in the Capitol, either as guilty suppliants in a temple or as enemies in a fortress. How then could they have obtained amnesty and

¹ The interpretation of this passage is doubtful. Schweighäuser thinks that Octavian means to say that he thanks Antony for opposing the proposition to reward the murderers, although he may have had a selfish interest in doing so.

² Literally "they were not 'tyrant-killers' [as they claimed] without also being [by that confession] murderers."


APPRIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. II. φόνου, ἡ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου εἰ τινὲς ἐφθάρατο ὑπ' ἐκείνων; καὶ σὲ τὸ τῶν πλεόνων ὄραν ἔχρην, ὑπατον ὄντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ θάτερα βουλομένως σοι ἡ ἀρχὴ συνελάμβανε, τιμωρομένω τηλικοῦτον ἄγος καὶ τοὺς πλανωμένους μεταδιδάσκοντι. σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅμηρα τῆς ἀδείας, οἰκείᾳ αὐτοῦ σοῦ, τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐπεμψας ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον.

"Ἀλλ' ἐστώ καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς διεφθαρμένους σε βιάσασθαι." 1 οτὲ μέντοι τῶν διαθηκῶν ἀναγωσθευσῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ σοῦ δίκαιον ἐπιτάφιων εἰπόντος ὁ δήμος ἐν ἀκριβεῖ Καίσαρος μηνήμη γενόμενοι πῦρ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφερον, καὶ φεισάμενοι χάριν τῶν γειτῶν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἦζειν ἐπὶ ὁπλα συνέθεντο, πῶς οὐχὶ τῷ δήμῳ συνέπραξας καὶ ἐστρατήγησας τοῦ πυρὸς ἢ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἢ δίκην γε τοῖς ἀνδροφόνοις ἐπέγραψας, εἰ δίκης ἐδει κατὰ αὐτοφόρων, καὶ φίλος ὁν Καίσαρι καὶ ὑπατος καὶ 'Αντώνιος;

16. "Ἀλλὰ Μάριος μὲν ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνηρέθη κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος, ἀνδροφόνους δὲ ἐκφυγεῖν ὑπερείδες καὶ ἐς ἡγεμονίας εἰόντος διαδραμέειν, ἄς ἀθεμίστως ἔχονοι τὸν δόντα ἀνελόντες. Συρίαν μὲν δὴ καὶ Μακεδονίαν εὐ ποιοῦντες οἱ ὑπάτοι, σὺ καὶ Δολοβέλλας, καθισταμένων ἄρτι τῶν πραγμάτων περιεσπάσατε ἐς ἐαυτοὺς. καὶ τοῦτο σοι χάριν ἦδειν ἂν, εἰ μὴ αὐτίκα Κυρήνην καὶ Κρήτην αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ φυγάδας ἦξιόσατε ἡγεμονίας αἰεὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ

1 Viereek reads ἐστῶ ... οἱ διεφθαρμένοι, but approves the reading given above.

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impunity for their crime unless some portion of what the Senate and people had been corrupted by them? Yet you, as consul, ought to have seen what would be for the interest of the majority, and if you had wished to avenge such a monstrous crime, or to reclaim the erring, your office would have enabled you to do either. But you sent hostages from your own family to the murderers at the Capitol for their security.

"Let us suppose that those who had been corrupted forced you to do this also, yet when Caesar's will had been read, and you had yourself delivered your righteous funeral oration, and the people, being thus brought to a lively remembrance of Caesar, had carried firebrands to the houses of the murderers, but spared them for the sake of their neighbours, agreeing to come back armed the next day, why did you not cooperate with them and lead them with fire or arms? Or why did you not bring them to trial, if trial was necessary for men seen in the act of murder—you, Caesar's friend; you, the consul: you, Antony?

16. "The pseudo-Marius was put to death by your order in the plenitude of your authority, but you connived at the escape of the murderers, some of whom have passed on to the provinces which they nefariously hold as gifts at the hands of him whom they slew. These things were no sooner done than you and Dolabella, the consuls, proceeded, very properly, to strip them and possess yourselves of Syria and Macedonia. I should have owed you thanks for this also, had you not immediately voted them Cyrenaica and Crete; had you not preferred these fugitives for governorships, where they can
ΑΠΠΙΑΝ’S ROMAN HISTORY

CAP. II. δορυφορεῖσθαι. Δέκμον τε τὴν ἔγγυς Κελτικῆν ὑπερορᾶτε ἔχοντα, καὶ τόνδε τοῖς ἀλλοις ὀμοίως αἰθέντην τούμοι πατρὸς γενόμενον. ἂλλα καὶ τάδε τὴν βουλὴν ἔρει τις ἐγνωκέναι. σὺ δ’ ἐπεψήφιζες καὶ προκάθησο τῆς βουλῆς, ὃς μάλιστα πάντων ἡμοζέ διὰ σαυτὸν ἀντειπεῖν τὸ γὰρ ἁμνηστίαν δοῦναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἢν ἐκεῖνος χαριζομένων μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονίας αὐθίς ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ γέρα ύβριζόντων Καίσαρα καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἀκυροῦντον.

"Επὶ τάδε με δὴ τὸ πάθος ἐξήνεγκε παρὰ τὸ ἁρμόζων ἱσως ἐμὸι τῆς τε ἡλικίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ αἴδον που. εἰρηται δ’ ὁμοὶ ὡς ἐς ἀκριβέστερον φίλον Καίσαρι καὶ πλείστης ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἡξιωμένου καὶ τάχα ἀν αὐτῷ καὶ θετὸν γενόμενον, εἰ ἱδει σε δεξόμενον Αἰνεάδην ἀντι Πρακλέιδου γενέοςθαι τούτο γὰρ αὐτὸν . . . ἐνδοιάςαι, πολύν τῆς διαδοχῆς λόγον ποιούμενον.

17. "Ες δὲ τὸ μέλλον, δ’ Ἀντώνιε, πρὸς θεοῦ τε φιλίων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ σοι Καίσαρος, εἰ μὲν τι καὶ τῶν γεγονότων μεταθέσθαι θέλεις (δύνασαι γὰρ, εἰ θέλεις): εἰ δὲ μῆ, τὰ γε λοιπὰ τοὺς φονέας ἀμυνομένου μοι μετὰ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶνε τῶν ἔτι μοι πατρικῶν φίλων συνίστασθαι καὶ συνεργεῖν: εἰ δὲ σε τῶν ἀνδρῶν τις ἢ τῆς βουλῆς αἰδῶς ἔχει, μὴ ἐπιβαρεῖν. καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τούτων οἶσθα δ’, ὡς ἔχει μοι καὶ τὰ οὐκοί, δαπάνης τε ἐς τὴν

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always defend themselves against me, and had you not tolerated Decimus Brutus in the command of Hither Gaul, although he, like the rest, was one of my father’s slayers. It may be said that these were decrees of the Senate. But you put the vote and you presided over the Senate—you who ought most of all to have opposed them on your own account. To grant amnesty to the murderers was merely to insure their personal safety as a matter of favour, but to vote them provinces and rewards forthwith was to insult Caesar and annul your own judgment.

“Grief has compelled me to speak these words, against the rules of decorum perhaps, considering my youth and the respect I owe you. They have been spoken, however, as to a more fully declared friend of Caesar, to one who was invested by him with the greatest honour and power, and who would have been adopted by him no doubt if he had known that you would accept kinship with the family of Aeneas in exchange for that of Hercules; for this created doubt in his mind when he was thinking strongly of designating you as his successor.

17. “For the future, Antony, I conjure you by the gods who preside over friendship, and by Caesar himself, to change somewhat the measures that have been adopted, for you can change them if you wish to; if not, that you will in any case hereafter aid and co-operate with me in punishing the murderers, with the help of the people and of those who are still my father’s faithful friends, and if you still have regard for the conspirators and the Senate, do not be hard on us. Enough of this topic. You know about my private affairs and the expense I must

1 The main verb is missing.
CAP. διανομήν, ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ἐκέλευσε τῷ δήμῳ δοθήναι, καὶ ἐπείξεως ἐς αὐτὴν, ἵνα μὴ βραδύων ἀχάριστος εἴναι δοκοῖν μηδ’ ὅσοι καταλεχθέντες εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐπιμένουσι τῇ πόλει, δι’ ἔμε τρίβουντο. ὁσα δὴ τῶν Καίσαρος εὐθέως ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ πρὸς σὲ μετενήνυκταί ὡς ἐπ’ ἄσφαλες ἐξ ἐπικινδύνου τότε ὀικίας, τὰ μὲν κειμήλια αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ἀπαντά κόσμου ἕχειν ἄξιον σὲ καὶ ὁσα ἄν ἐθέλησ ἄλλα παρ’ ἦμων ἐπιλαβεῖν, ἐς δὲ τὴν διανομήν ἀποδοῦναι μοι τὸ χρυσὸν τὸ ἐπίσημον, ὁ συννήθροικεῖ μὲν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ἐκεῖνος, οὕς ἐπενοεῖ, ἀρκέσει δ’ ἐμοὶ νῦν ἐς τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἄνδρων μεριζόμενον. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς δαπάνης, εἰ μὲν θαρρήσαίμει σοι, παρὰ σοῦ ἄν ἴσως ἢ διὰ σοῦ δανεισάμην ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, ἄν διδῶς· διαπετράστεται δὲ αὐτίκα καὶ ἡ οὐσία.” 18. Τοιαύτα τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰπόντος ὁ Ἀντώνιος κατεπλάγη, τῆς τε παρρησίας καὶ τῆς εὐτολμίας παρὰ δόξαν οἱ πολλίς καὶ παρ’ ἡλικίαν φανερῆς· χαλεψάμενος δὲ τοῖς τε λόγοις οὐχ ὅσον ἐδει τὸ πρέπον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐσχηκόσι καὶ μάλιστα τῶν χρημάτων τῇ ἀπαίτησε, αὐστηρότερον αὐτῶν ὤδε ἠμείψατο· “εἰ μὲν ὁ Καίσαρ σοι μετὰ κλήρου καὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, ὁ παῖ, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κατέλιπεν, εἰκὸς σὲ τῶν κοινῶν τοὺς λογίσμους αὐτέων καμὲ ὑπέχειν. εἰ δὲ οὐδενὶ πω Ἡρωαῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔδοσαν ἐκ διαδοχῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων, οὐς ἐκβαλόντες ἐπώμοσαν μηδ’ ἄλλων ἔτι ἀνέξεσθαι, (ὁ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ σου μάλιστα οἱ φονεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες φασίν ἀνελείν αὐτὸν βασιλιξόμενον, 548
incur for the legacy which my father directed to be given to the people, and the haste involved in it lest I may seem churlish by reason of delay, and lest those who have been assigned to colonies be compelled to remain in the city and waste their time on my account. Of Caesar's movables, that were brought immediately after the murder from his house to yours as a safer place, I beg you to take keepsakes and anything else by way of ornament and whatever you like to retain from us. But in order that I may pay the legacy to the people, please give me the gold coin that Caesar had collected for his intended wars. That will suffice for the distribution to 300,000 men now. For the rest of my expenses I may perhaps borrow from you, if I may be so bold, or from the public treasury on your security, if you will give it, and I will offer my own property for sale at once."

18. While Octavian was speaking in this fashion Antony was astonished at his freedom of speech and his boldness, which seemed much beyond the bounds of propriety and of his years. He was offended by the words because they were wanting in the respect due to him, and still more by the demand for money, and, accordingly, he replied in these somewhat severe terms: "Young man, if Caesar left you the government, together with the inheritance and his name, it is proper for you to ask and for me to give the reasons for my public acts. But if the Roman people never surrendered the government to anybody to dispose of in succession, not even when they had kings, whom they expelled and swore never to have any more (this was the very charge that the murderers brought against your father, saying that they killed him because he was no longer a leader
CAP. II. οὐχ ἡγούμενον ἔτι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεώς δεῖ πρὸς σὲ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ σὲ κουφίζω, μὴ χάριν ὅφειλεν ἢμῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. ἐπράσ- σετο γὰρ οὐ σοῦ χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου, πλὴν ἕνος τοῦ μεγίστου δὴ μάλιστα πάντων ἐς τε Καίσαρα καὶ σὲ ἔργου. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἕνεκα ἀδεοῦς καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνου περιεῖδον ἐγὼ τιμᾶς ψηφιζομένας τοῖς φονεύσιν ὡς τυραννοκτόνοις, τύ- ραννος ὁ Καίσαρ ἐγίγνετο, ὃ μήτε δόξης μήτε τιμῆς τινος ἢ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων βεβαιόσεως ἐτι μετῆν. οὐ διαθήκας εἰχεν ἄν, οὐ παιδα, οὐκ οὐσίαν, οὐκ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα ταφῆς ἀξιούμενον, οὐδὲ ἰδιώτου· ἀταφα γὰρ οἱ νόμοι τὰ σώματα τῶν τυράννων ὑπεροίκουσι καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ δημεύουσι τὴν περιουσιαν.

19. "Ὡς ἐγὼ δεδιώς ἐκαστον ὑπερηγωνιζόμην Καίσαρος, ἀθανάτου τε δόξης καὶ δημοσίας ταφῆς, οὐκ ἀκινδύνως οὐδ' ἀνεπιφθόνως ἐμαυτῷ, τυχεῖν, πρὸς τε ἀνδρας ταχυεργεῖς καὶ φόνου πλήρεις καὶ, ὡς ἐμαθες, ἦδη καὶ ἐπ' ἐμὲ συνομομοσμένους πρὸς τε τὴν βουλὴν ἀχθομένην σου τῷ πατρὶ τῆς ἄρχης. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα κινδυνεύεις καὶ παθεῖς ὅτιον ἱροῦμεν ἐκών μᾶλλον ἡ ἀταφον καὶ ἀτιμον γιγνόμενον περιδεῖν Καίσαρα, ἀριστον ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐφ' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ εὐτυχεστατοῦ ἐς τὰ πλείστα καὶ ἀξιοτιμήστατον ἐκ πάντων ἐμοὶ γενόμενον. τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς μου τοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ σὺ τὰ νῦν σοι παρόντα πάντα λαμπρὰ τῶν Καίσαρος ἔχεις, γένος, ὅνωμα, ἀξίωμα, περιουσίαν. ὃν σε δικαιό- τερον ἢν ἐμοὶ χάριν εἰδέναι μᾶλλον ἡ τὰ
but a king), then there is no need of my answering you as to my public acts. For the same reason I release you from any indebtedness to me in the way of gratitude for those acts. They were performed not for your sake, but for the people’s, except in one particular, which was of the greatest importance to Caesar and to yourself. For if, to secure my own safety and to shield myself from enmity, I had allowed honours to be voted to the murderers as tyrannicides, Caesar would have been declared a tyrant, to whom neither glory, nor any kind of honour, nor confirmation of his acts would have been possible; who could make no valid will, have no son, no property, nor any burial of his body, even as a private citizen. The laws provide that the bodies of tyrants shall be cast out unburied, their memory stigmatized, and their property confiscated.

19. "Apprehending all of these consequences, I entered the lists for Caesar, for his immortal honour, and his public funeral, not without danger, not without incurring hatred to myself, contending against hot-headed, blood-thirsty men, who, as you know, had already conspired to kill me; and against the Senate, which was displeased with your father on account of his usurped authority. But I willingly chose to incur these dangers and to suffer anything rather than allow Caesar to remain unburied and dishonoured—the most valiant man of his time, the most fortunate in every respect, and the one to whom the highest honours were due from me. It is by reason of the dangers I incurred that you enjoy your present distinction as the successor of Caesar, his family, his name, his dignity, his wealth. It would have been more becoming in you to testify your
εκλειφθέντα εἰς τὴν τῆς βουλῆς παρηγορίαν ἢ ἐσ ἀντίδοσιν τῶν, ὄν ἔχρηζον, ἢ καὶ ἄλλας χρείας ἢ λογισμοὺς ἐπιμέμφεσθαι πρεσβυτέρῳ νεώτερον ὄντα.

"Καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀρκέσει σοι περὶ τῶνδε εἰρήθησαι· ἐνοχμαίη ἐν ἡ καὶ τῆς ἕγερμονίας με ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐκ ἐπιθυμοῦντα μὲν, οὐκ ἀπάξιον δὲ ἡγούμενον εἶναι, καὶ ἄχθεσθαι μὴ τυχόντα τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν Καίσαρος, ὁμολογῶν μοι καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν γένος ἀρκείν.

20. "Περὶ δὲ τῶν σῶν χρείων, ἐβέλοντα μὲν σε ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων δανείσασθαι ἕγοντα ἢν εἰρωνεύαν λέγειν, εἰ μὴ πιθανὸν ἢν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖν σε κενὰ πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεῖ τὰ κοινα ταμεία, τῶν προσόδων, εἰς οὐ παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρχην, ἐς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ ταμείου synonymous καὶ εὐρέθησεμένων αὐτικά ἐν τῇ Καίσαρος περιονοσία, όταν αὐτὰ ζητεῖν ψηφισῶμεθα. ἀδικον γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτο ἐς τῶν Καίσαρα ἐσται, τεθνεῖτά τε ἦδη καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἰπόντα ἀδικον εἶναι, εἰ καὶ ξῶν ἠτείτο τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πολλοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσι σοι καθ’ ἐνα τῆς σύνθεις οὐκ ἀδήμετροτον αὐτὴν ἔχων γνώση. τῶν δὲ μετενεχθέντων πρὸς με χρηματῶν οὕτε τὸ πλῆθος ἐστιν, ὀσον εἰκάζεις, οὕτε τι νῦν ἔστι παρ’ ἐμοί, πάντα τῶν ἐν ἄρχαις καὶ δύναμει, πλὴν Δολοβέλλα καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀδελφῶν νειμαμένων μὲν εὐθὺς ὡς τυράννου, δι’ ἐμὲ δὲ μετατεθέντων ἐς χάριν τῶν ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐφηφισμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ τὰ λοιπὰ φέρων.
gratitude to me for these things than to reproach me for concessions made to soothe the Senate, or in compensation for what I needed from it, or in pursuance of other needs or reasons—you a younger man addressing an older one.

"But enough of that. You hint that I am ambitious of the leadership. I am not ambitious of it, although I do not consider myself unworthy of it. You think that I am distressed because I was not mentioned in Caesar's will, though you agree with me that the family of the Heraclidae is enough to content one.

20. "As to your pecuniary needs and your wishing to borrow from the public funds, I might have thought you must be jesting, had it not been possible to think that you are still ignorant of the fact that the public treasury was left empty by your father; because after he assumed the government the public revenues were brought to him instead of to the treasury, and they will presently be found among Caesar's assets when we vote an investigation into these matters. For such investigation will not be unjust to Caesar now that he is dead, nor would he say that it was unjust if he were living and were asked for the accounts. And as there will be many private persons to dispute with you concerning single pieces of property, you may assume that this portion will not be uncontested. The money transferred to my house was not so large a sum as you conjecture, nor is any part of it in my custody now. The men in power and authority, except Dolabella and my brothers, divided up the whole of it straightway as the property of a tyrant, but were brought round by me to support the decrees in favour of Caesar, and you, if you are wise, when you get possession of the remainder,
οὗτος αὐτῷ τοῦ δῆμου τοῖς δυσχεραίνουσιν, ἂν σωφρονήσῃ. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἑκπέμψαντο, ἂν συμφρονῶσι, τὸν δήμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποικίας· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐστίν, ὡσπερ καὶ σὺ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀρτιδίδακτος ὃν ἔμαθες, ἀυστάθμητον ὡσπερ ἐν θαλάσσῃ κύμα κυνώμενον· ὁ μὲν ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθεν. ὃ λόγῳ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰεὶ τοὺς δημοκράτους ὁ δήμος ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξάρας ἐς γόνυ ἔρριψε."
will distribute it among those who are disaffected toward you rather than among the people. The former, if they are wise, will send the people, who are to be colonized, away to their settlements. The people, however, as you ought to have learned from the Greek studies you have been lately pursuing, are as unstable as the waves of the sea, now advancing, now retreating. In like manner, among us also, the people are for ever exalting their favourites, and casting them down again."

III

21. Feeling outraged by the many insulting things said by Antony, Octavian went away invoking his father repeatedly by name, and offered for sale all the property which had come to him by the inheritance, at the same time endeavouring by this zeal to induce the people to stand by him. While this hasty action made manifest Antony's enmity toward him, and the Senate voted an immediate investigation of the public accounts, most people grew apprehensive of the young Caesar on account of the favour in which his father was held by the soldiers and the plebeians, and on account of his own present popularity based on the expected distribution of the money, and by reason of the wealth which had fallen to him in such vast measure that in the opinion of many he would not restrict himself to the rank of a private citizen. But they were most apprehensive of Antony, lest he should bring the young Caesar, distinguished and rich as he was, under his own control, and grasp the sovereignty held by the elder
CAP. III. δὲ καὶ τοῖς τότε γιγνομένοις ἐφήδοντο, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀλλήλους ἐμποδῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ Καῖσαρος πλούτου τῇ ἐχθρίσει τῶν χρημάτων αὐτίκα διαλυθησόμενου καὶ σφίσι τοῦ ταμιείου περιουσίας πλήρους ἦς αὐτής ἐσομένου· τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν ἐυρήσειν παρὰ Καῖσαρι.

22. Πολλοὶ τε αὐτῶν ἐς δίκας τῶν Καῖσαρα ὑπῆργον περὶ χωρίων, ἔτερος ἔτερῳ ἐπιλέγοντες ἄλλα τε ἐκαστοῦ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλείστοις, ἐκ προγραφῆς εἶναι τῶν δημευθέντων ἢ φυγόντων ἢ ἀναπρόθεντων. ἦγον τε τὰς δίκας ἐπὶ τῶν 'Αντωνιοῦν αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν ἔτερον ὑπατον Δολοβέλλαν. εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς ἑδικάζετο, πανταχοῦ τὰ πολλὰ ὁμοίως ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς χάριν Ἀντωνίου ἤττατο, τὰ τε ὑνήματα τῷ πατρὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου γενόμενα ἐπιδεικνύει καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ψήφισμα τὸ βεβαιοῦν τὰ Καῖσαρι πεπραγμένα πάντα. ὑβρεῖς τε πολλαί παρὰ τὰς δίκας ἦσαν αὐτῶς καὶ τὸ τῆς ζημίας προούκοπτεν ἐς ἀπειρον, ἐστε Πέδιον καὶ Πινάριον (οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῶν Καῖσαρος διαθηκῶν τοῦ κλήρου μοῖραν εἴχον) μέμψασθαι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ περὶ τέ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Καῖσαρος ὡς ἀδικα πασχόντων παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς. ὅσοντό τε αὐτὸν τὰ ἐς ὑβριν ἐκλύειν δεῖν μόνον, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντα κυροῦν, ὡσα τῷ Καῖσαρι πέπρακται.
Caesar. Others were delighted with the present state of affairs, believing that the two men would come into conflict with each other; and that the investigation concerning the public money would presently put an end to the wealth of Octavian, and that the treasury would be filled thereby, because the greater part of the public property would be found in Caesar's estate.

22. In the meantime many persons brought lawsuits against Octavian for the recovery of landed property, some making one claim and some another, differing in other respects, but for the most part having this in common, that it had been confiscated from persons who had been banished or put to death owing to the proscription. These suits were brought before Antonius himself or the other consul, Dolabella. If any were brought before other magistrates, Octavian was everywhere worsted for the most part through Antony's influence, although he showed by the public records that the purchases had been made by his father, and that the last decree of the Senate had confirmed all of Caesar's acts. Great wrongs were done him in these judgments, and the losses in consequence thereof were going on without end, until Pedius and Pinarius, who had a certain portion of the inheritance under Caesar's will, complained to Antony, both for themselves and for Octavian, that they were suffering injustice in violation of the Senate's decree. They thought that he ought to annul only the things done to insult Caesar, and to ratify all that had been done by him.

1 The words may perhaps mean "he shewed the deeds of sale executed by the public scribe;" the words bearing some such sense in newly discovered papyri.
'Ο δὲ ωμολόγει μὲν τὰ πρασσόμενα ἵσως ἐναντίον ἔχειν τι τοὺς συνεψηφισμένους, καὶ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα δ’ ἐφη τοῖς τότε δόξασιν ἐναντίως γεγράφθαι. μόνης γὰρ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπειγούσης, τὸ 'μηδὲν ἀνατρέπειν τῶν προδιψηκμένων,’ οὐ τοῦτ’ ἀυτοῦ γε χάριν οὐδὲ ἐφ’ ἀπασιν ἀπλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ παρηγορίαν τοῦ δήμου θορυβουμένου τούτοις. εἴναι δὲ δικαιότερον τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ψηφίσματος μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ῥήματι χρωμένου μὴ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀντιπράττειν ἀνυγρασί τοσοῦτος ἰδίων ἢ προγονικῶν κτήσεων κατὰ στάσιν ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑπὲρ νεανίσκου τοσοῦτο πλοῦτον ἀλλοτριόν τε καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικὸν παρ’ ἐλπίδα λαβόντος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιδεξίως, ἄλλ’ ἐς θρασύτητα τῇ τύχῃ χρωμένου. σφῶν μέντοι φείσεσθαι τὸ μέρος νειμαμένων πρὸς Καίσαρα. ὥδε μὲν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πινάριον ἀπεκρίνατο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐνέμοντο, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐν ταῖς δίκαις προσαπόλοιπο, οὐ σφῶν ἔνεκα αὐτῶν, ἄλλα καὶ τόδε τοῦ Καίσαρος. ἔμελλον γὰρ αὐτῷ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ πάντα χαριεῖσθαι.

23. Θέας δὲ πλησιαζούσης, ἤν ἐμελλεν ὑπὲρ Βρούτου στρατηγοῦντος ἐπιδώσεων Γάιος Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀντωνίου, καὶ τάλλα τοῦ Βρούτου τῆς στρατηγίας ἐπιτροπεύων ἀπόντος, παρασκευὴ

1 τοῦτ’ Viereck, τοῦ MSS.
Antony acknowledged that his course was perhaps somewhat contrary to the agreements voted. The decrees also, he said, had been recorded in a sense different from the original understanding. While it was the amnesty alone which was urgent, the clause "that nothing previously resolved be repealed" was added not for the sake of this provision in itself, nor because it was entirely satisfactory in all matters of detail, but rather to promote good order and to quiet the people, who had been thrown into tumult by these events. It would be more just, he added, to observe the spirit than the letter of the decree, and not to make an unseemly opposition to so many men who had lost their own and their ancestors' property in the civil convulsions, and to do this in favour of a young man who had received an amount of other people's wealth disproportionate to a private station and beyond his hopes, and who was not making good use of his fortune, but employing it in the rashest adventures. He would take care of them (Pedius and Pinarius) after their portion should have been separated from that of Octavian. This was the answer made by Antony to Pedius and Pinarius. So they took their portion immediately, in order not to lose their own share by the lawsuits, and they did this not so much on their own account as on that of Octavian, for they were going to bestow the whole of it upon him soon afterward.

23. The games were now approaching, which Gaius Antonius, the brother of Antony, was about to give in behalf of Brutus, the praetor, as he attended also to the other duties of the praetorship which devolved on him in the latter's absence. Lavish expense was
CAP. III. 

Τὸ ἕν ἐς αὐτήν δαψιλῆς καὶ ἐλπὶς ἐν τῇ θέσι τῶν δήμων ἐπικλασθέντα καλέσειν τοὺς ἀμφι τῶν Βροῦτων. ὁ δὲ Καίσαρ ἀντιθεραπεύων τὸ πλῆθος, ὅσον ἀργύριον ἐκ τῆς πράσεως ἐγέρνυτο, αἰεὶ κατὰ μέρος τοῖς φυλάρχοις ἀνεδίδουν νέμειν τοῖς φθάνουσι λαβεῖν καὶ ἐς τὰ πωλητήρια περιών ἀπο- κηρύσσειν ἐλεγεν ὅσον δύναντο πάντα τοὺς πυτράσκοντας ὀλγίστουν, διά τε δίκας ἀμφίβολα ἡ ἐπίφοβα ἔτι ὄντα καὶ διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σπουδῆν. ἀπερ αὐτῷ πάντα τὸν δήμον εἰς εὐνοιαν ἥγειρεν καὶ ἐς ἔλεον, ὡς ἀναξίω τοιάδε πάσχειν. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ περιουσίαν ὅση τε παρὰ Ὀκταυνίου τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ ἐτέρωθεν ἕν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρὸς πάντα καὶ τὰ Φιλίππου, καὶ τὸ μέρος τοῦ κλήρου Πινάριον καὶ Πέδιον αἰτήσας, προοθήκεν ἐς τὴν διανέμησιν πυτράσκεσθαι, ὡς τῆς Καίσαρος περιουσίας οὐδ' ἐς τούτο μόνον ἀρκούσης διὰ τὰς ἑπηρείας, ὁ δήμος οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου Καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ δέ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπίδοσιν λογιζόμενος εἶναι ἐκπαθῶς αὐτοῦ ἢλέει καὶ ἐπήνουν ὄδε πάσχοντα καὶ ὃδε φιλοτιμούμενον δῆλοι τε ἤσαν οὐκ ἐς πολὺ τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀντωνίου ὑβρίν ὑπερφυσένοι. 

24. Διέδεξαν δὲ παρὰ τὰς Βροῦτον θέασιν, πολυ- 

telestátais ἰῇ γενομένας: ἐμμίσθων γὰρ τινῶν ἀνακραγόντων κατακαλεῖν Βροῦτον τε καὶ Κάσ- 

σιον, ἐπεὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αὐτοῖς θέατρον συνεδημαγω- 

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incurred in the preparations for them, in the hope that the people, gratified by the spectacle, would recall Brutus and Cassius. Octavian, on the other hand, trying to win the mob over to his own side, distributed the money derived from the sale of his property among the head men of the tribes by turns, to be divided by them among the first comers, and went round to the places where his property was on sale and ordered the auctioneers to announce the lowest possible price for everything, both on account of the uncertainty and danger of the lawsuits still pending, and on account of his own haste; all of which acts brought him both popularity and sympathy as one undeserving of such treatment. When in addition to what he had received as Caesar's heir, he offered for sale his own property derived from his father Octavius, and whatever he had from other sources, and all that belonged to his mother and to Philippus, and the shares of Pedius and Pinarius which he begged from them, in order to make the distribution to the people (because in consequence of the litigation Caesar's property was not sufficient even for this purpose), then the people considered it no longer the gift of the elder Caesar, but of the younger one, and they commiserated him deeply and praised him both for what he endured and for what he aspired to be. It was evident that they would not long tolerate the insult that Antony was doing him.

24. They showed their feelings clearly while Brutus' games were in progress, lavish as these were. Although a certain number, who had been hired for the purpose, shouted that Brutus and Cassius should be recalled, and the rest of the spectators were thus
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γείτο ἐς τὸν ἔλεον, ἐσέδραμον ἀθρόου καὶ τὰς θέας ἐπέσχον, μέχρι τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν σβέσαι.

Βροῦτος δὲ καὶ Κάσσιος, ἑπεὶ σφῶν τὰς ἐλπίδας τὰς ἐν ταῖς θέας ὁ Καῖσαρ διέχεεν, ἐγυνωσαν εἰς Συρίαν καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ὡς πρὸ Ἐντωνίου καὶ Δολοβέλλα σφίσιν ἐψηφισμένας, χωρεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι. καὶ τῶν δὲ φανερῶν γενομένων ἦπείγετο καὶ Δολοβέλλας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ πρὸ Συρίας ἐς τὴν 'Ασίαν, ὡς χρηματιούμενος ἀπ' αὐτῆς. ὁ δ' Ἐντώνιος ἑγούμενος ἐς τὰ μέλλοντα οἱ δείσευν δυνάμεως, τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατιάν, ἀρετῇ τε οὕσαν ἁρίστην καὶ πλήθει μεγίστην, — ἐξ γὰρ ἦν τέλη (καὶ ὁσον ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτοῖς τοξοτῶν καὶ ψυλῶν ἡ γυμνητῶν συνεξεύγυντο, ὕππος τε πολλὴ καὶ παρασκευὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐντελῆς) δοκοῦντα προσήκειν Δολοβέλλα, Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐς Παρθναιοὺς ἐπιτετραμμένοις, διότι καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτοῖς ἐς Παρθναιοὺς ἐμελλὲ χρῆσθαι — πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐπενόει μετενεγκεῖν, ὅτι καὶ μάλιστα ἦν ἄγχος, ὡς τὸν Ἰόνιον περάσαντα εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἶναι.

25. 'Αφνω δὴ φήμη κατέσκηψε, Γέτας τὸν θάνατον τὸν Καίσαρος πυθομένους Μακεδονίαν πορθεῖν ἐπιτρέχοντας, καὶ ὁ Ἐντωνίος τὴν βουλήν ὑπὲρ τὸν στρατὸν ὡς Γέτας ἐπιθῆσων δίκην ἐς τε γὰρ Γέτας αὐτὸν πρὸ Παρθναιῶν Καίσαρι παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ τὰ Παρθναιὼν ἢρμεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ τὴν 562
wrought up to a feeling of pity for them, crowds ran in and stopped the games until they checked the demand for their recall.

When Brutus and Cassius learned that Octavian had frustrated what they had hoped to obtain from the games, they decided to go to Syria and Macedonia, which had been theirs before these provinces were voted to Dolabella and Antony, and to seize them by force. When their intentions became known, Dolabella hastened to Syria, taking the province of Asia in his way in order to collect money there. Antony, thinking that he should soon need troops for his own purposes, conceived the idea of transferring to himself the army in Macedonia, which was composed of the very best material and was of large size (it consisted of six legions, besides a great number of archers and light-armed troops, much cavalry, and a corresponding amount of apparatus of all kinds), although it properly belonged to Dolabella, who had been entrusted with Syria and the war against the Parthians, because Caesar was about to use these forces against the Parthians. Antony wanted it especially because it was close at hand, and, by crossing the Adriatic, could be thrown at once into Italy.

25. Suddenly a rumour burst upon them that the Getae, learning of Caesar's death, had made an incursion into Macedonia and were ravaging it. Antony asked the Senate to give him an army in order to punish them, saying that this army had been prepared by Caesar to be used against the Getae before marching against the Parthians, and that everything was now quiet on the Parthian frontier. The Senate distrusted the rumour, and
CAP. III. Φήμην ὑπενόει καὶ τοὺς εἰπισκεψομένους ἐπεμψεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων ἐψηφίσατο μὴ ἐξειναι πὼ κατὰ μηδεμίαν αὐτίαν περὶ δικτάτορος ἀρχῆς μήτε ἐπιπείνα μήτε ἐπιψηφίζειν μήτε λαβεῖν διδομένην, ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῶν τῶν τινος ὑπεριδόντα νηποινεῖ πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων ἀναίρεσθαι. καὶ τῶδε μάλιστα ἐλὼν τοὺς ἀκούντας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα πράττοντις συνθέμενοι ἐν τέλος δώσειν, ἱρέθη τῆς ἐν Μακεδονία δυνάμεως εἰναι στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔχων, ἄ ἐβούλετο, Γάμων τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτίκα σὺν ἐπείξει τὸ δόγμα φέροντα τῷ στρατῷ διεπέμπτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπισκέπται τῆς φήμης ἐπανελθόντες Γέτας ἔλεγον οὐκ ἰδεῖν ἐν Μακεδονία, προσέθεσαν δὲ, εἴτε ἀληθῆς εἴτε ὑπ' Ἀντωνίου διδαχθέντες, ὅτι δέος ἦν, μὴ τῆς στρατιᾶς ποιμελθούσης οἳ Γέται τῇ Μακεδονίαι ἐπιδραμοῦσιν.

26. Οὐδὲ μὲν εἰχε τὰ ἐν Ἡρώμη, Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βροῦτος χρήματα καὶ στρατιὰν συνέλεγον, καὶ Τρεβώνιος ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγοῦμενος τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἐτείχιζε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν ἐλθόντα οὐκ ἐδέχετο οὕτε Περγάμῳ οὐτε Σμύρνῃ, ἀλλὰ μόνην ἀγορὰν ἔξω τείχους ὡς ὑπάτῳ προύτηθει. ἐπιχειροῦντος δ' ἐκεῖνον σὺν ὀργῇ τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ οὐδὲν ἀνύσαντος, ὁ Τρεβώνιος αὐτὸν ἐφῆ δέξησθαι Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον εὐθὺς ἀπιόντα τοὺς ἐφεψομένους ἐκ διαστήματος ἐπεμπεῖν, οἱ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπίόντα τῶν Δολοβέλλαν ὀρὼντες

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sent messengers to make inquiry. Antony, in order to dissipate their fear and suspicion, proposed a decree that it should not be lawful for anybody, for any cause whatever, to vote for a dictatorship, or to accept it if offered. If anybody should disregard any of these provisions, he might be killed with impunity by anybody who should meet him. Having deceived the Senate chiefly by this means, and having agreed with the friends of Dolabella to give him one legion, he was chosen absolute commander of the forces in Macedonia; and then when he had obtained what he desired, he sent his brother Gaius with haste to communicate the decree of the Senate to the army. Those who had been sent to inquire into the rumour came back and reported that they had seen no Getae in Macedonia, but they added, either truthfully, or because they were instructed to do so by Antony, that it was feared that they would make an incursion into Macedonia if the army were withdrawn.

26. While these things were taking place at Rome, Cassius and Brutus were collecting troops and money, and Trebonius, governor of the province of Asia, was fortifying his towns for them. When Dolabella arrived, Trebonius would not admit him to Pergamus or Smyrna, but allowed him, as consul, an opportunity of buying provisions outside the walls. However, when he attacked the walls with fury, but accomplished nothing, Trebonius said that he would be admitted to Ephesus. Dolabella started for Ephesus forthwith, and Trebonius sent a force to follow him at a certain distance. While these were observing Dolabella's march, they were overtaken by night, and,

1 Literally, "having captured his hearers."
Τρεβώνιος δὲ τοὺς συλλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἔτι εὔναξόμενον ἢγείσθαι πρὸς Δολοβέλλαν ἐκέλευσεν· ἐψεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκὼν. καὶ τὶς τῶν λοχαγῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπισκόπτων ἠμείγατο· "ϊθι σὺ, δεύρο τὴν κεφαλὴν καταλιπών· ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐ σέ, ἀλλὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἁγείν προστέτακται." καὶ τόδε εἰπὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέτεμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα Δολοβέλλας μὲν αὐτὴν προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ βῆματος, ἐνθα ὁ Τρεβώνιος ἔχρηματιζη, προτεθήκαν· ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ σὺν ὅργῃ καὶ ὁ οἰκετικὸς ἄλλος ὁμίλος αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τοῦ φόνου Καῖσαρος ὁ Τρεβώνιος μετεσχίζει καὶ κτεινομένου τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ περὶ θύρας τοῦ βουλευτήριου περισσάκει, εἰς τὸ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα αὐτοῦ ποικιλῶς ἐνύβριζον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν οἷα σφαίραν ἐν λιθοστρῶτῳ πόλει διαβάλλοντες ἠν ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ γέλωτι συνέχεοιν τε καὶ συνετριψαν. καὶ πρῶτος ὅδε τῶν φονέων δίκην τὴν ἐδεδώκει.
having no farther suspicions, returned to Smyrna, leaving a few of their number to follow him. Dolabella laid an ambush for this small number, captured and killed them, and went back the same night to Smyrna. Finding it unguarded, he took it by escalade.

Trebonius, who was captured in bed, told his captors to lead the way to Dolabella, saying that he was willing to follow them. One of the centurions answered him facetiously, “Go where you please, but you must leave your head behind here, for we are ordered to bring your head, not yourself.” With these words the centurion immediately cut off his head, and early in the morning Dolabella ordered it to be displayed on the praetor’s chair where Trebonius was accustomed to transact public business. Since Trebonius had participated in the murder of Caesar by detaining Antony in conversation at the door of the Senate-house while the others killed him, the soldiers and camp-followers fell upon the rest of his body with fury and treated it with every kind of indignity. They rolled his head from one to another in sport along the city pavements like a ball till it was completely crushed. This was the first of the murderers who received the meed of his crime, and thus vengeance overtook him.

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